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HISTORY OF THE POPES OF ROME,

&c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.—APPENDIX.

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CLEMENT VII.

THE

HISTORY OF THE POPES,

THEIR

CHURCH AND STATE,

AND ESPECIALLY OF

THEIR CONFLICTS WITH PROTESTANTISM

IN THE

SIXTEENTH & SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY

LEOPOLD RANKE.

TRANSLATED BY E. FOSTER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.—APPENDIX.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

SECTION I.

FIRST PERIOD—TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

NO.		PAGE
1.	The Conspiracy of Porcari	1
2.	Sixtus IV. to his Nuncios	3
3.	Polo Capello to the Venetian Senate	5
4.	Death of Pope Alexander VI.	6
5.	Report of Polo Capello	11
6.	Domenico Trevisano to the Venetian Senate ...	12
7.	Report of Marin Zorzi	14
8.	Roman Embassy of Marco Minio	19
9	Diary of Sebastiano de Telini	20
10.	Life of Leo X.	22
11.	The Pontificates of Leo X., Adrian VI., and Clement VII.	*ib.*
12.	Aluise Gradenigo to the Venetian Senate	23
13.	Venetian Ambassadors on Roman Antiquities...	25
14.	Conclave and Election of Clement VII.	28
15.	Instructions to Cardinal Farnese, Legate to the Emperor	31
16.	History of Italy by Vettori	88
17.	Marco Foscari to the Senate of Venice	93
18.	Contarini's Embassy to Clement VII. and Charles V.	96
19.	Cardinal Campeggio on the means of destroying Protestantism	97
20.	Embassy of Antonio Suriano	100
21.	Report of Suriano	102

SECTION II.

HISTORIANS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT—SARPI—PALLAVICINI ... ... PAGE 103

SECTION III.

TIMES OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION DOWN TO SIXTUS V.

NO.
22. Instructions from Paul III. to his Nuncio at the Council of Trent... 139
23. Roman Instructions for selecting a city wherein to hold the Council of Trent 141
24. Embassy of Cardinal Montepulciano 142
25. Instructions for the Nuncio to the Council of Spires 147
26. Instructions to Cardinal Contarini, Legate to Germany 148
27. Matteo Dandolo to the Venetian Senate ... 149
28. Life of Pope Marcellus II., by his brother 153
29. Life of Pope Paul IV., by Caracciolo 155
30. Report of Navagero to the Republic of Venice ... 159
31. Embassy of Aluise Mocenigo from Venice to Rome 160
32. Embassy of Marchio Michiel to Pius IV. 162
33. Despatches of Venetian Ambassadors 163
34. Trial of Cardinal Caraffa 164
35. Report of the Venetian Ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo ... ... *ib.*
36. Embassy to Rome of the Spanish Ambassador, Alcantara 174
37. Embassy of Carlo Visconti from Pius IV. to the king of Spain 176
38. Report by Commendone to the Legates of the Council 177
39. Report of Cardinal Morone 178
40. Attempt of Canossa to assassinate Pius IV. ... *ib.*

NO. PAGE
41. Report of the Venetian ambassador Paolo Tiepolo 178
42. Embassy of Michiel Suriano 179
43. Account of Pope Pius V. 184
44. Rome under Gregory XIII. 185
45. Second Report of Paolo Tiepolo 189
46. Commentaries on the Pontificate of Gregory XIII. 195
47. Report of Ghisilieri to Gregory XIII. ... 198
48. The Court of Rome, by Cardinal Commendone ... *ib.*

SECTION IV.

SIXTUS V.—BIOGRAPHERS OF SIXTUS, LETI AND TEMPESTI.—LIFE OF SIXTUS, BY LETI.—LIFE AND ACTS OF SIXTUS, BY TEMPESTI.

49. Autograph Memoirs of Sixtus V. 213
50. Life of Sixtus, corrected by himself 221
51. Sixtus V., Pontifex Maximus... 224
52. Pontificate of Sixtus V. 233
53. Life of Sixtus, by Sangenesino 235
54. Life of Sixtus, by Galesini 240
55. Anonymous Life of Sixtus V.... 242
56. Report to Pope Sixtus V. ... ... *ib.*
57. Embassy of the Venetian Lorenzo Priuli ... 245
58. Report of Giovanni Gritti... 246
59. Embassy of Badoer ... ... *ib.*
60. Venetian Despatches 247
61. Ecclesiastical affairs of Poland 250
62. Minucci on the Restoration of Catholicism ... 256

SECTION V.

SECOND PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL RESTORATION.

63. Conclaves 258
64. Life of Cardinal Santa Severina 261

NO.		PAGE
65.	Life of Clement VIII.	272
66.	Instruction to Powsinsky, Nuncio to Poland; and Report of the King of Poland's entry into Sweden	*ib.*
67.	Report concerning Poland	273
68.	Political and religious state of Sweden—Intercalation—Remarks on the peculiar characteristics of Bentivoglio	*ib.*
69.	Report to Cardinal d'Este...	276
70.	Embassy of Delfino	278
71.	Report of Venier	283
72.	Instruction to the Spanish Ambassador Viglienna	287
73.	Dialogue on the Empire, and the provinces infested with heresy	288
74.	Report on the Churches of Saxony	289
75.	Instructions to the Nuncio Barberini on his proceeding to France	291
76.	Life of Pope Paul V.	293
77.	Report concerning the unhappy state of Germany	294
78.	Embassy of congratulation from Venice, on the accession of Pope Paul V.	296
79.	Cardinal Gessi, Nuncio to Venice	301
80.	Milensio, Report of the Diet held at Ratisbon ...	303
81.	Embassy of the Venetian Giovanni Mocenigo to Rome	305
82.	Report of the Swiss Nunciature to Venice—Report of the Grisons	307
83.	Diotallevi, Nuncio in Poland	311
84.	Account of Bologna	312
85.	Instructions for a Legate to Bologna	315
86.	Payments of Roman Barons to the Pope—Imposts on the vassals of the Barons	*ib.*
87.	Revenues of Roman Nobles	317
88.	Proposals for the relief of the Apostolic Treasury	319
89.	Grants from Paul V. to his family	321

NO. PAGE
90. Report on the Ecclesiastical States 322
91. Pitaro on Maritime Commerce 324
92. Report from Romagna ... ... *ib.*
93. The Universal Government, one fold and one Shepherd—Jesuit Historians 326
94. Venetian Ambassadors to Gregory XV. 333
95. Life of Ludovico Ludovisi 335
96. Instructions to the Bishop of Aversa 339
97. Instructions to the Patriarch of Alexandria ... 343
98. Instructions to the Archbishop of Antrinopoli ... 344
99. Instruction to the Nuncio Lancelotti 345
100. Report of Lazari to the "Propaganda fide" ... 347
101. The Palatine Library 349
102. Mission of Don Tobia Corona 351
103. Report of the Venetian Ambassador Zeno ... 354
104. Embassy of Venetians to Urban VIII. 359
105. Instructions to Sacchetti, Bishop of Gravina, Nuncio to Spain 363
106. Instructions to the Archbishop of Damiata, Nuncio to France 364
107. Instruction to the Bishop of Cesena, Nuncio to Savoy 366
108. Report on the state of Religion in Bohemia ... 368
109. Report to Pope Urban VIII, by the Bishop of Nicastro 373
110. Instruction to the Nuncio to Cologne 375
111. Report of Pietro Contarini to the Venetian Senate 377
112. Caraffa on the Empire and Germany 382
113. Report on the Diocese of Augsburg ... 386
114. Legation of Aluise Caraffa ... ... *ib.*
115. Report of Aluise Contarini to the Senate of Venice 389
116. Death of Cardinal Ippolyto Aldobrandino ... 393
117. Report of the Venetian Ambassador Nani ... 394
118. Spada on the Roman Government 397

NO. PAGE
119. Disputes of the Barberini family with Odoardo Farnese 399
120. Life of Urban VIII. 400

SECTION VI.

LATER PERIODS.

121. Life of Cardinal Cecchini by himself 407
122. Diary of Deone 412
123. The State of Rome 414
124. Pontificates from Gregory XIII. to Clement IX.—Life of Donna Olympia Maldachina ... 415
125. Venetian Ambassadors to Innocent X. 417
126. Report of Aluise Contarini 419
127. Memorial to Pope Innocent X. 421
128. Giustiniani on the Court of Rome 422
129. Embassy from Venice to Pope Alexander VII. ... 423
130. Life of Alexander VII. 427
131. Casati on the Conversion of Christina of Sweden 430
132. Corraro on the Court of Rome 433
133. Sagredo's Report on Rome 434
134. Pietro's Basadona Report on Rome 436
135. Life of Alexander VII. 438
136. Quirini's Report on Rome 439
137. Report on Rome—to the King of France ... 441
138. Grimani on the Roman Court ... ... *ib.*
139. Report on the State of Rome 444
140. Life of Clement X., by Orvietano 445
141. Life of Clement X. 447
142. Pontificate of Clement X. 448
143. Report on the State of Rome 449
144. Piero Mocenigo to the Venetian Senate 450
145. Treatise on the Government of Rome ... 453
146. Life of Pope Innocent XI. 454

NO.		PAGE
147.	Memorial to Pope Innocent XI.	455
148.	Satirical Ode against Innocent XI.	*ib.*
149.	College of Apostolic Secretaries, suppressed by Innocent XI.	456
150.	On the Maxims and Government of the Jesuits ...	457
151.	Embassy of Lando from Venice to Rome ...	458
152.	Confession of Pope Alexander VIII.	460
153.	Report of Domenico Contarini	461
154.	Nicolo Erizzo—Report on Rome	463
155.	Report of G. F. Morosini	466
156.	Report of Lorenzo Tiepolo	470
157.	Embassy of Andrea Corner	471
158.	Report of Pietro Capello	473
159.	Observations on the Ecclesiastical States ...	475
160.	Autograph Instructions for Officials	477
161.	Regulations for Commerce	*ib.*
162.	Report of Aluise Mocenigo	478
163.	Embassy of Venice	481
164.	Report of Aluise Mocenigo IV.	482
165.	Embassy of Girolamo Zulian	483

THE

HISTORY OF THE POPES.

APPENDIX.

SECTION I.

FIRST PERIOD, TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

No. 1.

Ad S. D^m Nostrum Pontificem Maximum Nicolaum V. conformatio curiæ romanæ loquentis edita per E. S. oratorem Joseph. B. doctorem cum humili semper recommendatione. (1453.) *Bibl. Vatic. nr.* 3618. [To our Lord, his Holiness the Supreme Pontiff, Nicholas V., the Address of the Roman Curia set forth and presented by Doctor Joseph B., Orator of the Holy Church. (1453.) Vatican Library, No. 3618.

A LAMENT over the well-known conspiracy of Stephen Porcari, which, although not presenting any more minute details concerning it, yet places before us certain important circumstances explanatory of the general position of things; it gives intimation, for example, of the principal object proposed to himself by Nicholas V. in his architectural undertakings.

> "Arces fortificat muris turrimque superbam
> Extruit.....ne quisque tyrannus ab alma
> Quemque armis valeat papam depellere Roma."

[He strengthens the heights and fortresses by the erection of walls and proud towers, that no tyrant may find his arms avail to expel the pontiff from beloved Rome.]

Previous popes had frequently been compelled to quit their capital. Nicholas built that he might be prepared to defend himself against all assailants, whether from within or from without. There is further exhibited in this document the condition of Rome as compared with that of other Italian cities

> "Si tu perquiris in omnibus illam (libertatem)
> Urbibus Italiæ, nullam mihi crede profecto
> Invenies urbem quæ sic majore per omnem
> Libertate modum quam nunc tua Roma fruatur:
> Omnis enim urbs dominis et bello et pace coacta
> Præstita magna suis durasque gravata gabellas
> Solvit, et interdum propriam desperat habere
> Justitiam, atque ferox violentia civibus ipsis
> Sæpe fit, ut populus varie vexatus ab illis
> Fasce sub hoc onerum pauper de divite fiat;
> At tua Roma sacro nec præstita nec similem vim
> Nec grave vectigal nec pondera cogitur ulla
> Solvere pontifici ni humiles minimasque gabellas:
> Præterea hic dominus tribuit justissimus almam
> Justitiam cuicunque suam, violentaque nulli
> Infert: hic populum prisco de paupere ditem
> Efficit, et placida Romam cum pace gubernat."

[Though you should seek through all the cities of Italy, yet in none will you find your own Rome surpassed in the enjoyment of all kinds of liberty: for all others are compelled to pay heavy taxes by their rulers, whether in peace or war; yet they frequently despair of obtaining justice, and the citizens are so crushed and overborne by oppression and violence, that he who was rich has been made poor, and the poor sink beneath their miseries. But your Rome is subjected to no similar exactions or violence, she is compelled to pay no exorbitant impost, nor has to fear even light and moderate taxes from her sacred pontiff. There too the most upright of rulers sees justice imparted to all, and will neither inflict wrong nor suffer that it should be done to any; he raises the people from poverty to wealth, and governs Rome in tranquil content.]

The author reproaches the Romans for labouring to attain the freedom of ancient Rome. It is indeed established beyond a doubt that the papal rule was milder than that of any other Italian government; and the knowledge of this fact contributed largely to the territorial extension of the Ecclesiastical States. Our author considers it unpardonable that the citizens should oppose resistance to that church from which they obtained so many benefits both spiritual and temporal.

> "Quibus *auri copia grandis*
> *Argentique ferax*, æternaque vita salusque
> Provenit, ut nulli data gratia tum ardua genti."

[Whence there proceeds to them so great an abundance of gold and silver, together with the safety of their eternal life, so that no people has equal blessings with themselves.]

The pope is advised to provide still more effectually for his safety, to increase his fortifications, and never to go to St. Peter's without a guard of 300 armed men; he is, at the same time, recommended to aim at securing the affections of the Roman people, and to support the poor, more particularly those of good descent, "viam qui mendicare rubescunt" [who blush to live by begging].

"Succurre volentibus artes
Exercere bonas, quibus inclyta Roma nitescat;"

[Give aid to those who are willing to exercise those laudable arts by which the glory of Rome is enhanced.]

Which was indeed a counsel scarcely needed by Nicholas V. This little work is moreover referred to in the "Vita Nicolai V. a Domenico Georgio, conscripta Romæ, 1742," p. 130.

No. 2.

Instructiones datæ a Sixto IV. RR. PP. D^no J. de Agnellis protonotario apostolico et Ant^no de Frassis S. palatii causarum auditori ad M. Imperatoris. 1 *Dec^r* 1478. *Bibl. Altieri. VII. G.* 1, 90. [Instructions given by Sixtus IV. to the reverend Fathers J. de Agnellis, Apostolic Protonotary, and Antonio de Frassis, auditor of causes to the sacred palace, who were sent nuncios to his Imperial Majesty. 1st Dec. 1478. Bibl. Altieri, VII. G. 1. 90.]

The oldest instruction that I have found among the MSS. that have come under my observation. It begins thus—"Primo salutabunt Serenissimum Imperatorem."

The attack of the Pazzi on the Medici had taken place on the 26th of April, 1478. All Italy was thrown into commotion by this outrage. "Ecclesia justa causa contra Laurentium mota, clamant Veneti, clamat tota ista liga." [The church is moved with just cause against Lorenzo—the Venetians complain, all this league complains.]

The ambassadors were instructed to prevent the emperor from giving credence to a certain Giacopo de Medio, whom the

Venetian shad sent as their emissary to the imperial court. [He is an inordinate liar (est magnus fabricator et Cretensis), for he declared many things to his countrymen which we had never uttered, nor even thought of.] They were to request the mediation of the emperor: the king of France had already offered his intervention, but the pope preferred to reserve the honour of that office to the emperor. "Velit scribere regi Franciæ et ligæ isti, ostendendo quod non recte faciunt et parum existimant Deum et honorem pontificis, et quod debent magis favere ecclesiæ justitiam habenti quam uni mercatori, qui semper magna causa fuit quod non potuerunt omnia confici contra Turcum quæ intendebamus parare, et fuit semper petra scandali in ecclesia Dei et tota Italia." [Let him write to the king of France and to that league (ista liga), shewing them that they are not proceeding uprightly, but are paying little respect to God and to the honour of the pontiff; and that they ought rather to favour the church—she having justice on her side—than this merchant, who has always been a great hindrance to all our projects against the Turks;—the main cause why all that we have been minded to undertake against them could not be brought to bear, and a stone of offence to God's church and to all Italy."]

This affair was all the more perilous for the pope from the fact that a purpose was entertained of opposing his temporal assumptions by means of a council. "Petunt cum rege Franciæ concilium in Galliis celebrari in dedecus nostrum." [They are of accord with the king of France to bring about the convocation of a council in the Gallic dominions to our injury.]

We are hereby reminded of the attempt that was in fact made some years later for the convocation of a council, and by which the archbishop of Carniola acquired a certain reputation. Johann von Müller has given a few pages to this subject in the 5th vol. of his History of Switzerland (p. 286), but he does not make the secular motives by which the advocates of this demand for a council were actuated sufficiently obvious. Cardinal Andreas was not altogether so spiritual as Müller's work would make him appear. The ambassadors of Florence and Milan sought the cardinal in Basle, presenting themselves in the name of the entire league, which had taken the field against Sixtus. They found in him—we have their own report—great experience and knowledge of the world

("gran pratica et experientia del mundo"), together with a vehement hatred to the pope and his nephew. "E huomo per fare ogni cosa purche e' tuffi el papa e 'l conte." [He is a man capable of doing any thing, provided he can but ruin the pope and the count.] See Baccius Ugolinus Laurentio Medici in Basilea a dì 20 Sept. 1482, in Fabroni Vita Laurentii, ii. 229. We here perceive that even at this early period there was an opposition set up by the temporal sovereigns from purely secular motives; but the princes had also possessed themselves of ecclesiastical weapons, and these they brought into action against those of the popes.

No. 3.

Relatione fatta in pregadi per Polo Capello el cavalier venuto orator di Roma. 1500, 28 *Sett.* [Report presented to the Senate (Venetian) by Polo Capello, regarding his embassy to Rome, 28th Sept. 1500.] *In the Archives of Vienna.*

This is the first report that I have found on the papal court by a Venetian ambassador. It does not appear in the Venetian archives; and it may be inferred that the reports were not at that time presented in writing. It is given in the Chronicle of Sanuto, in whom may be usually found whatever was transacted in the senate (or pregadi).

Polo Capello promises to treat on four subjects: the cardinals, the relations or dispositions of the pope towards the king of France and towards Venice respectively; the intentions (el desiderio) of his holiness, and what they might expect from him; but as this division of his subject was not founded on any very accurate distinctions, he does not rigidly adhere to it.

He remarks in the first place, that neither Venice nor France was in particular favour with the pope; the former, because, having seized on a part of the Milanese territory, fears were entertained lest the remainder of Italy should be also attacked; the latter, because the king of France did not keep his promises to the pope. In this document we find the conditions of the treaty formed in the year 1498 between the king and the pope. The pope granted the king a dispensation permitting him to separate from his wife. In return, the king engaged to confer a domain on Cæsar Borgia, the pope's

son, that should yield him a revenue of 28,000 francs, a wife of the blood-royal (Navarre?), and the renunciation of all attempts on Naples, except in aid of the Borgia family ("del regno di Napoli non se impazzar se non in ajutar il papa"); whence we perceive that the pope had himself, even at that time, a design on Naples. But these promises were not kept. The matrimonial alliance proposed to Cæsar Borgia was not exactly what had been desired. The pope went so far as to purchase an estate of 12,000 francs, as a security for the dowry, but the young bride remained in France. It was only by the superior force of the king that the pope was held to peace. "Quando il S^r Lodovico intrò in Milan," says Capello very significantly, "publice diceva (il papa) mal del roy." [When S^r Ludovico entered Milan, the pope was publicly speaking ill of the king.] Alexander was enraged because the French would not give him aid for the expulsion of Bentivoglio from Bologna.

From the above passage we gain a clearer perception of the secret springs by which the papal policy of those days was put in movement, and that which followed is extremely valuable for its delineation of personal qualities.

The author first alludes to the death of Alexander's son-in-law. Cæsar Borgia had already wounded him. "Per dubio mandò a tuor medici di Napoli: ste 33 dì ammalato, et il C^l Capua lo confessò, e la moglie e sorella, ch' è moglie del principe di Squillaci altro fiol di papa, stava con lui et cusinava in una pignatella per dubio di veneno per l'odio li haveva il ducha di Valentinos, et il papa li faceva custodir per dubio esso ducha non l'amazzasse, e quando andava il papa a visitarlo, il ducha non vi andava se non una volta e disse: Quello non è fatto a disnar si farà a cena. Or un zorno, fo a dì 17 avosto, intrò in camera, che era za sublevato, e fe ussir la moglie e sorella: intrò Michiele cussi chiamato, e strangolò ditto zovene." . . . . [By way of precaution he sent to Naples for physicians: the wounded man was ill thirty-three days, and Cardinal Capua received his confession; he was nursed by his wife and sister, who was married to the prince of Squillaci, another son of the pope; they remained with him, and prepared his food in a small vessel with their own hands, for fear of poison, because of the hatred felt towards him by the duke de Valentinos, the pope causing him

to be guarded lest that duke should kill him; and when the pope went to visit the sick man, the duke did not accompany him, once only excepted, and then he said, "What has not been done at dinner shall be done at supper." Accordingly, one day,—it was the 17th of August,—he entered the room, the patient having already risen, and made the wife and sister to go out, then Michiele came in, as if called, and strangled the said youth.]

"Il papa ama et ha gran paura del fiol ducha, qual è di anni venti-sette, bellissimo di corpo e grande, ben fatto e meglio che re Ferandin; amazzò sei tori salvadegi combatendo a cavallo a la zaneta, et a uno li taiò la testa a la prima bota, cosa che paresse a tutta Roma grande. E realissimo, imo prodego, e il papa li dispiace di questo. Et alias amazzò sotto il manto del papa M. Peroto, adeo il sangue li saltò in la faza del papa, qual M. Peroto era favorito dal papa. Etiam amazzò il fratello ducha di Gandia e lo fe butar nel Tevere. Tutta Roma trema di esso ducha non li faza amazzar." [The pope loves his son the duke, but is in great dread of him; he is twenty-seven years of age, remarkably handsome, very tall and well made, even exceeding King Ferandin (Ferdinand, the last king of Naples, that is, who was considered extremely handsome). He killed six wild bulls, fighting with the spear on horseback, and in regard to one, he struck off his head at one blow, which seemed a prodigy to all Rome; he has most regal habits and spends very largely, for which the pope is displeased with him. Besides this, he slew M. Peroto at another time under the very mantle of the pope, so that the blood burst over the face of the pope; which M. Peroto was a favourite of the pontiff. He also murdered his brother, the duke of Gandia, and caused the body to be thrown into the Tiber. All Rome trembles at this duke, and every one fears assassination from him.]

Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X., has endeavoured to clear the memory of Lucrezia Borgia from the scandalous imputations heaped upon her. To the accusations brought against her earlier life, he has opposed a crowd of favourable witnesses respecting the latter part of it. But even the German translator of his work is not convinced by his arguments, believing rather that Lucrezia had amended her conduct. The report we are now examining is, however, further remark-

able, because it affords a favourable testimony to the character of Lucrezia, even in her earlier days; its words are—"Lucrezia la qual è savia e liberal" [Lucrezia who is wise and generous.] Cæsar Borgia was rather her enemy than her lover. He despoiled her of Sermoneta, which had been granted to her by the pope, remarking that she was but a woman, and would not be able to defend it: "è donna, non lo potrà mantenir."

No. 4.

Among the various documents to be found in the fifth volume of Sanuto, the following appears to be the most important.

"Questo è il successo de la morte di Papa Alexandro VI."

"Hessendo el C^l datario dno Arian da Corneto stato richiesto dal pontefice chel voleva venir a cena con lui insieme con el duca Valentinos a la sua vigna et portar la cena cum S. S^tà, si imagino esso cardinal questo invito esser sta ordinado per darli la morte per via di veneno per aver il duca li soi danari e beneficii, per esser sta concluso per il papa ad ogni modo di privarlo di vita per aver il suo peculio, come ho ditto, qual era grande, e procurando a la sua salute penso una sola cosa poter esser la via di la sua salute. E mando captato tpio (tempo) a far a saper al schalcho del pontefice chel ge venisse a parlar, con el qual havea domestichezza. El qual venuto da esso cd^l, se tirono tutti do in uno loco secreto, dove era preparato duc. X. m. d'oro; e per esso c^l fo persuaso ditto schalcho ad acetarli in dono e galderli per suo amor. El qual post multa li accepto, e li oferse etiam il resto di la sua faculta, perche era richissimo card^l, a ogni suo comando, perche li disse chel non poteva galder detta faculta se non per suo mezo, dicendo: Vui conoscete certo la condition del papa, et io so chel ha deliberato col ducha Valentinos ch' io mora e questo per via di esso scalcho per morte venenosa, pregandolo di gratia che voia haver pieta di lui e donarli la vita. Et dicto questo, esso scalcho li dichiari il modo ordinato de darli il veneno a la cena, e si mosse a compassione promettendoli di preservarlo. Il modo era chel dovea apresentar dapoi la cena tre schatole di confecion in taola, una al papa, una al d^to card^l et una al ducha, et in quella del card^l si era il veneno. E

cussi messe ditto card^{l} ordine al prefato scalcho del modo che dovea servar, e far che la scutola venenata, dovea aver esso card^{l}, di quella il papa manzasse e lui si atosegaria e moriria. E cussi venuto il pontefice a la cena al zorno dato l'hordine col ducha preditto, el prefato c^{l} se li butto a li piedi brazzandoli et strettissimamente baxandoli, con affectuosissime parole supplicando a S. S^{ta}, dicendo, mai di quelli piedi si leveria si S. Beat. non li concedesse una gratia. Interrogato del pontefice, qual era facendo instanza, se levasse suso, esso c^{l} respondeva chel voleva aver in gratia el dimanderia et haver la promessa di fargela da S. S. Hor dapoi molta persuasion, il papa stete assai admirativo vedendo la perseverantia del d^{to} c^{le} e non si voler levar, e li promisse di exaudirlo: al qual card^{l} sublevato disse: Patre santo, non e conveniente che venendo il signor a caxa del servo suo, dovesse, el servo parimente confrezer (?) con el suo signor, e perho la gratia el dimandava era questa zusta e honesta che lui servo dovesse servir a la mensa di S. S^{ta}, e il papa li fece la gratia. E andato a cena al hora debita di meter la confecion in tavola, fo per il scalcho posto la confezion avenenata ne la scutola secondo el primo ordine li havea dato il papa, et il c^{l} hessendo chiaro in quella non vi esser venen li fece la credenza di dicta scatola e messe la venenata avante il papa, e S. S. fidandosi del suo scalcho e per la credenza li fece esso c^{l}, judico in quella non esser veneno e ne manzo allegramente, e del altra, chel papa fusse avenenata si credeva e non era, manzo ditto c^{l}. Hor al hora solita a la qualita del veneno sua S^{ta} comenzo a sentirlo e cussi sen'e morto: el card^{l}, che pur haveva paura, se medicino e vomito, e non have mal alcuno ma non senza difficulta. Valete."

[This is the manner in which Pope Alexander VI. came to his death.

The cardinal datary D^{no} Arian da Corneto, having received a gracious intimation that the pontiff, together with the duke Valentinos, designed to come and sup with him at his vineyard, and that his holiness would bring the supper with him, the cardinal suspected that this determination had been taken for the purpose of destroying his life by poison, to the end that the duke might have his riches and appointments, the rather as he knew that the pope had resolved to put him to death by some means, with a view to seizing his property, as I have said—which was very great. Considering

of the means by which he might save himself, he could see but one hope of safety—he sent in good time to the pope's carver, with whom he had a certain intimacy, desiring that he would come to speak with him; who, when he had come to the said cardinal, was taken by him into a secret place, where, they two being retired, the cardinal shewed the carver a sum, prepared beforehand, of 10,000 ducats, in gold, which the said cardinal persuaded the carver to accept as a gift and to keep for the love of him, and after many words, they were at length accepted, the cardinal offering, moreover, all the rest of his wealth, at his command—for he was a very rich cardinal—for he said he could not keep the said riches by any other means than through the said carver's aid, and declared to him, "You know of a certainty what the nature of the pope is, and I know that he has resolved, with the duke Valentinos, to procure my death by poison, through your hand,"—wherefore he besought the carver to take pity on him and to give him his life. And having said this, the carver declared to him the manner in which it was ordered that the poison should be given to him at the supper, but being moved to compassion he promised to preserve his life. Now the orders were that the carver should present three boxes of sweetmeats, in tablets or lozenges, after the supper, one to the pope, one to the said cardinal, and another to the duke, and in that for the cardinal there was poison; and thus being told, the said cardinal gave directions to the aforesaid carver in what manner he should serve them, so as to cause that the poisoned box of confect which was to be for the cardinal, should be placed before the pope that he might eat thereof, and so poison himself and die. And the pope being come accordingly with the aforesaid duke to supper on the day appointed, the aforesaid cardinal threw himself at his feet, kissing them and embracing them closely; then he entreated his holiness with the most affectionate words, saying, he would never rise from those feet until his holiness had granted him a favour. Being questioned by the pontiff what this favour was, and requested to rise up, he would first have the grace he demanded, and the promise of his holiness to grant it. Now after much persuasion the pope remained sufficiently astonished, seeing the perseverance of the said cardinal and that he would not rise, and promised to grant the favour. Then the cardinal rose up and said, "Holy Father, it is not

fitting that when the master comes to the house of his servant, the servant should eat with his master like an equal (confrezer parimente)," and therefore the grace that he demanded was the just and honest one that he, the servant, should wait at the table of his master, and this favour the pope granted him. Then having come to supper, and the time for serving the confectionary having arrived, the carver put the poisoned sweetmeats into the box, according to the first order given to him by the pope, and the cardinal, being well informed as to which box had no poison, tasted of that one, and put the poisoned confect before the pope. Then his holiness, trusting to his carver and seeing the cardinal tasting, judged that no poison was there, and ate of it heartily; while of the other, which the pope thought was poisoned, but which was not, the said cardinal ate. Now at the hour accustomed, according to the quality of that poison, his holiness began to feel its effect, and so died thereof; but the said cardinal, who was yet much afraid, having physicked himself and vomited, took no harm and escaped, though not without difficulty. Farewell.]

This account, if not an authentic one, is at least a very remarkable description of Alexander's death, and is, perhaps, the best we have relating to that occurrence.

No. 5.

Sommario de la relatione di S. Polo Capello, venuto orator di Roma, fatta in Collegio 1510. [Summary of the Report of S. Polo Capello, returned from his embassy to Rome, delivered to the College 1510.]

After the great misfortunes suffered by the Venetians in consequence of the league of Cambray, they soon contrived to win over Pope Julius again to their side. Polo Capello brings forward certain details hitherto unknown, in regard to the manner in which this result was produced. The pope was anxious in respect to the consequences that might ensue from a meeting then projected between Maximilian and the king of France. " Dubitando perche fo ditto il re di Romani et il re di Francia si voleano abboccar insieme et era certo in suo danno." [Feeling alarmed because it was said that the king of the Romans and the king of France desired to confer together, and he was certain that this was to be for his disad-

vantage]. It is true that for a certain time he enforced on the Venetians the necessity of resigning those towns which, according to the terms of the league, should have fallen to the German king; but when he saw that the enterprise of Maximilian came to so bad a conclusion, he ceased to press further on that matter. The pontiff held a very mean opinion of Maximilian: "E una bestia," said he; "merita piu di esser rezudo ch' a rezer altri." [He is a stupid animal (said he), and rather deserves to be bridled himself than to bridle others.] It was considered on the contrary very greatly to the honour of the Venetians, whose name had been looked upon in Rome as already extinguished, that they had maintained themselves. The pope gradually determined to grant them absolution.

Capello entertained the most profound respect for the personal qualities of the pontiff. "E papa sapientissimo, e niun pol intrinsechamente con lui, e si conseja con pochi, imo con niuno." [He is a very wise pope; he permits no one to influence his judgment, and takes counsel with few, or indeed with none.] The influence possessed by Cardinal Castro del Rio was but a very indirect one. "Parlando al papa dirà una cosa, qual dita il papa poi considererà aquella." [When in conversation with the pope, he will make some remark, which being uttered, the pope will afterwards consider it over.] At that moment, for example, the cardinal was opposed to the Venetians, yet the pontiff concluded his agreement with them none the less. Capello considered him to be well supplied with money, thinking he might have 700,000 ducats, if not a million, in his treasury.

No. 6.

Sommario di la relatione di Domenego Trivixan, venuto orator di Roma, in pregadi 1510. [Summary of the report of Domenego Trevixan, returned ambassador from Rome, presented in the Senate 1510.]

The report given by Capello in the college is continued by Trevixan to the senate, but with this difference, that while the former developes the concealed motives of action, the latter contents himself with giving a general sketch: this also is, nevertheless, worthy of notice.

He agrees with the estimation of his colleague of the moneys to be found in the papal treasury, but adds the remark that this sum was destined by the pope to be used in a war against the infidels. "Il papa è sagaze praticho: ha mal vecchio galico e gota, tamen è prosperoso, fa gran fadicha: niun pol con lui: alde tutti, ma fa quello li par.—E tenuto e di la bocha e di altro per voler viver piu moderatamente." [The pope is a man of great practical sagacity, but has long suffered from disease of the liver and gout; he is, nevertheless, still active, and endures labour well; he permits none to govern him, listening to all, but doing what best pleases himself. He is held, both by word and otherwise, to resolve on living more moderately.] (Does this mean that he had himself promised to be more moderate in his future life —in regard to drinking, perhaps?) "A modo di haver quanti danari il vole: perche come vacha un beneficio, non li da si non a chi (a) officio e quel officio da a un altro, si che tocca per esso assai danari; ed è divenudo li officii sensari piu del solito in Roma." [He has a method of procuring whatever money he pleases; for whenever a benefice falls vacant he confers it only on one who already has an office, which office he also confers on some other, so that by this means he draws a sufficiency of money; and offices are become more than commonly venial in Rome.] That is, the offices that men actually hold are become brokers or bribes for other benefices; in other words, they serve to procure them.

"Il papa a entrado, duc. 200,000 di ordinario, et extraordinario si dice 150 m." [The ordinary revenue of the pope is 200,000 ducats, and the extraordinary is said to be 150,000.] That is, the popes have usually so much,—"Ma questo ha di do terzi piu di extraordinario e di ordinario ancora l'entrade" [but this pope has two-thirds more, both of the ordinary and extraordinary revenue]; so that he must have had about a million. He proceeds to explain this as follows:—"Soleano pagare il censo carlini X al ducato e la chiesa era ingannata: era carlini XIII½ el duc. vole paghino quello convien, et a fatto una stampa nova che val X el duc. e son boni di arzento, del che amiora da X a XIII½ la intrada del papa, e diti carlini si chiamano Juli." [It was customary to pay the taxes at the rate of ten carlini to the ducat; but the church was hereby defrauded, for the ducat

was worth thirteen carlini and a half; then the pope determined that a just payment should be made, and he has issued a new coinage, the value being ten pieces to the ducat, and these are of good silver. The pope's revenues are improved from ten to thirteen and a half, and the said new carlini are called Juli.] We here see what was the origin of the small coins current in the present day, for it was not until recent times that the paoli now in use have superseded the name and use of the Juli. The carlini, by which accounts were computed and which were the common medium of exchange, had become so much debased and depreciated that the treasury sustained a serious loss by them. It was thus for the interest of his exchequer that Julius II. issued a good coinage.

"Item è misero: e pocha spesa. Si accorda col suo maestro di caxa: li da el mexe per le spexe duc. 1,500 e non piu. Item fa la chiexia di S. Piero di novo, cosa bellissima, per la qual a posto certa cruciata, et un solo frate di S. Francesco di quello habia racolto ditti frati per il mondo li portò in una bota duc. 27,000 si che per questo tocca quanti danari el vuol. A data a questa fabrica una parte de l'intrada di S. M. di Loreto e tolto parte del vescovado di Recanati." [Item, he is penurious and spends little; he makes an agreement with his house-steward, to whom he gives 1,500 ducats for the expenses of the month, and no more. Item, he is building the church of St. Peter anew, a very beautiful thing it is, and for this he has established a sort of crusade, and a single Franciscan friar brought him, in one sum, 27,000 ducats, which those friars had gathered throughout the world. He has, besides, given to this fabric a portion of the revenues of Santa Maria di Loretto, and has taken for the same purpose a part of the bishopric of Recanati.]

No. 7.

Sommario de la relatione di S. Marin Zorzi, dotor, venuto orator di corte, fata in pregadi a dì 17 *Marzo*, 1517. [Summary of the Report of Doctor Marin Zorzi, returned ambassador from the court (of Rome), given in the Senate on the 17th March, 1517.]

Marin Zorzi was chosen ambassador to the court of Leo X. on the 4th of January, 1514, and, after he had declined the

office, was again elected to it on the 25th of January. If it be true that his commission had particular reference to the expedition of Francis I., as we learn from Paruta (lib. iii. p. 109), it must have been about the beginning of the year 1515 that he first proceeded to Rome.

His report refers to that period. It is the more important because he proposed to give information in this document in regard to matters on which he had not ventured to write while in Rome. "Referirà," says the summary, which appears to have been written subsequently, "di quelle cose che non a scritto per sue lettere, perchè *multa occurrunt quæ non sunt scribenda.*" [The report will refer to matters which have not been written about in letters, because many things come to pass which it is not discreet to write about.]

These are chiefly in relation to the negotiations of the pope with Francis I., which were not known even to Paruta himself, and of which the best information, so far as my knowledge extends, will be found in this document.

Allusions are occasionally made by different writers to a supposed desire on the part of Pope Leo for a crown to be conferred on his brother Julian, but how this was to be effected has never yet been made clearly apparent. Zorzi assures us, that at this time Leo proposed to the king of France—"che del reame di Napoli, saria bon tuorlo di man di Spagnoli e darlo al magnifico Juliano, suo fradello." [That with regard to the kingdom of Naples, it would be well to take it from the hands of the Spaniards and give it to the most noble Julian, his brother.] He adds: "E sopra questo si fatichoe assai, perchè el non si contentava di esser ducha so fradello, ma lo volea far re di Napoli: il Christianissimo re li aria dato il principato di Taranto e tal terre: ma il papa non volse, e sopra questo venneno diversi oratori al papa, Mons^r. di Soglie e di Borsi, et il papa diceva: quando il re vol far questo acordo, saremo con S. M. Hor si stette sopra queste pratiche: il Chr^mo. re havendo il voler che 'l papa non li saria contra, deliberò di venir potente et cussi venne: et il papa subito si ligò con l'imperator, re Catholico, re de Inghilterra e Sguizzari." [And about this affair he gave himself no little pains, for he was not content that his brother should be a duke, but resolved to make him king of Naples. The most Christian king would have given him the prin-

cipality of Taranto, with other territories; but the pope was not satisfied with that. Whereupon there came divers ambassadors to the pope; Mons^r di Soglei and Mons^r di Borsi among others; and the pope said,—"If the king will consent to this arrangement, then we will be for his majesty." And here these matters came to a pause, the most Christian king, desiring that the pope should not be against him, determined to proceed to Italy in great force; and so he did, but the pope suddenly leagued himself with the emperor, the Catholic king, the king of England, and the Switzers.]

The letters of Canossa, printed in the "Archivio Storico Italiano," in the year 1844, declare that this project was seriously discussed; but it will be manifest that the affair was not so entirely unmentioned by "domestic and foreign historians" as the editor of the "Archivio" imagined.

The notices given by Zorzi in relation to the time of the campaign, I have already communicated, either in the text or in the notes.

But how entirely the pope was in secret disinclined to the French interests, is rendered manifest by the fact that he not only reproached the Venetians for the decided part they took in favour of the French, during Maximilian's enterprise of the following year, but also by the further proof of his having secretly assisted Maximilian himself: "O che materia," he remarked, "a fatto questo senato a lassar le vostre gente andar a Milano, andar con Francesi, aver passa 8 fiumi, o che pericolo è questo" [Oh what a business this senate has made of it, to let your people go to Milan, to permit your troops to join the French, and cross eight rivers in their cause—Oh what a danger is this!]; and further: "Il papa a questo subito mandò zente in favor del imperador e sotto man dicendo: M. Ant. Colonna è libero capitano al soldo del imperador." [Thereupon the pope suddenly dispatched troops to the assistance of the emperor, but underhand, and saying that Marc Antonio Colonna was a free captain in the pay of the emperor.] The ratification of the treaty of Bologna was meanwhile delayed. The king sent ambassador after ambassador to demand its completion. At length the pope on his part dispatched his emissary to France, and the treaty was sealed.

Francis I. soon found an opportunity to avenge himself. The pope encountered unexpected opposition from the duke of

Urbino. In relation to which the Venetian ambassador here assures us that, "il re non si tien satisfacto del papa: è contento Francesco Maria prosperi" [the king does not consider himself well treated by the pope, and is desirous that Francesco Maria should succeed].

He then gives a more minute description of the pope. "A qualche egritudine interior de repletion e catarro ed altra cosa, non licet dir, videl. in fistula. E hom da ben e liberal molto, non vorria faticha s'il potesse far di mancho, ma per questi soi si tuo faticha. E ben suo nepote è astuto e apto a far cosse non come Valentino ma pocho mancho." [He is disturbed by some inward complaint arising from repletion, catarrh, and other causes which we do not enumerate. He is a worthy man, and very liberal; not willing to give himself much labour, if he can avoid it, but he exerts himself readily for the sake of his kinsmen. As to his nephew, he is shrewd enough, and gives himself no little license—not as did Valentino, but yet little less.] Zorzi is here alluding to Lorenzo de' Medici, and he asserts positively what others have denied (and more particularly Vettori), namely, that Lorenzo himself had eagerly striven to possess himself of Urbino. Julian is reported to have entreated the pope only two days before his (Julian's) death, that he would spare Urbino, where he had been received and sheltered so kindly after his expulsion from Florence, but the pope would not listen to him: he replied,—"Non è da parlar deste cose" [This is no time to be talking of these matters]; and this he did because, "de altra parte Lorenzin li era attorno in volerli tuor lo stato" [on the other side, Lorenzo was pressing him to take possession of the duchy].

Among the advisers of the pope, he first alludes to Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., whose talents he does not estimate so highly as others have done. "E hom da ben, hom di non molte facende, benche adesso il manegio di la corte è in le sue mani, che prima era in S. M^ta^ in Portego." [He is a good man, but of no great ability, although the principal management of the court is at this time in his hands. He was formerly at the court of Portugal.] He next speaks of Bibbiena, whom he considers to be in the interests of Spain, because he had been enriched by Spanish

benefices; and lastly he mentions Lorenzo, "qual a animo gaiardo" [who is active and spirited].

The name of Lorenzo leads him to speak of Florence. He says a few words in regard to the constitution, but adds,—"Hora non si serva piu ordine: quel ch'el vol (Lorenzin) è fatto. Tamen Firenze è piu Francese che altrimente, e la parte contraria di Medici non pol far altro, ma non li piace questa cosa." [At this time all order is disregarded: what he (Lorenzo) wills, that is done. Yet Florence is rather disposed towards the French than otherwise; and the party opposed to the Medici cannot make an alteration, although this state of things does not please them.] The militia and regular troops had been partially disbanded. The revenues consisted, first, of the duties paid at the gates and in the city, which amounted to 74,000 ducats; secondly, of the sums drawn from the towns tributary to Florence, amounting to 120,000 ducats; and thirdly, of the *balzello*, a direct impost, and sort of tithe, producing 160,000 ducats.

This brings him to the revenues of the pope, which he estimates to be altogether about 420,000 ducats; and he then returns to the expenditure and personal qualities of the pontiff. "E docto in humanità e jure canonicho, et sopra tutto musico excellentissimo, e quando el canta con qualche uno, li fa donar 100 e piu ducati: e per dir una cosa che si dimenticò, il papa trahe all' anno di vacantie da duc. 60,000 e piu, ch'è zercha duc. 8,000 al mese, e questi li spende in doni, in zuogar a primier di che molto si diletta." [He is learned in classic literature and the canon law, and above all is a most excellent musician: when he sings with any one, he causes that person to be given 100 ducats, or more; and, to mention a circumstance previously forgotten (by him, the ambassador), the pope derives from vacancies some 60,000 ducats, or more, annually, which is about 8,000 ducats per month; and this he expends in gifts, and in playing at primero, a game in which he delights greatly.]

These examples suffice to shew the lively and graphic character of Zorzi's report: it is given with infinite simplicity, and in an easy conversational style, so that the reader seems to hear and see all that the author describes.

No. 8.

Summary of the Report of Marco Minio, returned from the Court (of Rome), June, 1520, Sanuto, vol. 27.

Marco Minio was the successor of Zorzi, but his report is unfortunately very short.

He begins with the revenues, which he finds to be inconsiderable. "Il papa a intrada per il papato pocha: son tre sorte de intrade: d'annate traze all' anno 100 m. duc., ma le annate consistorial, ch'è episcopati e abbatie, la mita è de cardinali; di officj traze all' anno 60 m.; di composition 60 m. Non a contadi (contante), perche è liberal, non sa tenir danari, poi li Fiorentini e soi parenti non li lassa mai aver un soldo, e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perche in ogni cosa è Fiorentini. Il papa sta neutral fra Spagna e Franza: ma lui orator tien pende da Spagna, perche è sta pur messo in caxa da Spagnoli, etiam asumpto al papato. Il cardinal di Medici suo nepote, qual non è legitimo, a gran poter col papa: è hom di gran manegio: a grandissima autorità, tamen non fa nulla se prima non dimanda al papa di cose di conto: hora si ritrova a Firenze a governar quella città: il cardinal Bibbiena è appresso assa del papa, ma questo Medici fa il tutto." [The pope has but a small income from the papacy, and the revenues are of three kinds: first, the annates, from which he derives 100,000 ducats annually; but of the consistorial annates, which are drawn from the bishopries and abbacies, the one half belongs to the cardinals: from the various offices he draws about 60,000; and from compositions 60,000 ducats the year. He has no ready money, because he is very liberal, and cannot keep money; and, moreover, the Florentines and his relations will never permit him to retain a penny; and the said Florentines are greatly detested at court, for in every thing said or done there must ever be mingled these Florentines. The pope remains neutral between France and Spain; but he, the speaker, considers the pope to be inclined towards Spain, because he was restored to his native city by Spain, and even owes to the Spaniards his elevation to the papacy. The cardinal de' Medici, his nephew, who is not of legitimate birth, has great influence with the pope; he is a man of much practical ability.—(We

perceive from this remark, that the cardinal's reputation had increased since the time of Zorzi.) He possesses great authority, yet he does nothing of importance without first consulting the pope: he is now at Florence, where he holds the government of the city. Cardinal Bibbiena is also in considerable esteem with the pope, but this Medici does every thing.]

The ambassador assures his countrymen that the sentiments of the pope are tolerably favourable towards them (the Venetians). He did not certainly desire to see Venice greater than she was, but would not permit the republic to be destroyed for any advantage in the world.

No. 9.

Diary of Sebastiano de Branca de Telini, in the Barberini Library, No. 1103.

This diary is comprised in sixty-three leaves, and extends from the 22nd of April, 1494, to 1513, and the times of Leo X. It is certainly not to be compared to Burcardus; and since very little of what was passing was known to the writer of it, we cannot use it even for the rectification of that author's observations. Branca de Telini saw nothing more than was seen by all the world.

Thus he describes the entrance of Charles VIII., whose army he estimates at from 30,000 to 40,000 men. He considers Charles himself to be the most ill-looking man he had ever beheld; but his people, on the contrary, he thought the handsomest in the world: "la piu bella gente non fu vista mai" [a more beautiful race was never seen]. Telini must not be taken literally; he is fond of expressing himself in this manner. He relates that a man had paid as much as 300 ducats for a horse!

Cæsar Borgia was the most cruel man that ever lived. The times of Alexander were marked and distinguished by atrocities, famines, and exorbitant imposts. "Papa Alessandro gittao la data a tutti li preti e a tutti li officiali per tre anni e tutte le chiese di Roma e fora di Roma . . . . per fare la cruciata contro il Turco, e poi la dava allo figliuolo per fare meglio la guerra." Pope Alexander ordered the whole revenues of all the priests, and all the public officers, and all the

churches both within and without Rome, to be set aside for three years, for the purpose of a crusade against the Turks, and then he gave the total amount to his son for the more effectual prosecution of the war.] According to Branca, Cæsar Borgia gave audience to no one but his executioner Michilotto. All his servants went richly clothed: "vestiti di broccado d'oro e di velluto fino alle calze: se ne facevano le pianelle e le scarpe" [dressed in brocade of gold and silver even to their stockings; their slippers and shoes were made thereof].

Telini was a great admirer of Julius II. "Non lo fece mai papa quello che have fatto papa Julio." [Never did any pope so much as has been done by Pope Julius.] He enumerates the cities that he subdued, but is of opinion that by his wars he had rendered himself guilty of the death of 10,000 men.

Next came Leo: he began with promises, "che i Romani fossero fianchi di gabella, ed officii e beneficii che stanno nella cittade di Roma fossero dati alli Romani: ne fecero grand' allegrezze per Roma" [that the Romans should be free from imposts, and that all offices and benefices within the city of Rome should be conferred exclusively on Romans: all which occasioned great rejoicings throughout Rome].

Our diarist occasionally brings forward individuals in private life; and we are here made acquainted with the boldest and most renowned of procurators. "Ben^to Moccaro, il piu terribile uomo (mächtigste, gewaltigste), che mai fusse stato in Roma per un huomo privato in Roma." [Benvenuto Moccaro, the most terrible man (the most powerful—most violent) that ever had been seen in Rome for a private man in Rome.] He lost his life by means of the Orsini.

Even in this, otherwise unimportant work, we see the spirit of the times and of the several administrations reflected as in a mirror. We have the times of terror, of conquest, and of tranquillity, as exhibited under Alexander, Julius, and Leo, respectively. Other diaries, on the contrary, that of Cola Colleine for example, extending from 1521 to 1561, contain nothing whatever of importance.

No. 10.

Vita Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi per Franciscum Novellum Romanum, J. V. Professorem. Bibl. Barberini. [The Life of Leo X. Pontifex Maximus, by Francesco Novello, a native of Rome, Professor of Civil Law. Barberini Library.]

"Alii, longe melius et hæc et alia mihi incognita referre, et describere poterunt." [Others (remarks the author) could relate and describe what is here, and other things unknown to me, much better than I have done.] Without doubt they could; his little work is altogether insignificant.

No. 11.

Quædam historica quæ ad notitiam temporum pertinent pontificatuum Leonis X., Adriani VI., Clementis VII. Ex libris notariorum sub iisdem pontificibus. [Certain historical notices pertaining to the pontificates of Leo X., Adrian VI., and Clement VII., taken from the books of the notaries under the said pontiffs.] Extracted by Felix Contellorius. Barberini Library. 48 leaves.

Short notices of the contents of the instruments; as, for example—[Leo X. assigns to his sister the Countess de Medici de Rudolfi 285 golden ducats from the treasury, to be charged upon the dogana for sheep].

I have occasionally made use of these notices. Perhaps the most interesting and remarkable, as having hitherto remained without mention, is the following extract from a brief of the 11th of June, 1529:—Certain valuables belonging to the papal see had been given in pledge to Bernardo Bracchi, and at the time of the sacking of the city Bracchi thought it advisable to bury them in a garden. He confided the place of their concealment to one man only, a certain Geronimo Baccato of Florence, to whom he told it, to the end that some one might be able to point it out in case of any mischance befalling himself. Some short time after this confidence was made, Bernardo Bracchi was seized by the Germans and grievously maltreated; Geronimo, then believing that his friend had died under the torture, imparted the secret in his

turn to one sole person, and from a similar motive. But this man was not so discreet: the Germans heard of the concealed treasure, and by renewed and more severe tortures they compelled Bracchi at length to disclose the place of its deposit. To save the valuables, Bracchi entered into an obligation to pay the sum of 10,000 ducats; but Geronimo considered himself as a traitor, and killed himself from shame and rage.

No. 12.

Sommario di la relation fatta in pregadi per S. Aluixe Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma, 1523, *Mazo.* [Summary of the Report made in the Senate by Aluize Gradenigo, ambassador returned from Rome, 1523, May.] In Sanuto, vol. 34.

He first speaks of the city, which he declares to have increased in a short time by about 10,000 houses: next he proceeds to the constitution. Of the conservators he reports, that they claimed precedence of the ambassadors, who refused to allow the claim; with regard to the cardinals, he says that Giulio de' Medici had risen still higher in reputation; he calls him, "hom di summa autorità e richo cardinale, era il primo appresso Leon, hom di gran ingegno e cuor: il papa (Leone) feva quello lui voleva" [a man of the highest authority and a very rich cardinal, he ranked before all with Pope Leo, a man of great powers and high spirit: the pope (Leo) did whatever he desired to have done]. He describes Leo X. as "di statura grandissima, testa molto grossa, havea bellissima man: bellissimo parlador: prometea assa ma non atendea. . . . . Il papa si serviva molto con dimandar danari al imprestido, vendeva poi li officii, impegnava zoie, raze del papato e fino li apostoli per aver danaro" [of very lofty stature, with a very large head and a most beautiful hand: he was an admirable speaker, and made great promises, but did not keep them. The pope had very frequent recourse to borrowing money; he then sold the different offices, pledged the jewels and valuables of the papacy, and even the apostles (apostoli),*

* This may possibly mean the figures of the apostles in silver or other precious metals, or their relics; or it may possibly allude to the writs of appeal, so called in the canon law, and which may have been matter of sale; but this last is the less probable suggestion.—Tr.

to procure himself money]. He estimates the temporal revenues at 300,000 ducats; the ecclesiastical at 100,000.

He considers the policy of Leo to have been decidedly adverse to France. If at any time it seemed otherwise, the pope was only dissembling. "Fenzeva esso amico del re di Francia." [He feigned to be the friend of the French king.] But at the time to which our report refers, he was openly and avowedly opposed to France, the cause of which, according to Gradenigo, was that, "disse che m^r di Lutrech et m^r de l'Escu havia ditto che 'l voleva che le recchia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona" [M. de Lutrech and M. de l'Escu were reported to have said that he (the king) wished] "le recchia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona." Does this mean that he desired to have nothing remaining of the pope but his ears? Certainly a very coarse jest, and in extremely bad taste. Leo took it very ill. On receiving intelligence of the conquest of Milan, he is related to have said, that this was but the half of the battle.

Leo left the papal treasury so completely exhausted, that it was found needful to employ for his obsequies the wax candles that had been provided for those of the cardinal St. Giorgio, who had died a short time before him.

The ambassador awaited the arrival of Adrian VI. He describes the moderate and regular habits of that pontiff's life, and remarks, that he had at first maintained a strict neutrality between the two great parties. "Disse: il papa per opinion soa, ancora che 'l sia dipendente del imperador, è neutral, ed a molto a cuor di far la trieva per atender a le cose del Turco, e questo si judica per le sue operation cotidiane come etiam per la mala contentezza del vicere di Napoli, che venne a Roma per far dichiarar il papa imperial, e S. S^tà non volse, onde si partì senza conclusion. Il papa è molto intento a le cose di Hungaria e desidera si fazi la impresa contra infideli, dubita che 'l Turco non vegni a Roma, però cerca di unir li principi christiani e far la paxe universal, saltem trieve per tre anni." [It is said that the pope, as regards his own opinion, is neutral, although he is a dependant on the emperor, and has it much at heart to effect a truce, that he may the better attend to the affair of the Turks. These things are inferred from his daily proceedings, as well as from the discontent of the viceroy of Naples, who repaired to Rome in

the hope of prevailing on the pontiff to declare himself for the emperor; but his holiness refused to do so; whence the viceroy departed without arriving at his ends. The pope is deeply intent on the affairs of Hungary, and desires that an expedition should be set on foot against the infidels. He is afraid that the Turk may effect a descent upon Rome, and is therefore anxious to see the Christian princes united, and to make universal peace, or, at the least, a truce for three years.]

No. 13.

Summario del viazo di oratori nostri andono a Roma a far la obedientia a papa Hadriano VI. [Summary of the journey made by our ambassadors to Rome to present our allegiance to Pope Adrian VI.]

This is the only report which possesses the interest of a traveller's description, and which also alludes to subjects connected with art.

The ambassadors describe the flourishing state of Ancona, and the fertility of the March. In Spello they were hospitably received by Orazio Baglione, and proceeded thence to Rome.

They also describe an entertainment given to them by Cardinal Cornelio, a fellow-countryman. The account they give of the music they heard while at table is worthy of notice: "A la tavola vennero ogni sorte de musici, che in Roma si atrovava, li pifari excellenti di continuo sonorono, ma eravi clavicembani con voce dentro mirabilissima, liuti e quatro violoni." [There were brought to the table every kind of musician to be found in Rome: excellent flute-players were sounding continually; there were harpsichords producing most wonderful tones, with lutes and four violins.] Grimani also invited them to a feast. "Poi disnar venneno alcuni musici, tra li quali una donna brutissima che cantò in liuto mirabilmente." [Then at dinner there were musicians, and among them a most ill-favoured woman, who sang to the lute most admirably.]

They next visited the churches; at that of Santa Croce certain ornaments were in course of preparation for the doors: "Alcuni arnesi e volte di alcune porte di una preda raccolta

delle anticaglie" [Some ornaments and arches of doors gathered from the spoils of antiquity.] Every little stone that was being wrought there deserved, in their opinion, to be set in gold and worn on the finger. They next proceed to the Pantheon, and there an altar was in process of erection, at the foot of which was the grave of Raphael. They were shewn decorations, apparently of gold, looking as pure as that of the Rhenish "gülden;" but they were of opinion that if the gold had been real, Pope Leo would not have permitted it to remain there. They express their admiration of the columns—larger than their own of St. Mark. "Sostengono un coperto in colmo, el qual è di alcune travi di metallo." [They support the roof, which is a dome, and is formed by certain beams of metal.]

They give themselves up, with infinite simplicity, to their admiration of the Roman antiquities. I know not whether this book will fall into the hands of antiquaries. The following description of the colossal statues in the Quirinal (on Monte Cavallo) is, at least, very striking. "Monte Cavallo è ditto perche alla summità del colle benissimo habitato vi è una certa machina de un pezo di grossissimo muro (cine robe basis), sopra uno di cantoni vi è uno cavallo di pietra par de Istria molto antiquo e della vetustà corroso e sopra l'altro uno altro, tutti doi dal mezo inanzi zoe testa, collo, zampe, spalle e mezo di dorso: appresso di quelli stanno due gran giganti, huomini due fiate maggiore del naturale, ignudi, che con un brazzo li tengono: le figure sono bellissime, proportionate e di la medesima pietra di cavalli, bellissimi si i cavalli come gli huomeni, sotto una di quali vi sono bellissime lettere majuscule che dicono opus Fidie e sotto l'altro opus Praxitelis." [Monte Cavallo is so called, because, on the summit of the hill, which is very well peopled, there is a certain structure, formed of a piece of very rough wall (a rude pedestal), on one of the angles of which there is a horse of stone—apparently Istrian—very ancient and corroded by time, and on the other corner is another horse, both of them modelled from the middle forwards, the head, neck, fore-feet, shoulders, and half the back; beside them stand two great giants, men double the natural size, naked, and each holding back one of these horses with one arm. The figures are very beautiful, finely proportioned, and of the same stone with the horses; and the horses are also beautiful,—

equally so with the men: under one of them are inscribed the words "Opus Phidiæ," and under the other "Opus Praxitelis," both inscriptions being in handsome capital letters.] The ambassadors then visit the Capitol, where they find, among many other beautiful statues, "uno villano di bronzo, che si cava un spin da un pe, fatto al natural rustico modo: par a cui lo mira voglia lamentarsi di quel spin—cosa troppo excellente" [a peasant in bronze, drawing a thorn from his foot, made in the natural rustic manner; to those who look at him he seems to be lamenting the pain of that thorn—a work of absolute excellence]. They next proceed to the Belvedere, where they admire above all things the Laocoon. The German lansquenets have hitherto been charged with having rendered it necessary to restore an arm to this masterpiece of art, but we here find that the arm had disappeared before the city had been entered by these soldiers. "Ogni cosa è integra, salvoche al Laocoonte gli manca il brazzo destro." [Every thing is entire except that the right arm of Laocoon is wanting.] They are in an ecstasy of admiration, and declare of the whole group that "non gli manca che lo spirito" [it wants nothing but life]. They describe the boys extremely well: "L'uno volendosi tirare dal rabido serpente con il suo brazello da una gamba nè potendosi per modo alcuno ajutar, sta con la faccia lacrimosa cridando verso il padre e tenendolo con l'altra mano nel sinistro brazzo. Si vede in sti puttini doppio dolore, l'uno per vedersi la morte a lui propinqua, l'altro perche il padre non lo puol ajutare e si languisce." [One of them is labouring with his little arm to withdraw his leg from the rabid serpent; but finding that he cannot help himself, is turning his weeping face imploringly towards his father, whose left arm he holds with his other hand. A different sorrow is perceived in each of these boys; the one is grieving for the death that he sees so near him, the other because his father can give them no help, but is himself suffering and his strength failing him.] They add the remark that King Francis I. had requested the gift of this noble work from the pope, when they met at Bologna; but his holiness would not consent to rob his Belvedere of the original, and was having a copy made for the king. They tell us that the boys were already finished, but that if the maestro lived five hundred years and laboured a hundred at his copy, it would never attain the perfection of the original. In the

Belvedere they also found a young Flemish artist, who had executed two statues of the pope.

They next inform us of the pontiff and of his court. The most important fact they communicate is, that the cardinal of Volterra, who had previously been able to repress the Medici, had been arrested and was held in prison, because letters of his had been seized, wherein he exhorted King Francis to venture an attack on Italy at that moment, seeing that he could never hope to find a more favourable opportunity. This enabled Cardinal Medici to rise again, and the imperial ambassador Sessa supported him. The change in Adrian's policy may very probably have been determined by this incident.

No. 14.

Clementis VII., P. M., Conclave et Creatio. [Clement VII., Pontifex Maximus, the Conclave and his Elevation.] Barberini Library, No. 4, 70 leaves.

We find the following remark on the title-page:—"Hoc conclave sapit stylum Joh. Bapt. Sangæ, civis Romani, qui fuit Clementi VII. ab epistolis." [The style of this conclave resembles that of Giovanni Battista Sanga, epistolary secretary to Clement VII.] But this opinion may be rejected without hesitation. Another MS. of the Barberini Library, bearing the title, "Vianesii Albergati Bononiensis commentarii rerum sui temporis" [Commentaries on the affairs of his own times, by Vianesio Albergati of Bologna]; contains nothing besides this conclave. It forms the first part of his "Commentaries," of which there is no continuation to be found. We may assume, therefore, that the author of the above-mentioned conclave was Vianesio Albergati.

But who was this author? Mazzuchelli names many Albergati, but not this one.

In a letter of Girolamo Nepo, we find the following anecdote. A native of Bologna caused intimation to be given to Pope Adrian VI., that he, the Bolognese, had an important secret to communicate to his holiness, but had no money to defray the cost of his journey to Rome. Messer Vianesio, a friend and favourite of the Medici, made interest for him,

and at length the pope told him he might advance the twenty-four ducats required by the Bolognese for his journey, which should be returned to him. Vianesio did so; his man arrived, and was brought into the palace with the utmost secrecy. "Holy Father," said he, "if you would conquer the Turks, you must prepare a vast armament both by land and sea." This was all he had to say. "Per Deum!" exclaimed the pope, whom this greatly irritated, the next time he saw Messer Vianesio, "this Bolognese of yours is a great cheat; but it shall be at your cost that he has deceived me;" and he never returned the twenty-four ducats expended by Vianesio. This Albergati is in all probability the author of the Conclave in question; for in the little work before us he says that he had acted as intermediary between the Medici and the pope—"Me etiam internuntio." He was well acquainted with Adrian, whom he had previously known in Spain.

He has, nevertheless, erected to the memory of this pontiff the most inglorious monument that can well be conceived. His remarks serve to shew us the extent and depth of that hatred which Adrian had awakened among the Italians. "Si ipsius avaritiam, crudelitatem, et principatus administrandi inscitiam considerabimus, barbarorumque quos secum adduxerat asperam feramque naturam, merito inter pessimos pontifices referendus est." [If we consider his avarice, cruelty, and ignorance of the administration of the principality, with the rough and savage nature of the barbarians he brought with him, he may fairly be accounted among the worst of the popes.] He is not ashamed to repeat the most contemptible lampoons on the departed pontiff. One, for example, where Adrian is first compared to an ass, then to a wolf: "Post paulo faciem induit lupi acrem" [presently after he puts on the fierce looks of a wolf]; nay, finally, even to Caracalla and Nero. But if we ask for proofs of this imputed worthlessness, we find the ill-used pontiff fully justified, even by what Vianesio himself relates.

Pope Adrian VI. had a room in the Torre Borgia, the key of which he always kept in his own possession, and which those around him named the "Sanctum Sanctorum." This room was eagerly examined on the death of the pontiff. As he had received much and spent nothing, it was supposed that

his treasures would be found in this chamber; but the sole contents were books and papers, with a few rings of Leo X., and scarcely any money. It was then at last admitted, "male partis optime usum fuisse" [that good use had been made of what had been ill gotten].

The complaints of this author as to the delays interposed in public business may be better founded. It was Adrian's habit to say, "Cogitabimus, videbimus" [We'll consider of it, we'll see about it]. It is true that he referred the applicant to his secretary; but after long delays, this officer also referred him to the auditor of the treasury, who was indeed a well-intentioned man, but one who could never bring any matter to a close, bewildering himself by an excessive, but ill-directed activity. "Nimia ei nocebat diligentia." [He was impeded by excess of diligence.] The applicant returned once more to Adrian, who repeated his "Cogitabimus, videbimus."

But in proportion with his abuse of Adrian is the eulogy he bestows on the Medici and Pope Leo X. His goodness, the security enjoyed under his government, and even his architectural labours are all lauded in turn.

From the remaks of Albergati, I conclude that the Arazzi of Raphael were originally designed for the Sistine Chapel. "Quod quidem sacellum Julius II. opera Michaelis Angeli pingendi sculpendique scientia clarissimi admirabili exornavit pictura, quo opere nullum absolutius extare ætate nostra plerique judicant; moxque Leo X. ingenio Raphaelis Urbinatis architecti et pictoris celeberrimi auleis auro purpuraque intextis insignivit, quæ absolutissimi operis pulchritudine omnium oculos tenent." [Which chapel Julius II. adorned with admirable paintings, the work of Michael Angelo, a most illustrious painter and sculptor, of which it is the general judgment that no work more perfect has existed in our times. And afterwards Leo X. further ornamented the halls with textures of gold and radiant colours, after the designs of that most renowned architect and painter, Raphael the Urbanese, the beauty of which most perfect work enchants the eyes of all men.]

No. 15.

Instruttione al Card^l Rev^mo di Farnese, che fu poi Paul III., quando andò legato all' Imp^re Carlo V. doppo il sacco di Roma. [Instruction to the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III., when he went as legate to the emperor Charles V. after the sack of Rome.]

I first found this instruction in the Corsini Library, No 467, and afterwards obtained a copy in the handwriting of the middle of the sixteenth century.

This document was known to Pallavicini, who refers to it in his "Istoria del Concilio di Trento," lib. ii. c. 13; but the following chapters will make it obvious that he has not made so much use of it as his words would imply; he has taken his narrative from other sources.

These instructions are highly important, not only as regards the affairs of the papacy, but also in relation to the collective policy of Europe at a most momentous period; they likewise contain many remarkable and weighty particulars not to be found elsewhere. I have therefore thought it advisable to print them entire, for it is certain that no mere extract would satisfy the well-informed reader; they amply merit the few pages that will be devoted to them.

In June, 1526, the pope had issued a brief, wherein he succinctly enumerated all the points on which he felt aggrieved by the emperor. To this the emperor made a very animated, not to say vehement, reply, in September, 1526. The state-paper which appeared at the time under the title "Pro Divo Carolo V. . . . apologetici libr" (see Goldast, Politica Imperialia, p. 984), contains a circumstantial refutation of the pope's assertions. To these writings the instruction before us may now be added. It will be found that they consist of two parts: one in which the pope is spoken of in the third person, and which was probably composed by Giberto, or some other confidential minister of the pontiff;—it is of the utmost importance in relation to the earlier events, whether during the pontificate of Leo or that of Clement: the second is much shorter, and begins with the words "Per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti" [Not to enter into the causes whereby we were constrained]; and here the pope

speaks in the first person: it was therefore most probably drawn up by himself. Both are prepared with a view to the justification of the measures taken by the Roman court, and are calculated to place the proceedings of the viceroy of Naples, on the other hand, in the worst possible light. It would, without doubt, be unadvisable to trust them to the letter on each separate point, for we occasionally find misrepresentation of facts. It would be desirable to know what was the reply of the imperial court to the charges here made. Yet, in general, not only the papal policy, but also a considerable part of that of Spain, is elucidated by this document. We find, for example, that even so early as the year 1525, there were some thoughts of annexing Portugal to Spain.

"Ill^mo Rev^mo Signore. Nella difficultà della provincia che è toccata alle mani di V. S. Ill^ma e R^ma, tanto grande quanto ella stessa conosce, et nella recordatione della somma et estrema miseria nella quale siamo, penso che non sarà se non di qualche rilevamento a quella, haver quella informatione che si può di tutte l'attioni che sono accadute tra N. Signore e la M^tà Cesarea et in esse conoscere che V. S. R^ma va a prencipe del quale S^a S^tà et la casa sua è piu benemerita che nessun altra che nè per li tempi passati nè per li presenti si possa ricordare; et se qualche offensione è nata in quest' ultimo anno, non è causata nè da alienatione che S^a S^tà havessi fatto della solita voluntà et amore verso sua Maestà o per disegni particulari d'aggrandire i suoi o altri o per abbassare la reputatione o stato suo, ma solo per necessità di non comportare d'esser oppresso da chi haveva et auttorità et forze in Italia, et per molte prove che sua B^e havessi fatto per nuntii, lettere, messi et legati, non era mai stato possibile trovarci remedio.

"La S^tà di N. Signore da che cominciò a esser tale da poter servir la corona di Spagna et la casa della Maestà Cesarea, il che fu dal principio del pontificato della S^tà M^ria di Leone suo fratello, con el quale poteva quanto ogn' uno sa et la M^tà sua ha provato, fu sempre di tanto studio et servitù della parte Spagnuola et imperiale che non si potrà numerar beneficio o gratia o sodisfattione di cosa alcuna che questa parte in ogni tempo habbi ricevuta dalla S^tà M^ria di Leone et della chiesa, nella quale non solo N. Signore stando in minoribus non si sia

trovato o non adversario o consentiente solo, ma ancora auttore, indrizzatore et conduttore del tutto. Et per toccare quelle cose che sono di piu importantia solamente: le lega che si fece il secondo et terzo anno della S^ta^ M^ria^ di Leone per adversare alla venuta prima che fece il christianissimo re Francesco passò tutta per mano di S. S^ta^, et ella andò in persona legato per trovarsi in fatto con gli altri. Dove essendo riusciti li disegni diversamente da quello che s'era imaginato, et constretto papa Leone a fare quelli accordi che potè con el chr^mo^, il cardinale de Medici hebbe quella cura di conservare il papa Spagnuolo che ogn' uno di quelli che all' hora vi si trovorono posson render testimonio, et usò tutta l'auttorità che haveva col papa suo fratello, che la voluntà et estremo desiderio che el christianissimo haveva di seguir la vittoria et passar con tanto esercito et favore nel regno, fussi raffrenato hor con una scusa et hor con un altra, et tra le altre che essendo il re cattolico vecchio et per l'infermità gia a gli ultimi anni, S. M^ta^ aspettasse l'occasione della morte sua, nel qual tempo l'impresa riuscirebbe senza difficultà alcuna. Et succedendo assai presto doppo questi ragionamenti la morte del re cattolico, che credo non ci fusse un mese di tempo, con quant' arte et fatica fussi necessario reprimere l'instantia grande che el christianissimo ne faceva, ne sarebber testimonio le lettere di propria mano di S^a^ M^ta^, se questi soldati, che tra le altre cose hanno ancor saccheggiato tutte le scritture, o ci le rendessero over le mandassero all' imperatore. Et queste cose con molte altre, che tutte erano in preparar quieta e stabile la heredità et successione della persona hora dell' imperatore et in assicurarlo etiam vivente l'avo de maestrati di Spagna, tutte faceva el cardinale de Medici non per privato commodo suo alcuno, anzi direttamente contro l'utile particulare, non havendo rendita alcuna di momento se non nel dominio di Francia, et non procurando mai d'haver ristoro in quel di Spagna. Successe la morte dell' imperatore Massimiliano, et essendo Leone inclinato alla parte del christianissimo per quella dignità et opponendosi alli conati della M^ta^ Cesarea d'hora, non passò il termine dell' elettione che el cardinal de Medici condusse il papa a non contravenirvi, e doppo fatta l'elettione ad approvarla, assolverlo dalla simonia, dal pergiuro, che non poteva, essendo re di Napoli, sì come vuole la costitutione di papa . . . . . procurar d'essere, imperatore, rin-

vestirlo et darli di nuovo il regno di Napoli: in che non so—se l'affettion grande et l'oppinione nella quale el cardinal de Medici era entrato della bontà, prudentia et religione della M^tà sua, non lo scusasse—se fusse piu o il servitio, che può molto apertamente dire d'haver fatto grandissimo alla M^tà sua, overo il deservitio fatto al fratello cioè al papa et alla chiesa, favorendo et nutrendo una potentia tanto grande e da considerare che un dì da questo fiume poteva erumpere una devastatione et oltraggio sì grande come hora è seguito. Ma vedendo il cardinale queste due potenze di Spagna et Francia divise di sorte che malamente non contrapesando l'una coll' altra si poteva sperar pace, andò prima con questo disegno d'aggiunger tanta auttorità et forze al re di Spagna che essendo uguale al christianissimo dovessi haver rispetto di venire a guerra, et se pur la disgratia portasse che non si potesse far dimeno, essendo l'oppinione d'anteporre il re di Spagna al christ^mo, Spagna fussi in modo ferma et gagliarda che attaccandosi in un caso simile a quella parte si potesse sperarne buon esito et certa vittoria. Et questo lo provassi con altro che a parole, se forse le cose sopradette fusser così oscure che havesser bisogno di piu aperta fede: ne farà testimonio la conclusa lega con Cesare contra Francia, et tanto dissimili le conditioni che si promettevano da un lato a quelle dell' altro, che non solo Leone non doveva venire a legarsi coll' imperatore, essendo in sua libertà et arbitrio d'elegger quel che piu faceva per lui, ma essendo legato doveva fare ogni opera per spiccarsene: et per mostrar brevemente esser con effetto quanto io dico, l'imperatore si trovava in quel tempo che Leone fece lega seco, privo d'ogni auttorità, nervo, amici et reputatione, havendo perduto in tutto l'obbedienza in Spagna per la rebellione di tutti i populi, essendo tornato dalla dieta che sua M^tà haveva fatta in Vormatia, escluso d'ogni conclusion buona d'ajuti et di favori che si fussi proposto d'ottenere in essa, havendo la guerra gia mossa ne suoi paesi in due lati, in Fiandra per via di Roberto della Marca et in Navarra, il qual regno gia era tutto andato via et ridottosi all' obbedienza del re favorito da i Francesi: li Suizzeri poco inanzi s'eron di nuovo allegati col christianissimo con una nuova conditione d'obbligarsi alla defensione dello stato di Milano, che el re possedeva, cosa che mai per inanzi non havevon voluto fare: et il ser^mo re d'Anglia, nel quale forse l'imperatore faceva

fondamento per il parentado tra loro et per la nemistà naturale con Francia, mostrava esser per star a veder volentieri, come comprobò poi con li effetti, non si movendo a dar pure un minimo ajuto all' imperatore per molta necessità in che lo vedessi et per molta instantia che gli ne fusse fatta, salvo doppo la morte di Leone. Il christianissimo all' incontro, oltre la potentia grande unita da se et la pronta unione che haveva con l'Ill^ma^ Signoria et che haveva questa nuova lianza de Suizzeri, si trovava tanto piu superior nel resto quanto li causano la potentia sua et la facevano maggiore li molti et infiniti disordini ne quali dico di sopra che l'imperatore si trovava. Le speranze et propositioni dei premii et comodità del successo et prosperità che le cose havessero havuto eron molto diverse: il christianissimo voleva dar di primo colpo Ferrara alla chiesa inanzi che per sua M^tà^ si facessi altra impresa, poi nell' acquisito del regno di Napoli S^a^ M^à^ christianissima, per non venire a i particulari, dava tante comodità alla chiesa circa ogni cosa che gli tornava di piu comodo piu utilità et sicurtà assai, che non sarebbe stato se ce l'havesse lassato tutto; in quest' altra banda non era cosa nessuna se non proposito di metter lo stato di Milano in Italiani et far ritornar Parma et Piacenza alla chiesa: et nondimeno, essendo et la facilità dell' impresa in una parte et nell' altra il pericolo così ineguale et aggiungendovisi ancora la disparità de i guadagni sì grande, potette tanto la voluntà del cardinale de Medici appresso al papa, et appresso a S. S. Rev^à^ l'oppinione della bontà et religione della Maestà Cesarea, che mettendosi nella deliberatione che era necessaria di fare o in un luogo o in un altro questa imaginazione inanzi agli occhi, non volle dar parte della vista all' altro consiglio nè altro esamine se non darsi in tutto et per tutto a quella parte donde sperava piu frutti d'animo santo et christiano che da qualsivoglia altri premii che temporalmente havesser potuto pervenire per altra via. Et che sia vero chi non ha visto che non essendo successe le cose in quel principio come si sperava, et essendo consumati i danari che per la prima portion sua la M^tà^ Cesarea haveva dato, et vedendo male il modo che si facessi provisione per piu, la S^ta^ M^tà^ di Leone per sua parte et S. S. Rev^ma^ molto piu per la sua non mancò mettervi la sustantia della patria sua et di quanti amici et servitori che havessi et per l'ultimo la persona sua propria,

della quale conobbe l'importantia et il frutto che ne seguì. Morì in quello papa Leone, et benche S. S. Rev^ma^ si trovasse nemico tutto il mondo, perche quelli che haveva offeso dalla parte francese tutti s'eron levati contro lo stato et dignità sua temporale et spirituale, gli altri della parte dell' Imp^re^ parte non lo volsero ajutare, parte gli furon contrarii, come V. S. Rev^ma^ et ogn' uno sa molto bene, non dimeno nè il pericolo o offerte grandi dei primi nè l'ingrattitudine o sdegno dei secondi bastorono mai tanto che lo facesser muovere pur un minimo punto della voluntà sua, parendoli che sicome l'animo di Cesare et l'oppinion d'esso era stato scopo et objetto, così quello dovessi esser sua guida: et non si potendo imaginar che questo nascessi dall' animo suo nè potendo per il tempo breve suspicarlo, volse piu presto comportar ogni cosa che mutarsi niente, anzi come se fussi stato il contrario, di nessuna cura tenne piu conto che di fare un papa buono parimente per la M^ta^ sua come per la chiesà: et che l'oppinione anzi certezza fussi che non sarebbe quasi stato differenza a far papa Adriano o l'Imp^re^ stesso, ogn' uno lo sa, sicome ancora è notissimo che nessuno fu piu auttore et conduttore di quella creatione che 'l cardinale de Medici.

"Hor qui fu il luogo dove il card^le^ de Medici hebbe a far prova, se 'l giudicio el quale S. S. haveva fatto della M^ta^ Cesarea gli riusciva tale quale S. S. Rev^ma^ s'era imaginato, perche inanzi l'ombra et indrizzo della S^ta^ M^ria^ di Leone haveva fatto che non si veniva a fare esperienza d'altro, et l'animo di S. S. tutto occupato a servir la M^ta^ sua, non haveva pensato di distraherlo in cura sua o di suoi particulari, nè era così avido o poco prudente che s'imaginasse i premii corrispondenti ai meriti, anzi in questo pareva d'haver perfettamente servito et meritato assai, non havendo objetto nessun tale et essendosi rimesso in tutto e per tutto alla discrettione et liberalità sua. E vero che trovandosi piu di due anni quasi prima che la M^ta^ sua non pensava nè credeva poter ricever tanto beneficio et servitio dalla casa de Medici, haver promesso per scritto di sua mano et disegnato et tenuto a tale instantia separatamente da quella uno stato nel regno di Napoli di 6 m. scudi et una moglie con stato in dote di 10 m. pur promesso a quel tempo per uno dei nipoti di papa Leone et di S. S. R^ma^, et non essendosi mai curati d'entrare in possesso del primo nè venir a effetto del secondo per parer

d'haver tutto in certissimo deposito in mano di sua Maestà, morto papa Leone et non essendo rimasto segno alcuno di bene verso la casa de Medici, che gli facessi ricordo d'haver havuto tanto tempo un papa, se non questo, mandando S. S. R^ma^ alla M^ta^ Cesarea a farli riverenza et dar conto di se, dette commissioni dell' espeditione di questa materia, che se ne facessi la speditione, la consignatione et li privilegii et venisse all' effetto. Ma successe molto diversamente da quello che non solo era l'oppinion nostra ma d'ogn' uno: perche in cambio di vedere che si pensasse a nuovi premii et grattitudine per li quali si conoscesse la recognitione de beneficii fatti alla M^ta^ sua, et la casa de Medici si consolasse vedendo non haver fatto molta perdita nella morte di Leone, si messe difficoltà tale nell' espeditione delle cose dette non come si fusse trattato di uno stato gia stabilito et debito per conto molto diverso et inferiore ai meriti grandi che s'erono aggiunti, prima di disputare, non altrimenti che se la casa de Medici gli fusse stata nemica, facendo objettioni di sorte che ancorche fusse stata in quel termine, non si devevon fare, perche la fede et quel che s'è una volta promesso si vuol servare in ogni tempo: pure si replicò et mostrò il torto che si riceveva talmente che in cambio di sperar piu o di havere almeno interamente quello che era promesso d'uno stato di 16 m. scudi 6 di S^a^ M^ta^ propria et 10 m. di dote che si doveva dare, si risolvette in tre: nel qual tempo essendo il cardinale de Medici bene informato di tutto, se S. S. R^ma^ non si mosse dalla devotione di S^a^ M^ta^ perseverando non come trattato ut supra ma come se fusse stato remunerato a satietà, si potrebbe dire che l'havessi fatto per forza, essendo la potenza dell' imperatore fermata di sorte che non poteva far altro, overo per mancarli partito con altri prencipi, overo per trovarsi in qualche gran necessità nella quale fusse piu pronto prestar ajuto all' imperatore che ad altri: ma chi si ricorda dello stato di quei tempi, che è facile essendo assai fresca la memoria, conoscerà che l'esercito e parte imperiale in Italia per el nuovo soccorso che i Francesi havean mandato reparando l'esercito et forze loro con l'Ill^ma^ Sig^ria^, era in grandissimo pericolo, et in mano d'alcuno era piu in Italia, per l'opportunità del stato amici, parenti, dependentie, denari et gente, che del cardinale de Medici far cader la vittoria in quella parte dove gli fusse parso a S. S. R^ma^ salda nella volontà verso l'imperatore, cercavono oppri-

merlo, non solo poteva sperare ajuto dalli Cesarei, ma essi male haverebbon fatto i fatti loro se da S. S. R^ta non havesser ricevuto ogni sorte di ajuto tanto ad acquistar la vittoria quanto a mantenerla, essendosi spogliato fino all' os a et se et la patria per pagare una grossa impositione che fu imposta per contribuire et pagar l'essercito et tenerlo unito. Direi volentieri, connumerando tutti i beneficii, officii et meriti infiniti del cardinale de Medici et di casa sua, qualche amorevol demostratione o specie di grattitudine che S^a M havessi usato inverso di loro, così per dire il vero come per scusare in questo modo questa perseverantia mai interrotta per alcun accidente verso S^a M^ta et difenderla da chi la volessi chiamare piu tosto ostinatione che vero giudicio, ma non vi essendo niente non lo posso far di nuovo, salvo se non si dicesse che in cambio di 22 m. sc. d'entrata perduti in Francia S^a M^ta gli ordinò sopra Toledo una pensione di 10 m. sc., dei quali ancora in parte ne resta creditore. E vero che nelle lettere che S^a M^ta scriveva in Italia a tutti li suoi ministri et oratori et capitani gli faceva honorifica mentione di S. S. R^ma, et cometteva che facessin capo a quella et ne tenessero gran conto per insino a commetterli che se dio disponesse della S^ta M^ria d'Adriano, non attendessero a far papa altri che S. S. R^ma: donde nasceva che tutti facevano nei negotii loro capo a Fiorenza et communicavano le facende, et quando s'haveva a trattar di danari o altra sorte d'ajuti, a nessuno si ricorreva con piu fiducia che a S. S. R^ma, favorendola gagliardamente contro la mala disposizione di papa Adriano per triste informationi ingeste da Volterra che mostrava haver di S. S^ria: nelle quai cose, non facendo ingiuria al buon animo che Cesare potesse havere con el cardinale, dirò bene che S^a M^ta si governava prudentissimamente in volere che si mantenessi una persona di tanta auttorità in Italia, la quale per poca recognitione che gli fussi stata fatta non si era mai mutato un pelo del solito suo, et non possendo succedere, così in questo come negli altri stati, che mutando la forma et regimento se ne fusse potuto sentire evidentissimi frutti et commodità che faceva sua Maestà stando integro in Fiorenzo el cardinale de Medici.

"Morto Adriano fu il cardinale creato papa, dove ancorche i ministri et altri dependenti da Cesare havesser gagliarda commissione, parte si portoron come volsero, et alcuni che all' ultimo descesero poi a favorir la sua elettione il primo protesto

che essi volsero fu che non intendevono per niente che S. S^tà conoscesse l'opera loro ad instantia dell' imperatore, ma che lo facevono per mera dispositione privata. Et nondimeno fatto papa ritenne S. S^tà la medesima persona del cardinal de Medici, quanto comportava una union tale insieme con la dignità nella quale dio l'haveva posto: et se in pesar queste due parti, del debito del pontefice et dell' affettion verso l'imperatore, S. S^tà non s'havesse lassato vincere et fatto pesar piu l'ultima, forse che il mondo sarebbe piu anni fa in pace, et non patiremmo hora queste calamità. Perche trovandosi nel tempo che S^a S^tà fu papa, due esserciti gagliardi in Lombardia, di Cesare et del christianissimo, et il primo oppresso da molte difficultà di potersi mantenere, se N. S. non l'ajutava, come fece con lassar le genti ecclesiastiche et Fiorentine in campo, con darli tante decime nel regno che ne cavavano 80 m. scudi, et farli dar contributioni di Fiorenza, et S^a S^tà ancora privatamente denari et infinite altre sorti d'ajuti, forse quella guerra havrebbe havuto altro esito et piu moderato et da sperar fine ai travagli et non principio a nuove et maggiori tribulationi, alle quali sperando N. S. tanto ritrovar forma quanto oltre all' auttorità ordinaria che credeva haver coll' imperatore et per consigliarlo bene ci haveva ancora aggiunto queste nuove dimostrationi, senza le quali non havrebbe potuto vincere, perche et me n'ero scordato senz' esse mai lo Signoria faceva unir l'esercito suo, non solo non fu dato luogo alcuno al suo consiglio, che dissuadeva di passare in Francia con l'esercito, anzi in molte occorentie si cominciò a mostrare di tenere un poco conto di S^a S^tà, et favorir Ferrara in dispreggio di quella, et, in cambio di lodarsi et ringratiarla di quanto haveva fatto per loro, querelarsi di quel che non s'era fatto a voglia loro, non misurando prima che tutto si facessi per mera dispositione senza obbligo alcuno, et poi, se ben ce ne fussero stati infiniti, che molto maggior doveva esser quello che tirava S^a Santità a fare il debito suo con Dio che con l'imperatore.

"L'esito che hebbe la guerra di Francia mostrò se el consiglio di N. Sig^re era buono, che venendo el christianissimo adosso all' esercito Cesareo ch'era a Marsiglia, lo costrinse a ritirarsi, di sorte, e 'l re seguiva con celerità, che prima fu entrato in Milano ch'essi si potesser provedere, et fu tanto terrore in quella giornata del vicerè, secondo che l'huomo di S. S^tà che era presso a S. Ecc^za scrisse, che non sarebbe stato

partito quale S. Signoria non avessi accettato dal re, et prudentemente: vedendosi in estrema rovina se la ventura non l'havessi ajutato con fare che el christianissimo andasse a Pavia et non a Lodi, dove non era possibile stare con le genti che vi s'eron ridotte. Hora le cose si trovavano in questi termini et tanto peggiori quanto sempre in casi così subiti l'huomo s'imagina, et N. S. in malissima intelligentia col chr ° et poca speranza di non haver a sperar se non male da S^{a} M^{tà} et rimanerli odiato in infinito, essendosi governata come dirò appresso con quella verità che debbo et sono obligato in qualsivoglia luogo che piu potessi stringere a dirla di quel che io mi reputi al presente.

"Fatto che fu N. Sig^{re} papa, mandò el christianissimo di mandar subito messi a supplicare a S. S^{tà}, che come dio l'haveva posta in luogo sopra tutti, così ancora si volessi metter sopra se stessa et vincer le passioni quali gli potesser esser rimaste o di troppa affettione verso l'imperatore o di troppo mala voluntà verso di lui, et che rimarebbe molto obbligato a dio et a S. S^{tà} se tenessi ogn' uno ad un segno, interponendosi a far bene, ma non mettendosi a favorir l'una parte contro l'altra: et se pure per suoi interessi o disegni S. B^{ne} giudicasse bisognarli uno appoggio particulare d'un prencipe, qual poteva havere meglio del suo, che naturalmente et a figliuolo della chiesa et non emulo, desiderava et era solito operar grandezza di essa et non diminutione, et quanto alla voluntà poi da persona a persona, gli farebbe ben partiti tali che S. S^{tà} conoscerebbe che molto piu ha guadagnato in farsi conoscere quanto meritava offendendo et deservendo lui, che ajutando et favorendo l'imperatore, venendo in particulari grandi.

"Nostro Signore accettava la prima parte d'essere amorevole a' tutti, et benche poi con li effetti dependessi piu dall' imperatore, oltre alla inclinazione lo faceva ancora con certissima speranza di poter tanto con l'imperatore che facilmente lassandosi Sua M^{tà} Cesarea governare et muovere, a Sua S^{tà} non fussi per essere sì grave quello che offendeva el christianissimo, quanto gli sarebbe comodo poi in facilitare et ajutare gli accordi che se havessero havuto a fare in la pace. Ma succedendo altrimenti et facendo il re, mentre che l'essercito Cesarea era a Marsiglia, resolutione di venire in Italia, mandò credo da Azais (Aix) un corriere con la carta bianca a N. Sig^{re} per mezzo del sig^{re} Alberto da Carpi con capitulatione

favor vole et amplissimi mandati et con una dimostration d'animo tale che certo l'haverebbe possuto mandare al proprio imperatore, perche di voler lo stato di Milano in poi era contento nel resto di riporsi in tutto et per tutto alla voluntà et ordine di Nostro Signore: et non ostante questo Sua Santità non si volse risolver mai se non quando non la prima ma la seconda volta fu certa della presa di Milano et hebbe lettere dall' huomo suo, che tutto era spacciato et che el vicerè non lo giudicava altrimenti. Mettasi qualsivoglia o amico o servitore o fratello o padre o l'imperatore medesimo in questo luogo, et vegga in questo subito et ancora nel seguente, che cosa havria potuto fare per beneficio suo che molto meglio S. S^{ta} non habbia fatto? dico meglio: perche son certo che quelli da che forse S. M^{t} ha sperato et spera miglior voluntà, poiche si trovano obbligati, havrebber voluto tenere altro conto dell' obbligo che non fece la S. S^{ta}; la quale havendo riposto in man sua far cessar l'arme per far proseguir la guerra nel regno di Napoli et infiniti altri comodi et publici et privati, non s'era obligata ad altro in favor dell' christianissimo se non a farli acquistar quello che gia l'esercito di Cesare teneva per perduto et in reprimerlo di non andare inanzi a pigliare il regno di Napoli, nel quale non pareva che fussi per essere molta difficultà: et chi vuol farsi bello per li eventi successi al contrario, deve ringratiare dio che miracolosamente et per piacerli ha voluto così, et non attribuir nulla a se, et riconoscer che 'l papa fece quella capitulazione per conservar se et l'imperatore et non per mala volontà. Perche trovando poi per sua disgratia el re difficultà nell' impresa per haverla presa altrimenti di quel che si doveva, N. S^{re} lo lassò due mesi d'intorno a Pavia senza dar un sospiro di favore alle cose sue, et benche questo fusse assai beneficio delli Spagnuoli, non mancò ancora far per loro, dandoli del suo stato tutte le comodità che potevon disegnare, non mancando d'interporsi per metter accordo quanto era possibile tra loro: ma non vi essendo ordine et sollecitando il re, che N. Sig^{re} si scoprisse in favor suo per farli acquistare tanto piu facilmente lo stato di Milano, et instando ancora che i Fiorentini facessero il medesimo, a che parimente come S. S^{ta} erono obbligati, fece opera di evitare l'haversi a scoprire nè dare ajuto alcuno, salvo di darli passo et vettovaglia per el suo stato a una parte dell' esercito, che sua M^{ta} voleva mandare nel regno per far diversione et

ridur piu facilmente all' accordo gl'imperiali. Oh che gran servitio fu questo ai Francesi, concedendoli cosa la quale era in facoltà loro di torsela, ancorche non glie l'havesse voluto dare, trovandosi disarmato et parendo pur troppo strano che havendo fatto una lega con S. M^tà christianissima non l'havendo voluto servir d'altro, gli negasse quello che non poteva, et una publicatione d'una concordia finta, come fu quella che si dette fuora all' hora per dare un poco di pastura a quella M^tà et fare che di manco mal animo comportasse che S. S^tà non osservasse ad unguem la capitulatione: et se si vorrà dire il vero, el christianissimo fu piu presto deservito che servito di quella separatione dell' esercito, perche furono le genti intertenute tanto in Siena et di poi in questo di Roma, che l'imperiali hebber tempo in Lombardia di far la prova che fecero a Pavia: la qual ottenuta, qualche ragione voleva che l'imperatore nè i suoi agenti nè huomo al mondo di quella parte si tenesse offeso da Sua S^tà o pensassi altro che farli servitio o piacere, se la religione non li moveva et il seguitare gli esempii degli altri prencipi, li quali non solo non hanno offeso i papi, che si sono stati a vedere, ma quando hanno ottenuto vittoria contro quella parte con la quale la chiesa si fussi adherita, gli hanno havuti in somma adherenza e riverenza e posto termine alla vittoria sua in chiederli perdono, honorarla et servirla. Lasciamo stare la religione da canto et mettiamo il papa et la chiesa in luogo di Moscovita, dove si trovò mai che a persona et stato che non ti occupa niente di quello a che la ragione vuole, tu possa pretendere? anzi havendo una continuata memoria d'haver tanti anni col favore, ajuto et sustantia sua et particularmente della persona ottenuto tante vittorie; et se hora si era adherito col re, lo fece in tempo nel quale non potendo ajutare se nè altri, gli parve d'havere una occasione divina di poter col mezzo dei nemici fare quel medesimo effetto, non gli dando piu di quello che o la forza loro o l'impotentia dell' imperatore gli concedeva, et poi quando el corso della vittoria si fermò per i Francesi, haverla piu tosto arenata che ajutata a spignere inanzi: che inhumanità inaudita, per non usar piu grave termine, fu quella, come se appunto non vi fusse stata alcuna di queste raggioni o fussero state al contrario, subito ottenuta la vittoria in Pavia et fatto prigione il re, cercare di far pace con gli altri, dei quali meritamente potevasi presumere d'essere stati offesi, alla chiesa et alla persona del papa subito indir la guerra

et mandarli uno esercito adosso? O gl'imperiali havevon veduti i capitoli della lega con el chr^mo o non gli havevon veduti. Havendo gli visti, come siam certi, essendo andate in man loro tutte le scritture di S. M^tà, dovevon produrli, et mostrando offensione in essi o nel tempo che furon conclusi overo nei particulari di cosa che fusse in pregiudicio alla M^tà Cesarea, giustificar con essi quello che contavano, se giustificatione alcuna pero vi potesse essere bastante. Non gli havendo visti, perche usar tale iniquità contra di....? Ma nè in scriptis non havendo visto cosa tale nè in fatto non havendolo provato, non havevon sentito offensione alcuna. Nè restò N. Sig^re per poco animo o per non potere, perche se l'ha dell' animo o del potere essi in loro beneficio l'havevon provato tanto tempo et del primo l'età not glien' haveva potuto levar niente et del secondo, la dignità glien' haveva aggiunto assai, nè anche perche S. S^tà havessi intercette alcune lettere di questi sig^ri nelle quali si vedeva che stavano gonfi et aspettavano occasione di vendicarsi della ingiuria che non riceverono da S. S^tà, ma per non reputar niente tutte queste cose, respetto alla giustitia et al dovere et buon animo della M^tà Cesarea, senza participation della quale non pensò mai che si mettesse a tentare cosa alcuna, et non possendo mai persuadersi che S. M^tà fusse per comportarlo. Pero accadde tutto il contrario, che subito senza dimora alcuna fecer passare l'esercito in quel della chiesa et constrinser S. S^tà a redimer la vexatione con 100 m. sc. et col far una lega con loro: la quale mandandosi in Spagna, la demostratione che S. M^tà ne fece d'haverlo a male fu che se in essa si conteneva qualche cosa che fusse in beneficio di N. Sig^re et della chiesa, non la volse ratificare, non ostante che quanto fu fatto in Italia, fussi con li mandati amplissimi della M^tà sua, et tra le altre cose v'era la reintegratione dei sali dello stato di Milano che si pigliasser dalla chiesa, et la restitution di Reggio, di che non volse far nulla. Havendo N. Sig^re veduto gabbarsi tante volte et sperando sempre che le cose dell' imperatore, ancorche alla presentia paressero altrimenti, in effetto poi fussero per riuscire migliori et havendo sempre visto riuscirli il contrario, cominciò a dare orecchie con tante prove che ne vedeva, a chi glie l'haveva sempre detto et perseverava che la M^tà sua tendessi alla oppressione di tutta Italia et volersene far sig^re assoluto, parendoli strano che senza un' objetto tale S. M^tà si governasse per se et per li suoi di qua

della sorte che faceva: et trovandosi in questa suspettione et mala contentezza di veder che non gli era osservato nè fede nè promessa alcuna, gli pareva che gli fusse ben conveniente adherire alla amicitia et pratiche di coloro li quali havessero una causa commune con la santità sua et fusser per trovar modi da difendersi da una violentia tale che si teneva: et essendo tra le altre cose proposto che disegnando Cesare levar di stato el duca di Milano et farsene padrone et havendo tanti indicii che questo era piu che certo non si doveva perder tempo per anticipar di fare ad altri quel che era disegnato di fare a noi, S. S^ta^ non poteva recusare di seguitare il camino di chi come dico era nella fortuna commune. Et di qui nacque che volendosi il regno di Francia, la S. S^ria^ di Venetia et il resto di Italia unire insieme per rilevamento delli stati et salute commune, N. S. dava intentione di non recusare d'essere al medesimo che gli altri s'offerivono: et confessa ingenuamente che essendoli proposto in nome et da parte del marchese di Pescara che egli come mal contento dell' imperatore et come Italiano s'offeriva d'essere in questa compagnia quando s'avesse a venire a fatti, non solamente non lo ricusò, ma havendo sperato di poterlo havere con effetti, gli haverebbe fatto ogni partito, perche essendo venuto a termine di temer dello stato et salute propria, pensava che ogni via che se gli fusse offerta da potere sperare ajuto non era da rifiutare. Hora egli è morto et dio sa la verità et con che animo governò questa cosa. E ben vero et certo questo che simile particulare fu messo a N. Signore in suo nome: et mandando S. S^ta^ a dimandarnelo, non solo non lo ricusò, ma tornò a confermare egli stesso quel che per altri mezzi gli era stato fatto intendere: et benche le pratiche procedesser di questa sorte, dio sa se N. Signore ci andava piu tosto per necessità che per elettione; et di cio possono far testimonio molte lettere scritte in quel tempo al nuntio di S. S^tà^ appresso l'imperatore, per le quali se gli ordinava che facesse intendere alla M^ta^ S^a^ li mali modi et atti a rovinare il mondo che per quella si tenevano, et che per amor di dio volesse pigliarla per altra via, non essendo possibile che Italia, ancorche si ottenesse, si potesse tenere con altro che con amore et con una certa forma la quale fusse per contentare gli animi di tutti in universale. Et non giovando niente, anzi scoprendosi S. M^ta^ in quel che si dubitava, d'impatronirsi dello stato di Milano sotto il pretesto di Girolamo

Morone et che il duca si fusse voluto ribellare a S. M^tà, perseverava tuttavia in acconciarla con le buone, descendendo a quel che voleva S. M^tà se ella non voleva quel che piaceva alla S Sua, purche lo stato di Milano restasse nel duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre in Italia: in che S. S^tà hebbe tanto poca ventura che, andando lo spaccio di questa sua voluntà all' imperatore in tempo che S. M^tà voleva accordarsi col christianissimo, rifiutò far l'accordo: et potendo, se accettava prima l'accordo con il papa, far piu vantaggio et poi piu fermo quel del christianissimo, rifiutò far l'accordo con N. Signore, per fare che quanto faceva con il re fusse tanto piu [comodo] vano quanto non lo volendo il re osservare era per haver de compagni mal contenti, con li quali unendosi fusse per tenere manco conto della M^tà Sua; et non è possibile imaginarsi donde procedesse tanta alienatione dell' imperatore di volere abbracciare il papa: non havendo ancora con effetto sentita offesa alcuna di S. S^tà, havendo mandato legato suo nipote per honorarlo et practicare queste cose accioche conoscesse quanto gli erano a cuore, facendoli ogni sorte di piacere, et tra gli altri concedendoli la dispensa del matrimonio, la quale quanto ad unire l'amicitia et intelligentia di quei regni per ogni caso a cavargli denari della dote et haver questa successione era della importanza, che ogn' uno sa, et tamen non si movendo S. M^tà niente, costrinse la S. S^tà a darsi a chi ne la pregava, non volendo l'imperatore supplicarlo, et a grandissimo torto accettarlo: et avenne che stringendosi N. Signore con il christianissimo et con l'altri prencipi et potentati a fare la lega per commune difensione et precipuamente per far la pace universale, quando l'imperatore lo seppe, volse poi unirsi con N. Signore et mandando ad offrirgli per il sig^re Don Ugo di Moncada non solo quel che S. S^tà gli haveva addimandato et importunato, ma quel che mai haveva sperato di potere ottenere. Et se o la M^tà S. si vuol difendere o calumniare N. Sig^re, che concedendoli per il sig^re Don Ugo quanto dissi di sopra, non l'havesse voluto accettare, non danni la S^tà S., la quale mentre che fu in sua potestà, gli fece istanza di contentarsi di manco assai, ma incolpi il poco giudicio di coloro che quanto è tempo et è per giovare non vogliono consentire a uno et vengono fuor d'occasioni a voler buttar cento: . . . non essendo (se non ? con somma giustificatione cio in tempo, che sua M^tà negasse

d'entrare in lega con honeste conditioni et che le imprese riuscissero in modo difficili che altrimenti non si potesse ottenere l'intento commune; et chi dubitassi che l'impresa del regno non fusse stata per essere facile, lo può mostrare l'esito di Frusolone et la presa di tante terre, considerando massime che N. Sig^re poteva mandare nel principio le medesime genti, ma non eron gia atti ad havere nel regno in un subito tante preparationi quante stentorono ad havere in molti mesi con aspettare gli ajuti di Spagna; et mentre mon manca nell' inimicitia esser amico et voler usar piu presto ufficio di padre, minacciando che dando (offendendo?) e procedendo con ogni sincerità et non mancando di discendere ancora ai termini sotto della dignità sua in fare accordo con Colonnesi sudditi suoi per levare ogni suspettione et per non mandar mai il ferro tanto inanzi che non si potessi tirandolo in dietro sanar facilmente la piaga, fu ordinata a S. S^ta quella traditione, che sa ogn' uno et piu sene parla tacendo, non si potendo esprimere, nella quale è vero che se S. M^ta non ci dette ordine nè consenso, nè mostrò almeno gran dispiacere et non fece maggior dimostration, parendo che l'armata e tutti li preparatorii che potessi mai fare l'imperatore non tendessino ad altro che a voler vendicare la giustitia che N. Sig^re haveva fatta contro i Colonnesi di rovinarli quattro castelli. Non voglio disputar della tregua fatta qui in castello questo septembre per il sig^re Don Ugo, se teneva o non teneva: ma l'assolutione dei Colonnesi non teneva gia in modo N. Sig^re che essendo suoi sudditi non gli potessi et dovessi castigare. Et se quanto all' osservantia poi della tregua tra N. Sig^re et l'imperatore fussi stato modo da potersi fidare, si sarebbe osservata d'avvanzo, benche N. Sig^re non fusse mai el primo a romperla: ma non gli essendo osservata nè qui nè in Lombardia, dove nel tempo della tregua calando 12 mila lanzichineche vennero nella terra della chiesa, et facendosi dalle bande di qua el peggio che si poteva, et sollecitandosi el vicerè per lettere del consiglio di Napoli, che furono intercette, che S. S^ta accelerassi la venuta per trovare il papa sprovisto et fornir quel che al primo colpo non si haveva potuto fare, non potè N. Sig^re mancare a se stesso di mandare a tor gente in Lombardia, le quali, ancorche venissero a tempo di far fattione nel regno, non volse che si movesser dei confini—et la rovina de luoghi dei Colonnesi fu piu per l'inobbedienza di non haver voluto alloggiare

che per altro—et similmente di dar licentia a Andrea Doria di andare ad impedir quell' armata della quale S. S^ta haveva tanti riscontri che veniva alla sua rovina. Non si può senza nota di S. S^ta di poca cura della salute et dignità sua dir, con quante legittime occasioni costretto non abbandonassi mai tanto tempo l'amore verso l'imperatore, e dipoiche cominciò a esservi qualche separatione, quante volte non solo essendoli offerti ma andava cercando i modi di tornarvi, ancorche et di questo primo propo sito et di quest' altre reconciliationi gliene fussi seguito male. Ecco che mentre le cose son piu ferventi che mai, viene el padre generale dei Minori, al quale havendo N. Sig^re nel principio della guerra andando in Spagna dette buone parole assai dell' animo suo verso l'imperatore et mostratoli quali sariano le vie per venire a una pace universale, la M^ta sua lo rimandò indietro con commissioni a parole tanto ample quanto si poteva desiderare, ma in effetto poi durissime: pur desiderando N. Sig^re d'uscirne et venire una volta a chiarirsi facie ad faciem con l'imperatore, se vi era modo o via alcuno di far pace, disse di sì et accettò per le migliori del mondo queste cose che l'imp^re voleva da sua santità et quello che la M^ta sua voleva dare: et volendo venire allo stringere et bisognando far capo col vicerè, il quale si trovava anch' esso arrivato a Gaetta nel medesimo tempo con parole niente inferiori di quelle che el generale haveva detto, queste conditioni crescevano ogn' hora et erano infinite et insoportabili da potersi fare: con tutto cio niente premeva piu a N. Signore che esser costretto a far solo accordo con l'imperatore in Italia, perche la causa che moveva a farlo, etiam con grandissimo danno et vergogna sua, era l'unione et pace in Italia et il potere andare all' imperatore, et se la Signoria di Venetia non gli consentiva, questo non poteva occorrere, et per praticare il consenso loro, stando il vicerè a Frusolone, si fece la sospensione dell' armi otto giorni, tra quali potesse venire la risposta di Venetia, et andando con essa il signor Cesare Fieramosca, non fu prima arrivato là che gia essendosi alle mani et liberato Frusolone dall' assedio non si potè far niente: nel quai maneggio è certo che N. Signore andò sinceramente et così ancora il rev^mo legato, ma trovandosi gia l'inimici a posta et con l'armi in mano, non era possibile di trattare due cose diverse in un tempo medesimo . . . . . Si potrebbe maravigliarsi che doppo l'aver provato l'animo di questa parte et restarsi sotto con

inganno, danno et vergogna, hora volens et sciens, senza necessità alcuna, libero dalla paura del perdere, sicuro di guadagnare, non sapendo che amicitia acquistassi, essendo certo della alienatione et nemicitia di tutto il mondo et di quei principali che di cuore amano la S^ta^ sua, andasse a buttarsi in una pace o tregua di questa sorte. Ma havendo sua S^tà^ provato che non piaceva a dio che si facessi guerra,—perche ancorche havessi fatto ogni prova per non venire ad arme et di poi essendovi venuto con tanti vantaggi, il non haver havuto se non tristi successi non si può attribuire ad altro, venendo la povera christianità afflitta e desolata in modo insoffribile ad udirsi da noi medesimi, che quasi cravamo per lassar poca fatica al Turco di fornirla di rovinare,—giudicava che nessun rispetto humano dovessi, per grande che fusse, valer tanto che havessi a rimuovere la S^ta^ sua da cercar pace in compagnia d'ogn' uno, non possendola haver con altri, farsela a se stessa, et massime che in questi pensieri tornorno a interporvisi di quelli avvisi et nuove dell' animo et voluntà di Cesare disposto a quello che suol muovere la S. S^tà^ mirabilmente, havendo havuto nel medesimo tempo lettere di man propria di S. M^tà^ per via del Sig^re^ Cesare et per Paolo di Arezzo di quella sorte che era necessario; vedendo che d'accordarsi il papa col imperatore fusse per seguirne la felicità del mondo overo imaginarsi che uomo del mondo non potessi mai nascer di peggior natura che l'imperatore se fusse andato a trovare questa via per rovinare il papa, la qual fussi indegnissima d'ogni vilissimo uomo et non del maggiore che sia tra christiani, ma absit che si possa imaginar tal cosa, ma si reputa piu tosto che dio l'habbia permessa per recognition nostra et per dar campo alla M^tà^ sua di mostrar piu pietà, piu bontà e fede et darli luogo d'assettare il mondo piu che fusse mai concesso a principe nato. Essendo venute in mano di questi soldati tutte le scritture, tra l'altre gli sarà capitato una nuova capitulatione, che fece N. S^re^ cinque o sei dì al piu prima che seguisse la perdita di Roma, per la quale ritornando S. S^tà^ per unirsi con la lega et consentendo a molte conditioni che erano in pregiudicio della M^tà^ Cesarea, non penso che alcuno sia per volersene valere contro N. S^re^ di quelli della parte di Cesare, perche non lo potrebbon fare senza scoprir piu i difetti et mancamenti loro, li quali dato che si potessi concedere che non si fussi potuto ritrar Borbone dal

proposito suo di voler venire alla rovina del papa, certo è che eron tanti altri in quel campo di fanti et uomini d'arme et persone principali che havrebbono obbedito a i commandamenti dell' imperatore se gli fussero stati fatti di buona sorte, et privato Borbone d'una simil parte, restava pocco atto a proseguire el disegno suo. Et dato che questo non si fusse possuto fare, benche non si possa essere escusazione alcuna che vagli, come si giustificherà che havendo N. Sig^re adempito tutte le conditioni della capitulazione fatta col vicerè, sicome V. S. R^ma potria ricordarsi et vedere rileggendo la copia di essa capitulazione, che porterà seco, che domandando S. S^ta all' incontro che se li osservasse il pagamento dei fanti et degli uomini d'arme, che ad ogni richiesta sua se li erano obbligati, non ne fussi stato osservato niente, sì che non essendo stato corrisposto in nessuna parte a N. Sig^re in quella capitulazione, da un canto facendosi conto quello che si doveva, dall' altro non se li dando li ajuti che si doveva, non so con che animo possa mettersi a voler calunniare la S^ta S. d'una cosa fatta per mera necessità indutta da loro et tardata tanto a fare, che fu la rovina di sua Beattitudine, e pigliare occasione di tenersi offesi da noi.

" Dalla deliberatione che N. Sig^re fece dell' andata sua all' imperatore in tempo che nessuno posseva suspicare che si movessi per altro che per zelo della salute de christiani, essendo venuta quella inspiratione subito che si hebbe nuova della morte del re d'Ungheria et della perdita del regno, non lo negheranno li nemici proprii, havendo S^a S^ta consultato e resoluto in concistoro due o tre dì inanzi l'entrata di Colonnesi in Roma; nè credo che sia alcuno sì grosso co' pensi si volessi fare quel tutto di gratia coll' imperatore prevedendo forse quella tempesta, perche non era tale che se si fussi havuto tre hore di tempo a saperlo, non che tre dì, non si fusse con un minimo suono (sforzo?) potuto scacciare. Le conditioni che el padre generale di S. Francesco portò a N. Sig^re furon queste: la prima di voler pace con S^a S^ta, et se per caso alla venuta sua trovasse le cose di S^a S^ta et della chiesa rovinate, che era contento si riducessero tutte al pristino stato et in Italia darebbe pace ad ogn' uno, non essendo d'animo suo volere nè per se nè per suo fratello pur un palmo, anzi lassar ogn' un in possesso di quello in che si trovava tanto tempo fa; la differentia del duca di Milano si vedessi in jure da giudici

da deputarsi per S^a S^tà et S^a M^tà, et venendo da assolversi si restituisse, dovendo esser condennato si dessi a Borbone, et Francia sarebbe contento far l'accordo a danari, cosa che non haveva voluto far fin qui, et la somma nominava la medesima che 'l christianissimo haveva mandato a offerire cioè due millioni d'oro; le quali conditioni N. Sig^re accettò subito secondo che il generale ne può far testimonio, et le sottoscrisse di sua mano, ma non furono gia approvate per gli altri, li quali V. S. sa quanto gravi et insoportabili petitioni gli aggiunsero. Hora non essendo da presumere se non che la M^tà Cesarea dicesse da dovero et con quella sincerità che conviene a tanto prencipe, et vedendosi per queste propositioni et ambasciate sue così moderato animo et molto benigno verso N. Sig^re, in tanto che la M^tà sua non sapeva qual fussi quello di S^a S^tà in verso se et che si stimava l'armi sue essere così potentissime in Italia per li lanzichineche et per l'armata mandata che in ogni cosa havessi ceduto, non è da stimare se non che quando sarà informato che se la M^tà sua mandò a mostrar buon animo non fu trovato inferiore quel di N. Sig^re, et che alle forze sue era tal resistentia che S^a S^tà piu tosto fece beneficio a S^a M^tà in depor l'armi, che lo ricevessi, come ho detto di sopra et è chiarissimo, et che tutta la rovina seguita sta sopra la fede et nome di sua M^tà, nella quale N. Sig^re si è confidato, vorrà non solamente esser simile a se, quando anderà sua sponte a desiderar bene, et offerirsi parato rifarne a N. Sig^re, et alla chiesa, ma ancora aggiunger tanto piu a quella naturale disposition sua quanto ricerca il volere evitare questo carico et d'ignominioso, che (non) sarebbe per essere (da?) passarsene di leggiero, voltarlo in gloria perpetua, facendola tanto piu chiara et stabile per se medesima quanto altri hanno cercato come suôi ministri deprimerla et oscurarla. Et gli effetti che bisognerebbe far per questo tanto privatamente verso la chiesa et restauration sua quanto i beneficii che scancellassero le rovine in Italia et tutta la christianità, estimando piu essere imperatore per pacificarla che qualsivoglia altro emolumento, sarà molto facile a trovarli, purche la dispositione et giudicio di volere et conoscere il vero bene dove consiste vi sia.

" Per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti a pigliar l'armi, per essere cosa che ricercarebbe piu tempo, si

verrà solamente a dire che non le pigliammo mai per odio o mala voluntà che havessimo contra l'imperatore, o per ambitione di far piu grande lo stato nostro o d'alcuno de nostri, ma solo per necessità nella quale ci pareva che fusse posta la libertà et stato nostro et delli communi stati d'Italia, et per far constare a tutto il mondo et all'imperatore che se si cercava d'opprimerci, noi non potevamo nè dovevamo comportarlo senza far ogni sforzo di difenderci, in tanto che sua M^tà, se haveva quell' animo del quale mai dubitavamo, intendesse che le cose non erano per riuscirli così facilmente come altri forse gli haveva dato ad intendere, overo se noi ci fussimo gabbati in questa opinione che S^a M^tà intendessi a farci male, et questi sospetti ci fusser nati piu per modi dei ministri che altro, facendosi S. M^tà Cesarea intendere esser così da dovero, si venisse a una buona pace et amicitia non solo tra noi particularmente et S. M^tà, ma in compagnia degli altri prencipi o sig^ri con li quali eravamo colligati non per altro effetto che solamente per difenderci dalla villania che ci fusse fatta o per venir con conditioni honeste et ragionevoli a mettere un' altra volta pace infra la misera christianità: et se quando Don Ugo venne S. M^tà ci havesse mandato quelle resolutioni le quali honestissimamente ci parevan necessarie per venir a questo, ci haverebbe N. Sig^re Iddio fatto la piu felice gratia che si potessi pensare. che in un medesimo dì quasi che si presero l'armi si sarebbon deposte. Et che sia vero quel che diciamo che habbiamo havuto sempre in animo, ne può far testimonio la dispositione in che ci trovò il generale di S. Francisco, con el quale communicando noi hora è un' anno che era qui per andare in Spagna, le cause perche noi et gli altri d'Italia havevamo da star mal contenti dell' imperatore, et dandogli carico che da nostra parte l' esponesse tutte a quella, con farli intendere che se voleva attendere ai consigli et preghiere nostre, le quali tutte tendevano a laude et servitio di dio et beneficio così suo come nostro, ci troverebbe sempre di quella amorevolezza che ci haveva provato per inanzi, et essendosi di là alquanti mesi rimandatoci il detto generale da S. M^tà con risponderci humanissimamente che era contenta, per usar delle sue parole, accettar per comandamento quello che noi gli havevamo mandato a consigliare: et per dar certezza di cio, portava tra l'altre risolutioni d'esser contento di render li figliuoli del christianissimo con quel riscatto et taglia che gli

era stata offerta da S. M^tà^, cosa che sin qui non haveva voluto mai fare; oltre che prometteva che se tutta Italia per un modo di dire a quell' hora che 'l generale arrivassi a Roma, fussi in suo potere, era contenta, per far buggiardo chi l'havesse voluto calunniare che la volessi occupare, di restituir tutto nel suo pristino stato et mostrar che in essa nè per se nè per il ser^mo^ suo fratello non ci voleva un palmo di piu di quello che era solito di possidervi anticamente la corona di Spagna: et perche le parole s'accompagnasser con i fatti, portava di cio amplissimo mandato in sua persona da poter risolvo tutto o con Don Ugo o con el vicerè, se al tempo che ci capitava, in Italia fussi arrivato. Quanto qui fussi il nostro contento, non si potrebbe esprimere, e ci pareva un' hora mill' anni venire all' effetto di qualche sorte d'accordo generale di posar l'arme: et sopragiungendo quasi in un medesimo tempo il vicerè et mandandoci da San Steffano, dove prima prese porto in questo mare, per el comandante Pignalosa a dire le miglior parole del mondo et niente differenti da quanto ci haveva detto el generale, rendemmo gratie a iddio che il piacere che havevamo preso per l'ambasciata del generale non fusse per havere dubbio alcuno, essendoci confermato il medesimo per il signor vicerè, il quale in farci intendere le commissioni dell' imperatore ci confortava in tutto, et pur ci mandava certificare che nessuno potrebbe trovarsi con migliore voluntà di mettersi ad eseguirle. Hora qualmente ne succedesse il contrario, non bisogna durare molta fatica in dirlo, non essendo alcun che non sappia le durissime, insoportabili et ignominiose conditioni che ne furono dimandate da parte del vicerè, non havendo noi posta dimora alcuna in mandarlò a pregare che non si tardasse a venire alla conditione di tanto bene. Et dove noi pensavamo ancora trovar meglio di quel che ne era stato detto, essendo l'usanza di farsi sempre riservo delle migliori cose per farle gustare piu gratamente, non solo ci riuscì di non trovare niente del proposto, ma tutto il contrario, et prima: non havere fede alcuna in noi, come se nessuno in verità possa produrre testimonio in contrario; et per sicurtà domandarci la migliore et piu importante parte dello stato nostro et della S^ria^ di Fiorenza, dipoi somma di denari insoportabile a chi havesse havuto i monti d'oro, non che a noi, che ogn' uno sapeva che non havevamo un carlino; volere che con tanta ignominia nostra, anzi piu dell' Imperatore, restituissimo coloro che contra ogni debito humano

et divino, con tanta tradizione, vennero ad assalire la persona di N. Signore, saccheggiare la chiesa di San Pietro, il sacro palazzo; stringerne senza un minimo rispetto a volere che ci obbligassimo strettamente di piu alla M^ta^ Cesarea, sapendo tutto il mondo quanto desiderio ne mostrammo nel tempo che eravamo nel piu florido stato che fussimo mai, et, per non dire tutti gli altri particulari, volere che soli facessimo accordo, non lo potendo noi fare, se volevamo piu facilmente condurre a fine la pace universale per la quale volevamo dare questo principio. Et così non si potendo il vicerè rimuoversi da queste sue dimande tanto insoportabili et venendo senza niuna causa ad invader lo stato nostro, havendo noi in ogni tempo et quei pochi mesi inanzi lasciato stare quello dell' imperatore nel regno di Napoli, accadde la venuta di Cesare Fieramosca: il quale trovando il vicerè gia nello stato della chiesa, credemmo che portasse tali commissioni da parte dell' imperatore a S. S^ria^ che se si fossero eseguite, non si sarebbero condotte le cose in questi termini. Et mentre S. S^ria^ volse fare due cose assai contrarie insieme, una mostrare di non haver fatto male ad esser venuto tanto inanzi overo non perdere le occasioni che gli pareva havere di guadagnare il tutto, l'altra di obbedire alli comandamenti dell' imperatore, quali erano che in ogni modo si facesse accordo, non successe all' hora nè l'uno nè l'altro: perche S. S^ria^ si trovò gabbata, che non potette fare quello che si pensava, et tornando il signor Cesare con patti di far tregua per otto dì, fintanto che venisse risposta se la Sig^ria^ di Venetia vi voleva entrare, quando arrivò in campo, trovò gli eserciti alle mani et non si andò per all' hora piu inanzi: salvo che non ostante questo successo et conoscendo certo che stassimo sicurissimi in Lombardia et in Toscana per le buone provisioni et infinita gente di guerra che vi era di tutta la lega, et che le cose del reame non havessero rimedio alcuno come l'esperientia l'haveva cominciato a dimostrare, mai deponemmo dall' animo nostro il desiderio et procuratione della pace. Et in esser successe le cose così bene verso noi, non havevamo altro contento se non poter mostrare che se desideravamo pace, era per vero giudicio et buona voluntà nostra et non per necessità, et per mostrare all' imperatore che, se comandò con buono animo, come crediamo, al padre generale che ancorche tutto fusse preso a sua devotione si restituisse, che quel che ella si imaginava di fare quando il caso havesse portato di esserlo, noi essendo così in

fatto lo volevamo eseguire. A questo nostro desiderio ci aggiunsero un ardore estremo piu lettere scritte di mano dell' imperatore, tra l'altre due che in ultimo havemmo da Cesare Fieramosca et da Paolo di Arezzo nostro servitore, le quali sono di tal tenore che non ci pareria havere mai errato se in fede di quelle lettere sole non solo havessimo posto tutto il mondo ma l'anima propria in mano di S. M^ta^: tanto ci scongiura che vogliamo dar credito alle parole che ne dice, et tutte esse parole sono piene di quella satisfattione di quelle promesse et quell' ajuto che noi a noi non lo desideravamo migliore. Et come in trattare la pace, finche non eravamo sicuri che corrispondenza s'era per havere, non si rimetteva niente delle provisioni della guerra, così ci sforzavamo chiarirci bene essendo due capi in Italia, Borbone et il signore vicerè, s'era bisogno trattare con un solo et quello sarebbe rato per tutti, overo con tutti due particularmente: acciochè se ci fusse avenuto quel che è, la colpa che è data d'altra sorte ad altri, non fusse stata a noi di poca prudentia: et havendo trovato che questa facultà di contrattare era solo nel vicerè, ce ne volemmo molto ben chiarire et non tanto che fussi così come in effetto il generale, il signor Cesare, il vicerè proprio, Paulo d'Arezzo et Borbone ne dicevono, ma intender dal detto Borbone non una volta ma mille et da diverse persone se l'era per obbedirlo, et proposto di voler fare accordo particularmente con lui et recusando et affermando, che a quanto appuntarebbe el vicerè non farebbe replica alcuna. Hora fu facil cosa et sarà sempre ad ogn' uno adombrar con specie di virtù un suo disegno, et non lo potendo condurre virtuosamente nè all' aperta, tirarlo con fallacia, come—venghi donde si voglia, ci par esser a termine che non sappiamo indovinar donde procedeva—ci par che si sia stato fatto a noi, li quali si vede che tutte le diligentie che si possono usare di non esser gabbati, sono state usate per noi, et tanto che qualche volta ci pareva d'esser superstitiosi et di meritarne reprehensione. Perche havendo el testimonio, et di lettere et di bocca dell' imperatore, del buon animo suo, et che Borbone obbedirebbe al vicerè, et a cautela dando S. M^ta^ lettere nuove a Paulo sopra questa obbedientia al vicerè dirette a esso Borbone, et facendosi el trattato con el poter sì ampio di S. M^ta^ che doveva bastare, et havendo Borbone mostrato di remettersi in tutto nel vicerè, et contentandosi poi esso di venire in poter nostro, fu una facilità tanto grande a tirarci allo stato ove siamo che non sappiamo

gia che modo si potrà piu trovare al mondo di credere alla semplice fede d'un privato gentil huomo, essendovi qui intervenute molte cose e riuscito a questo modo. Et per non cercare altro che fare i fatti proprii, era molto piu lecito et facile a noi, senza incorrer non solo in infamia di non servator di fede ma nè anche d'altro, usar dell' occasione che la fortuna ci haveva portato di starsi sicurissimo in Lombardia come si stava che mai veniva Borbone inanzi, se l'esercito della lega non si fusse raffreddato per la stretta prattica anzi conclusion della pace, et valuto di quella commodità seguitar la guerra del reame, et da due o tre fortezze in poi levarlo tutto, e di poi andare appresso in altri luoghi, dove si fosse potuto far danno et vergogna all' imperatore, et stando noi saldi in compagnia dei confederati rendere tutti li disegni suoi piu difficili. Ma parendoci che el servitio di dio et la misera christianità ricercasse pace, ci proponemmo a deporre ogni grande acquisto o vittoria che fussimo stati per havere, et offender tutti li prencipi christiani et Italiani, senza saper quodammodo che haver in mano, ma assai pensavamo d'havere se l'animo dell' imperatore era tale come S. M^tà^ con tante evidentie si sforzava darci ad intendere. Et molto poco stimavamo l'offensione degli altri prencipi christiani, li quali di lì a molto poco ci sarebber restati molto obbligati se si fusse seguito quello che tanto amplamente S. M^tà^ ci ha con argumenti replicato, che sarebbe, accordandosi noi seco, per rimettere in nostra mano la conclusion della pace et assenso con li prencipi christiani. Et se alcuno volesse pensare che fussimo andati con altro objetto, costui conoscendoci non può piu mostrare in cosa alcuna la malignità sua; non ci conoscendo et facendo diligentia di sapere le attioni della vita nostra, troverà che è molto consentiente che noi non habbiamo mai desiderato se non bene et operato virtuosamente et a quel fine postposto ogni altro interesse: et se hora ce n'è successo male, ricevendo di mano di N. Sig^re^ Dio quanto giustamente gli piace con ogni humiltà, non è che da gli huomini non riceviamo grandissimo torto et da quelli massime che, se ben fino a un certo termine posson coprirsi con la forza et con la disobbedienza d'altri, benche quando s'havesse a discutere, si trovarebbe da dire assai, hora et un pezzo fa et per honor loro et per quel che sono obbligati secondo dio et secondo il mondo si potrebber portare altrimenti di quel che fanno. Noi siamo entrati nel

trattato poi fatto a Fiorenza con quelli di Borbone per mano del sig^re vicerè et dipoi non osservato, perche non vogliamo parer d'haver tolto assunto di fare il male contra chi è stato causa di trattarci così, li quali dio giudichi con el suo giusto giudicio; doppo la misericordia del quale verso di noi et della sua chiesa non speriamo in altro che nella religione, fede et virtù dell' imperatore, che essendoci noi condotti dove siamo per l'opinione che havevamo di esso, con el frutto che s'aspetta a tal parte ci ritragga et ponga tanto piu alto quanto siamo in basso. Dalla cui M^tà aspettiamo della ignominia et danni patiti infinitamente quella satisfattione che S. M^tà ci può dare eguale alla grandezza sua et al debito, se alcuna se ne potesse mai trovare al mondo che bastasse alla minima parte. Non entraremo esprimendo i particolari a torre la gratia dei concetti, che doviam sperare che havrà et che ci manderà a proporre. Diciamo che mettendoci al piu basso grado di quel che si possi domandare et che è per esser piu presto vergogna a S. M^tà a non conceder piu et a noi a non domandare che parer duro a farlo, che da S. M^tà dovrebber venire queste provisioni.

"Che la persona nostra, el sacro colleggio et la corte dello stato tutto temporale et spirituale siamo restituiti in quel grado ch'era quando furon fatte l'iudutie col sig^r vicerè, et non ci gravare a pagare un denaro dell' obbligato.

"Et se alcuno sentendo questo si burlerà di noi, rispondiamo che se le cose di sopra son vere, et si maraviglia che ci acquietiamo di questo, ha gran raggione; ma se gli paresse da dovero strano, consideri con che bontà lo giudica o verso Cesare o verso noi: se verso Cesare, consideri bene che ogni volta che non si promette di S. M^tà e questo e molto piu, che lo fa gia partecipe di tutto quel male che qui è passato: ma se verso noi, diciamo che iniquamente ci vuole detrarre quello che nessuno mai ardirebbe di far buonamente. Nè si deve guardare che siamo qui, ma sì bene come ci siamo, et che è pur meglio far con virtù et giudicio quello che finalmente el tempo in ogni modo ha da portare, se non in vita nostra, in quella d'altri."

[Most Illustrious and most Reverend Signor: Considering the difficulty of the province that has been given to the care of your illustrious and reverend lordship, and its great extent, which is well known to you; considering, also, the great and extreme misery in which we are placed, I cannot but think

that it will be some alleviation of your burthen to be furnished with whatever information can be afforded in regard to all the transactions that have occurred between our lord the pope and his imperial majesty; and it may be well that you should know this truth, namely, that your most reverend lordship is about to visit a sovereign who is more deeply indebted to his holiness and his house than to any other family that can be named, whether of these present or of past times. And if some cause of offence has arisen during the last year, this has not been occasioned by any alienation of his holiness from his accustomed good will and affection towards his majesty, nor does it come from any designs on the part of his holiness for the aggrandizement of his house or of others, or from a wish to abase or diminish the reputation or condition of his majesty; but proceeds solely from the necessity of refusing to suffer oppression from those holding authority and wielding forces in Italy, as also from the many proofs his holiness had received, as well by nuncios as by letters, envoys, and legates, that it would never be possible to find other remedies for the evils existing.

[It has been the zealous desire of his holiness to serve the Spanish cause and his imperial majesty, from the time when he was first able to effect somewhat for the crown of Spain, which was from the beginning of the pontificate of his brother Leo of sacred memory—the extent of his influence with whom was known to all, and has been experienced by his imperial majesty. There is no benefit, gratification, or advantage which the Spanish and imperial cause ever obtained at the hands of Leo, of sacred memory, or of the church, to which our lord the pope was not—I will not say consenting, or not adverse, but largely contributing,—nay, with regard to which he was not the author, contriver, and director of the whole. And to touch only on those things which are of supreme importance, the league which was effected in the second and third years of Leo, of sacred memory, to oppose the first descent of the most Christian king Francis, was brought about entirely by the efforts of his holiness, who, being then legate, went in person to confer with the other parties; and here, when affairs proceeded in a manner contrary to what was expected, and Pope Leo was compelled to make such terms as he could with the most Christian king, the cardinal de'

Medici took that care to maintain Pope Leo firmly to the interests of Spain, which all who were there at the time know and can bear witness to. And he used all the influence that he possessed with the pope, his brother, to the end that those most eager desires and strong will of the most Christian king to follow up his victory and press forward with so great an army and at so favourable a moment into the kingdom should be restrained, now by one excuse and now by another; and among those put forward was this, that the Catholic king being old, and, by reason of his infirmities, already at the close of his days, his most Christian majesty would do better to await the occasion of his death, when the attempt would succeed without any difficulty. Then, the death of the Catholic king following very soon after these reasonings—I do not believe a month had passed—what skill and what labour were required to restrain the impatient eagerness of the Christian king to profit by the occasion, could be made manifest by the letters written with his Christian majesty's own hand, if those soldiers who made prey of all the pontifical papers, as well as of other things, would either restore them to us or would send them to the emperor. And all these things, with many others, performed to the intent of rendering secure and tranquil the succession of the prince, now emperor, and tending to place in his hands the mastery of Spain, even during the life of his grandfather, were done by the cardinal de' Medici, not for any private advantage of his own, but rather in direct opposition to his particular interests, seeing that he had then no revenues of importance but such as were derived from the realm of France, and that he never sought to secure any equivalent from that of Spain.

[Then followed the death of the Emperor Maximilian, and Pope Leo was disposed to forward the claims of the most Christian king to that dignity, opposing himself to those of his present imperial majesty; but the cardinal de' Medici too pains, before the election, to induce Pope Leo to refrain fro impeding it; and after it was over, he further prevailed on his holiness to give it his sanction, and to absolve the emperor from simony and perjury, for that he, being king of Naples, could not seek, as declared by the papal constitutions, to become emperor,—as also to re-invest his imperial majesty in the kingdom of Naples, and to confer upon him that king-

dom anew. In all which, if the great affection of the cardinal de' Medici for his imperial majesty, and the opinion he held of his goodness, prudence, and piety do not excuse him, then I do not know which was the greater,—the service which he may very freely say he has rendered his majesty, or the injury done to his brother—that is, to the pope and the church—by thus promoting and favouring a power so great, and of which he ought to have considered that one day this river might burst its bounds and cause such outrage and devastation as have now been witnessed. But the cardinal, seeing those two powers of Spain and France divided in such a manner that peace could hardly be hoped for unless the one were balanced equally against the other, first sought to secure this equality by adding power and authority to the king of Spain, who being thus equal to the most Christian king, the latter might be cautious of engaging in war, or if unhappily war should ensue from the desire to advance the king of Spain above the most Christian king, that then the Spanish power should be so firm and vigorous as to give fair hope that being attacked, it would gain a prosperous issue and a certain victory. And this he proved by more than words. If peradventure those things above written may require some further evidence, let the league concluded with the emperor against France bear witness of it; for so different were the conditions to be obtained from the one side to those offered by the other, that not only should Leo never have allied himself with the emperor, being at full liberty and free arbiter to elect the side best suited to his interest, but even had he been previously allied with the emperor, he should have made every effort to separate himself from the imperial side. And to shew briefly that things were in effect as I have said, I may affirm that, at the time when Leo made that league with him, the emperor was altogether destitute of authority, power, friends, or reputation. He had lost the allegiance of Spain, of which all the provinces were in rebellion; he had returned from the diet held at Worms deprived of all the hopes he had formed of aid and service to be obtained from it;* and he had war already broken out in two portions of his territories, that is to say, in

* This is manifestly incorrect. The emperor secured a vote of succour from the Diet of Worms to the extent of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

Flanders by means of Robert de la Marck, and in Navarre, which kingdom was already wholly alienated and reduced to the allegiance of the king favoured by France.* The Swiss also, but a short time before, had entered into a new alliance with the most Christian king, and bound themselves by a special stipulation to the defence of Milan, which was in the possession of the French king, a thing which they would never before consent to do; and the most serene king of England, on whom the emperor counted, perhaps because of the relationship existing between them and his natural enmity to France, shewed a disposition to look contentedly on, as was proved by the effects, for he would not move to give the slightest aid to the emperor, however pressing the necessity in which he saw him, and notwithstanding the urgent entreaties that were made to him, until after the death of Leo. The most Christian king, on the contrary, in addition to his vast collective resources, his immediate alliance with the most illustrious Signory, and his new compact with the Swiss, was all the more powerful by the real superiority of his force to that of the emperor, as also by the many and infinite disorders in which, as above said, the affairs of his imperial majesty were involved. The hopes and prospects of reward that were held out to the church by the success of the respective sides were also very different; the most Christian king would have instantly conferred the states of Ferrara on the Papal See before engaging in any other enterprise. Further, in the event of acquiring the kingdom of Naples, his most Christian majesty was prepared to offer advantages so important to the church, in regard to every point on which its benefit and convenience could be promoted, that, not to dwell on minute particulars, the papacy could scarcely have profited more had the whole kingdom been made over to it; while, on the other hand, there was nothing to be looked for from a league with the emperor except a mere proposal for placing Milan in the hands of Italians, and a promise that Parma and Placentia should be recovered to the church.† Yet, notwithstanding the obvious

* There are errors in the chronology at this point of the statement. The treaty with the emperor was ratified on the 8th of May (Du Mont, iv. 3, 97), while the French did not arrive in Pampeluna until the 20th. —Garibay, xxx. 523.

† This also is incorrect. By the 13th article of the treaty, the

disparity of the two sides, notwithstanding the facility of the undertaking on the one hand, and the danger, so much greater, on the other, setting aside also the great inequality of the advantages presented by the one side over the other, so powerfully did the wish of the cardinal de' Medici prevail with the pontiff, and so strongly was his most reverend lordship the cardinal, impressed by the opinion he entertained of his imperial majesty's goodness and piety, that when it was proposed in discussion to require some visible evidence, either in one place or another, of the imperial intentions, he would assent to no adverse views, and go into no inquiry, but gave himself up wholly and unreservedly to that part from which he hoped to derive results more satisfactory to a holy and Christian spirit than could be obtained from whatever amount of mere temporal rewards there might have accrued to him from the opposite course. And is it not known by all to be true, that when at the very beginning things did not happen as had been expected, and the funds remitted by his majesty as his first contribution were all consumed; when also it was difficult to discover how more were to be provided,—did not at this time the sacred memory of Leo for his part, and the cardinal de' Medici still more on his, place the substance and means of his country, and of such friends and servants as he could command, at the emperor's disposal? Nay, finally, even his own person was not spared, and of this he well knew the importance and the effects that ensued from it.

[At this time Pope Leo died; and though his most reverend lordship the cardinal found all the world opposed to him, because all those (the French party) whom he had offended had arranged themselves against his fortune and dignity, whether spiritual or temporal, while of those on the side of the emperor none would help him, and some were adverse to him, as your most reverend lordship and every one can testify, yet the cardinal was not for a moment moved in the slightest degree from his purpose, either by the great danger he stood in, the large offers made him by the one party, or the ingratitude and enmity of the

emperor is engaged to give aid against Ferrara. "Promittit Ces^{a} M^{tas} omnem vim, omnem potentiam, ut ea (Ferraria) apostolicæ sedi recuperetur." [His imperial majesty engaged to use all his force and all his power that Ferrara might be recovered to the Apostolic See.]

other: the opinion he had formed of his imperial majesty was still his guide—the imperial advantage still his object; and as he could not suppose that the character he attributed to his imperial majesty was the creation of his own imagination, nor from the shortness of time had room to suspect it, so he was prepared to endure all things, rather than suffer any change. Thus he proceeded as though all things had been the contrary of what they were, and was careful for nothing but to secure a pope equally welcome to his majesty as advantageous to the church and the common opinion: nay, the certainty of all men was, that to make Adrian pope, was not very different from making the emperor himself pope: every one knows this; and it is equally well known that no one was more certainly the author and conductor of that creation than the cardinal de' Medici.

[Now, this was the occasion when the cardinal de' Medici might have made proof whether the judgment he had formed of his imperial majesty was a right one; for before this, the protection and patronage of Leo, of sacred memory, had prevented the cardinal from experiencing the difference of fortune; and the mind of his reverend lordship was so fully occupied by the service of his imperial majesty, that he had not thought of distracting it to the care of his own interest, or that of his friends: neither was he so covetous, so obtrusive, or so importunate, as to busy himself with calculations of the rewards proportioned to his merits. Rather in this respect he will seem to have served most perfectly, and to have merited sufficiently, for he had given his attention to no such objects, but had referred himself wholly, and without reserve, to his majesty's discretion and liberality. It is true that more than two years before, and when his majesty could have neither believed nor expected to receive so much benefit and service from the house of Medici, his majesty had promised in writing, under his own hand, and repeated the assurance in other forms, that he would confer an estate in the kingdom of Naples of 6,000 scudi, with a wife of 10,000 scudi in dower, on one of the nephews of Leo and of the cardinal; but they did not give any care to the gaining possession of the former, or to the securing of the latter, thinking themselves assured by the promise in his majesty's own hand. Yet when Pope Leo was dead, and that no sign of advantage remained to the

house of Medici, by which to remind it that it had so long possessed a pope, excepting only this promise, his reverend lordship the cardinal, sending to pay his respects, and to render an account of himself to his imperial majesty, did give commission in this matter to those envoys, and directed them to conclude that business, and obtain the confirmation of the said grants and privileges. But the affair proceeded very differently from what not only we,* but also every one else had expected; for instead of perceiving that our rewards were thought of, and that gratitude was rendered us in recognition of the benefits procured for his majesty, whereby the house of Medici might have consoled itself in seeing that it had not made so great a loss by the death of Leo, we found such obstacles in the way of our business, as though it had not concerned a matter already fixed and due for many causes, besides being very inferior to the services performed. First, there were disputes—no otherwise than might have been had the house of Medici been an enemy;—and such objections were made, as even in such case ought not to have been made, because the faith given, and the thing once promised, ought to be redeemed and kept, at all times, and under all circumstances. But replies were made to these objections, and the wrong done to the house of Medici was made manifest. Nevertheless, instead of having cause to hope further benefit, or of receiving, at the least, the whole of what was promised—an estate, that is, of 16,000, being 6,000 from his majesty himself, and 10,000 for the dower that was to be given—the whole amount was resolved into 3,000 scudi. At which time, the cardinal being well informed of all, if his reverend lordship had not been moved by his devotion to his majesty to persevere—not as if treated in the manner above described, but as though he had been remunerated to satiety,—it might be said that he had done so by force, the emperor's potency being confirmed in such sort that he could not do otherwise; or that, having no interest with other princes, the cardinal was in the necessity of giving aid to the emperor, rather than to others. But whoever remembers the state of things in those days—which is readily done, they being sufficiently fresh in

* It will be remarked that the writer has here lapsed into the use of the first person; whether because it is in fact the pope himself who is now speaking, or for some other cause, does not appear.—TR.

memory—will know that the imperial army and cause were at that time in great peril in Italy, by reason of the new succour that the French had received from their league with the most illustrious Signory, by which they had gained increased strength to their army and forces. There was, moreover, no man in Italy who, by his condition, friends, relations, dependants, money, and people, had it more in his power to make the victory fall to whichever side it pleased him, than his most reverend lordship the cardinal de' Medici, who remained, nevertheless, constantly fixed in his attachment towards the emperor. Yet not only could he hope no aid from the imperialists, against those who sought to oppress him, but even the imperialists themselves would have got badly through their affairs, if they had not received every kind of help from his most reverend lordship towards gaining the victory, as well as towards maintaining it; for he had stripped himself even to the bones, and not himself only, but the country also, to pay a large contribution which was levied to support the army and to keep it united. And now, when counting up all the services, good offices, and infinite merits of the cardinal de' Medici and his house, I would willingly specify also whatever proof of kindness or gratitude of any kind his majesty may have shewn towards them, as well for the sake of truth as to excuse in some sort that perseverance of attachment towards his majesty which was never interrupted by any accident, and to defend it from those who may call it rather obstinacy than sound judgment. But since there has been nothing of the kind, I can specify nothing, unless it be that in exchange for 22,000 scudi of revenue, lost in France, his majesty commanded that the cardinal should have a pension on Toledo of 10,000 scudi, of which some part still remains unpaid. It is true that in the letters written by his majesty to all his ministers, ambassadors, and captains in Italy, he made honourable mention of his most reverend lordship, enjoining them that they should pay great respect to him, and hold him in high esteem; nay, even commanding them, that if it pleased God to call to himself Adrian, of sacred memory, they should seek to make no other than himself pope. From this it came to pass that all of them had recourse to Florence for the furtherance of their affairs, making known all their difficulties to his most reverend lordship; and there was no man to whom

they addressed themselves with more confidence, when they had to treat of moneys or other kinds of aid. He on his part favoured them heartily, and also received from them a strong support against that ill-will of Pope Adrian which he had been led to feel towards his most reverend lordship by the injurious informations which Volterra had insinuated against the said cardinal. But in regard to this matter, though not desiring to undervalue the good intentions which the emperor may have herein shewn towards the cardinal, I may well say that his majesty did only what was most prudent, in taking measures to uphold a person who had so much authority in Italy, and who, however little acknowledgment he had received, had never varied a hair's breadth from his accustomed course. Nor could his majesty have secured advantages and benefits so great and so obvious, whether in this or the other states, from any change in the form or order of things, as he obtained by causing the power of the cardinal de' Medici to be preserved undivided in Florence.

[Adrian being dead, the cardinal was created pope. But on this occasion, even if the ministers and other dependants of his majesty did receive commands, yet many comported themselves as it pleased them, and others, who at the last consented to favour his election, declared beforehand that they would not have his holiness suppose they were acting at the instance of the emperor, for that they did all from the mere movement of their own private will. Yet, having become pope, his holiness still continued the part taken by the cardinal de' Medici so far as such a union was consistent with the dignity in which God had placed him; and if, in weighing these two demands, that of the duty of the pontiff, and that of his affection towards the emperor, his holiness had not suffered himself to be ruled by the latter and made that preponderate, the world might perchance have been at peace many years since, and we should not be now enduring these present calamities. For at the time when his holiness was made pope, there were two large armies in Lombardy,—that of the emperor, and that of the most Christian king; but the former was oppressed by many difficulties and scarce able to keep its ground; so that if our lord the pope had not given it his aid, as he did by suffering the people of the Ecclesiastical States and the Florentines to recruit it; by granting so many

tithes from the kingdom, that it drew thence 80,000 scudi, and by causing contributions to be raised for it in Florence, while his holiness further supplied money himself, with many other kinds of aid; but for all these things I say, that war might perchance have had a different termination, a more moderate issue, one that might have given hope of an end to the troubles, instead of the beginning of new and greater tribulations. It was with such hope that our lord the pope, who thought he had some influence with his imperial majesty, and who desired to counsel him for good, had supplied these further proofs of attachment, thus enabling him to restore his powers, and without this help the emperor could not have conquered; because (and that I had forgotten) without these succours, the Signory would never have been able to bring its army into action. Yet the advice of his holiness that the army should by no means pass into France, was not only disregarded, but in many other occurrences evidence began to be given that his holiness was held in slight account, while Ferrara was favoured to his prejudice. Then, instead of commending and thanking him for what he had done for them, the imperialists began to complain of all that had not been done according to their wishes, not first considering that all had been done from mere good-will, and without any obligation whatever, or taking into account that if the pontiff had even had infinite obligations to them, the force was much greater by which his holiness was drawn to perform his duty towards God than that to the emperor.

[The issue of the war in France shewed whether the advice of his holiness were good or not, for the most Christian king, coming down upon the imperial army which was at Marseilles, compelled it to retreat in such sort, that, the king pursuing it with speed, it fell back upon Milan, to the great surprise of the people; while such was the terror of the viceroy on that day, as the man belonging to his holiness who was at the court of his excellency wrote, that there were no conditions which his lordship would not have accepted from the French king, and very prudently, he seeing himself utterly undone, but that chance came to his aid and made the most Christian king go to Pavia and not to Lodi, where it was not possible for him to keep his ground with the forces collected there. Now such was the condition of things, besides seeming

as much worse as, in cases of peril so suddenly occurring, men always imagine them to be. Our lord the pope was on the worst of terms with the most Christian king, and had little hope of any thing but evil from his majesty, and of being infinitely hated by him, his holiness having governed himself, as I shall here say with that truth to which I am bound on all occasions, or to which I should be obliged by circumstances that might seem to demand it of me more urgently than even do those wherein I consider myself at this present.

[When our lord was made pope, the most Christian king immediately commanded to send instant messengers, supplicating his holiness that, as God had raised him to a position above all, so should he seek to raise himself above himself, and conquer whatever passions might have remained in him, whether of too much affection towards the emperor, or of too much ill-will towards himself; and saying that he (the king) would hold himself much bound to God and his holiness, if he (the pope) would guide all by one rule, interposing to do good, but not setting himself to favour one party against the other. But if indeed, for his interests or designs, his holiness should judge it needful to have the particular support of any prince, whom could his holiness have better than himself, who by nature, and being a son of the church, and not its rival, desired and was accustomed to labour for its aggrandizement, and not its diminution? And as regarded good-will between man and man, he would offer him such conditions that his holiness should well perceive himself to have gained more by making known how much he merited even while offending and injuring him, than he would ever receive for aiding and favouring the emperor—herewithal entering into most especial particulars.

[Now, the pope, our lord, adopted the first suggestion,—to wit, that he should be friendly towards all; but, in effect, he still leant more towards the emperor; and this he did not only from inclination, but also because he had firm hope that he could effect so much with his imperial majesty as that he would let himself be guided and moved in such sort that his holiness should have less to consider what might offend the most Christian king, than what might be agreeable to himself in the arrangement and facilitation of such conditions as were necessary for the establishment of peace. But affairs turning

out otherwise, and the king resolving to enter Italy, while the imperial army still lay at Marseilles, he sent a courier, I think from Aix, with carte-blanche to our lord the pope, by the medium of Sig^r Alberto da Carpi, with favourable conditions, most ample terms, and with a manifestation of his feelings, such as he might certainly have sent to the emperor himself; for although he desired then to gain possession of the state of Milan, in all besides he was content to refer himself wholly and in every thing to the decision of our lord the pope. But notwithstanding this, his holiness would not take his resolution until he had, not only once, but twice, received certain intelligence of the taking of Milan, and had received letters from his minister there that all was finished, and that the viceroy did not judge it otherwise. Let any one put himself in the place of his holiness, whether friend, servant, brother, or father, or even the emperor himself, and let him see what he could have done for the benefit of the emperor, in this sudden difficulty, or in the next that follows, which was not done by his holiness, and much better done: I say better, because I am certain that those from whom his imperial majesty has perhaps expected, and may still expect better service, would have made him pay a very different price for the obligation than his holiness has done. For his holiness having attained the means of putting a stop to all use of arms and prosecution of the war in the kingdom of Naples, with many other advantages, both public and private, obliged himself to nothing more in favour of the most Christian king than merely the placing him in the possession of that which the army of the emperor had already given up for lost; and our lord the pope restrained his majesty, moreover, from moving forward to seize the kingdom of Naples, in doing which it seemed that he would then have found no great difficulty. And whoever is disposed to glorify himself in regard to those events that turned out contrary wise, should rather thank God by whom it was thus miraculously determined for their advantage, and should attribute nothing to themselves, but acknowledge that the pope made that capitulation to preserve himself and the emperor, and not from evil intention. And then afterwards, the king, finding to his misfortune that there was difficulty in the undertaking, because he had set about it in a manner different from what he ought to have done, the pope left him

for about two months at Pavia, without a breath in favour of his affairs; and although this was of great service to the Spaniards, yet he did not fail to do more for them, giving them all the succours that they could require from his dominions, and never ceasing to interpose his efforts to produce concord between them, in so far as was possible. But no good order prevailing, and the king soliciting our lord the pope to pronounce in his favour, that he might the more readily acquire the state of Milan,—urging, also, that the Florentines should do the same, to which they were bound equally with his holiness,—the pope laboured to avoid so pronouncing, or giving him any assistance, except the allowing him a passage through his territories, with provision for a part of his army, which his majesty desired to send into the kingdom for the purpose of making a diversion, and thereby reducing the imperialists the more readily to come to terms. Oh! what a great service was this to the French!—yielding them a thing which it was in their power to take, if it had not been granted them—the pope, too, being disarmed. Would it not, besides, have been too strange a thing if, having made a league with his most Christian majesty, and not having been willing to serve him in any other matter, his holiness should attempt to refuse him that which it was not in truth within his power to withhold, or prevent the publication of a feigned concord like that then promulgated, by denying a little food to his majesty, the granting which was a contrivance, whereby the king was led to endure with less resentment, that his holiness should fail to observe minutely the capitulation entered into? And if all the truth must be told, the most Christian king was rather injured than served by that separation of his forces; for the troops were so long detained, first in Siena, and afterwards in the Roman states, that the imperial army had time in Lombardy to effect what was done at Pavia; and since that victory was achieved, what reason had the emperor or his people, or indeed any other person of his party, to be dissatisfied with his holiness, or to think of any thing but doing him service and pleasure?—to which last they were bound, not only by religion, but by the example of other princes, who have not only refrained from offending such former popes as have chosen to remain neutral, but have even, when victory had been gained over that party to which the

Church had attached itself, still held the pontiffs in the highest reverence, and have followed up their victories by entreating the pardon of the pope, and by offering honour and service to the church. But let us put religion aside for the moment; let us even suppose the pope and the church in the land of the Muscovite, and who has any right to make a charge against either person or state, when they have usurped nothing to which he has claim or pretension,—nay, more, when it is remembered that assistance and favour have been afforded for a long period of years, whereby, indeed, all the victories obtained have been promoted and secured? And if the pope adhered to the king at that time, he did so at a moment when he was not able to help either himself or others, and believed he perceived a divine occasion for securing, by means of the enemy, that effect which he could not produce of himself; for his holiness gave nothing to the most Christian king which his majesty might not have taken by his own force, or compelled from the weakness of the emperor. His holiness did no more than so contrive that when victory ceased to favour the French, he (the pontiff) appeared rather to have restrained them from further losses than driven them on. Then, what unheard-of inhumanity was it to direct the war against the pope, precisely as though none of these motives had been influencing his actions, or as if he had been moved by causes altogether contrary! What cruelty—not to use a graver term—when the battle of Pavia had been gained, and the king taken prisoner, to make offers of peace to those states that might be justly accused of offending, and send an army against the church! Either the imperialists had seen the articles of the league made by the pope with his most Christian majesty, or they had not seen them; but if they had seen them, as we are certain they did, because all his majesty's papers fell into their hands, ought they not to produce them, and make manifest whatever was in those conditions that could offend, either in respect to the time when they were concluded or to any other particulars whatever that could be of injury to his imperial majesty, thereby justifying in some measure that which they have asserted,—if, indeed, any such justification could be found in them? Or if these conditions have not been seen by the imperialists, then wherefore these iniquitous proceedings

against . . . . ? But since they had not found any thing to offend in written documents, nor made experience of such from facts or actions, they have indeed had no cause for being offended. And it was not from want of courage or from want of power that our lord the pope forbore (that he has both courage and power they had long proved to their own benefit) ; neither has he lost so much of the vigour of his years as to be deprived of the first, while the dignity to which he had attained has greatly increased the second ; nor was it because his holiness had intercepted certain letters of those gentlemen, from which it was easy to see that they were puffed up by the expectation of an opportunity for avenging themselves on his holiness, though they had certainly received no injury at his hands : but his holiness, without any consideration whatever of all these things, was moved solely by his regard for justice and by his confidence in the uprightness, duty, and good dispositions of his imperial majesty, without whose participation it was not to be supposed that any thing would be attempted ; and his holiness could never have persuaded himself that his majesty would sanction what has been done. Yet the very contrary to what his holiness had expected took place, for suddenly, and without any delay, the imperial army was marched into the States of the Church, and his holiness was constrained to redeem himself from that oppression by paying a sum of 100,000 scudi, and by making a league with those forces. Then further, when that treaty was sent into Spain, the proof that his imperial majesty gave of his ill-will to that compact was, that whatever was in it to the advantage of our lord and the church, that he refused to ratify, although the whole that had been agreed on in Italy was done with the most ample and express command of his majesty ; among other things, there was the restoration of such revenues as proceeded from the states of Milan and which had been taken from the church, together with the restitution of Reggio, in regard to which he would do nothing. Then our lord the pope, having found himself so often deceived, though he had always hoped that affairs would take a better turn on the emperor's part, however much it might seem otherwise on the particular occasions referred to, yet finding that the contrary did constantly happen, at length began to give ear to those who had always maintained and

affirmed that his imperial majesty was proposing the subjugation of all Italy, and labouring to make himself absolute master in the land; and he listened to them the rather because it did in fact seem strange to his holiness that the emperor should govern both by himself and by his officers in that country after the manner that he did, unless he had some such design. And finding cause for this suspicion, besides being dissatisfied that no faith or promise was ever kept with him, our lord the pope thought it right and good to attach himself, both in amity and in measures, with those who had a common cause with his holiness, and who were seeking to find means for defending themselves against such violence as was offered. Then, since it was affirmed among other things that the emperor proposed to deprive the duke of Milan of his territories, designing to make himself master of them, and since the truth of these allegations was fully established by many indications, it was believed needful to lose no time, but rather to anticipate, and do to others what they proposed to do to us; nor could his holiness refuse to follow in the path of those who were embarked, I say, in a common cause with him. Thus it followed that when the kingdom of France, the signory of Venice, and the rest of Italy, resolved to unite for the relief of the states and the common safety, our lord the pope gave intimation that he would not refuse his assent to what the others proposed: furthermore, his holiness confesses ingenuously that when it was proposed to him, in the name and on the part of the Marchese Pescara, that he, being malcontent with the emperor, and also, as an Italian, did offer himself, to take part in that company when they should have to commence their proceedings, not only his holiness gave no refusal, but, hoping to receive effectual aid, would have given him all his demands; for matters having come to such a pass that he feared both for his states and his proper safety, his holiness verily thought that no method from which he could hope for aid was to be rejected. Now the marchese is dead, and God only knows the truth, or with what intentions Pescara entered on that affair; but this is most true and certain, that such proposals were sent to his holiness in his name, and when his holiness sent to question him on that behalf, not only did he give no denial but even confirmed himself, what, by other means, his holiness had been given to

understand. Now, although these proceedings did certainly take place, yet God knows that his holiness was led into them more by necessity than by choice; and of this truth the many letters written at that time to the nuncio of his holiness at the court of the emperor may bear witness; for in these there were commands that his imperial majesty should be made to understand what evils and what ruin must ensue to the whole world from the bad course he was pursuing, and that he should be entreated, for the love of God, to adopt other plans, since it was not possible that Italy—even if he should obtain it—could be held by any other means than those of kindness and by a certain form of procedure, by which it was necessary that he should abide, to content the minds of all men. But all was of no avail; rather, his majesty gave open testimony to the truth of the suspicion that he designed to make himself master of Milan, under the pretext afforded by Girolamo Morone, and that the duke was proposing to rebel against his imperial majesty. Nevertheless, the pope continued to seek an accommodation by fair means, condescending to that which his majesty desired, since his majesty would not agree to what he requested, provided only that the duchy of Milan might remain in possession of the duke, to which effect it was that all these wars in Italy had been set on foot. But in all these efforts his holiness had so little success, that, when the emperor had shewn himself disposed to come to terms with the most Christian king, and this wish of his holiness was made known to him, he refused to make the agreement; and while his imperial majesty would have made a more advantageous, as well as more solid, compact with the most Christian king if he would first have made agreement with the pope, so by refusing to make an accord with the pope he did not render that with the king more easy, but rather made it vain and of slight avail; for if the king were not disposed to keep the terms of his treaty, he would find himself surrounded by associates also malcontent, with whom uniting himself he would then make less account of his imperial majesty. Nor can his holiness imagine from what cause that great aversion of his majesty to an agreement with the pope has proceeded, for at that time the emperor had never yet received any offence whatever from his holiness, who had sent his own nephew as legate to do him honour, and to treat with

him the more effectually of those matters, that he might see how much his holiness had them at heart. The pope had, moreover, laboured to content him in every manner,—among other things conceding to him the dispensation of marriage, the importance of which, and its effect in drawing closer the bonds of friendship and good intelligence between those kingdoms, is known to all, or in any case it was the means of securing to his majesty the money of the dower, as also that succession.* Yet his imperial majesty, being in no degree moved by all these things, compelled the pontiff to listen to the proposals of those who were entreating him—for the emperor would offer no terms—and to accept them to the great disadvantage of his holiness. Then, when it had happened that our lord the pope had bound himself with the most Christian king, and with the other princes and potentates, to make a league for the common defence, and when the emperor knew of it, he would indeed then have united himself with his holiness and sent to offer him, by Signor Don Ugo di Moncada, not only what his holiness had required and entreated, but even that which he had never hoped that he could obtain. And if his majesty, either in his own defence or to the blame of our lord the pope, should now say that these things, being offered to the pontiff by Don Ugo, as I said above, his holiness would not accept them; let not this be said in reproach of his holiness, who, while the matter was in his own hands, gave proof that he was ready to content himself with little enough, but let him rather blame the failure in judgment of those who, at the proper time, and when the opportunity is before them, will not agree to give one, but when the moment has passed will come out of season and be ready to throw away a hundred. Since his majesty refused to accept a treaty with honourable conditions at the proper time, and that the enterprises thereupon undertaken seemed likely to succeed in such sort that the common object could not fail to be recovered, his holiness was entirely justified in the course he adopted. And if any one should affirm that the enterprise of the kingdom was not likely to prove an easy one, the contrary is made manifest by the affair of Frusolone and the taking of so many places, and considering, above all, that our lord the pope could

* This makes it obvious that the lapse of Portugal to the crown of Spain was thought of in 1525.

have sent the same force into the kingdom, while the imperialists, on the contrary, were not then in a condition to gather suddenly so great a body, or to make such preparation as they did but effect after many months of waiting for help from Spain. And even in hostility, his holiness did not fail to act the part of a friend, being more ready to take on him the office of the father who menaces without offering injury, than the enemy: proceeding with all sincerity and even descending beneath his dignity by entering into terms of agreement with the Colonnas, his own subjects, that so he might remove all cause of suspicion, and in no case drive the steel so far forward, but that at all times the wound might be easily cured when the sword was withdrawn. But against his holiness was even then contrived that treason which all the world knows, and the guilt of which, as it can never be expressed, so is it most eloquently spoken by silence. And in this matter, if it be true that his majesty was not acting or consenting, neither did he shew any great displeasure or make further demonstration of dissent; nay, rather, all the armaments and preparations that the emperor could make were intended for no other purpose than to take vengeance for the justice that had been inflicted on the Colonnas by the pope in the ruin of four of their castles. I will not dispute concerning the truce made this September in the castle by Signor Don Ugo, whether it were kept or not; but it is certain that the absolution of the Colonnas did not so bind our lord the pope, that he could not, and ought not, to punish them, they being his own subjects. If it had been possible to hope for the observance of that truce made between our lord the pope and the emperor, it would have been observed from the first; nor was our lord ever the first to break it; but it was not observed either here or in Lombardy, for whilst the truce was still in force there came 12,000 lansquenets from Lombardy into the territories of the Church, and the bands that were there did the very worst that they could. The viceroy of Naples also wrote letters from the council, which were intercepted, and wherein he besought the Signory to accelerate the arrival of their forces that our lord the pope might be taken unprepared, and so that might be completed which had not been effected at the first blow. Then our lord could not so far fail in what was due to himself as to

refrain from gathering troops from Lombardy; but though these forces arrived in time to have made a diversion in the kingdom, our lord would even then not permit them to pass beyond the frontiers. The ruin of those fortresses of the Colonnas took place rather because they had refused, in their disobedience, to give admission to the troops, than from any other reason. And in like manner leave was given to Andrea Doria for the interception of that armament, concerning which his holiness had received so many warnings that it was designed for his ruin. The many urgent and legitimate occasions on which his holiness refused to depart from his old love and regard for the emperor could not possibly be related without subjecting his holiness to the censure of having little care for his own welfare and dignity; and after there began to be some division between them, how many times did not our lord the pope shew willingness, I do not say to accept offers of accommodation, but even to go out of his way for the purpose of seeking such. Yet nothing but evil resulted to his holiness, whether from the first proposition or from the subsequent reconciliations. And now, while matters were in more violent commotion than ever, comes the father-general of the Minorites, to whom, when he was going to Spain at the beginning of the war, our lord the pope had spoken much concerning his good-will to the emperor, and had shewn him what would be the best course for obtaining universal peace, but who brought back conditions which, though in words they were as ample as might be desired, yet in fact were they extremely hard. Still our lord desiring to find an issue from these troubles, and wishing once for all to have an explanation face to face with the emperor, that if possible there might be found some mode of making peace, did agree to those things that were desired by the emperor from the pope, and accepted what his majesty was willing to grant. When his holiness would have proceeded to a conclusion, and it became necessary to treat with the viceroy, who on his part had arrived at the same time in Gaeta, with words no less large and promising than those brought by the father-general; it was found that the conditions increased continually in severity till they extended beyond all possibility of acceptance or execution. In all these matters nothing afflicted his holiness more than the being constrained to make an agreement alone with the

emperor in Italy; and what induced him to do so, even to his great prejudice and disgrace, was the hope of effecting peace and union in Italy, and also the wish to continue acting with the emperor: but this could not be done without the consent of the Signory of Venice; and for the purpose of obtaining their consent, the viceroy being at Frusolone, a suspension of arms for eight days was agreed on, within which time a reply might be had from Venice. Then the Signor Cesare Fieramosca, being the bearer of the same, did not arrive with it until hostilities having been recommenced and Frusolone liberated from the besiegers, nothing more could be done. Now, in all this negotiation, it is certain that his holiness proceeded with sincerity, and so did the most reverend legate, but the enemy being already in presence and with arms in his hands, it was not possible to manage two different things at the same time. It may well occasion astonishment, that, after having proved the disposition of the party, and finding himself deceived, injured, and disgraced, our lord the pope should again venture to throw himself upon a peace or truce of this kind, and that deliberately and with full knowledge, without any force or necessity, not moved by the fear of losing, nay, certain of gain, far from sure of what friendship he might acquire, but certain of alienating and exciting the enmity of all the world, and more particularly of those who loved his holiness from their hearts. But his holiness had proved that it was not pleasing to God that war should be made, for since he had made every effort to avoid war, and then, having commenced it with so many advantages on his part, could yet obtain only disastrous results—this could be attributed to no other than the displeasure of God. We were ourselves afflicting and desolating unhappy Christendom in a manner insufferable to think of, and as though we had been resolved to leave the Turk little labour in completing its destruction; therefore his holiness judged that no human consideration, however weighty, should be suffered to move him from seeking peace in company with whomsoever he could, or if he could not have it in union with others, to make it for himself. Furthermore, also, the pontiff was fixed in these thoughts by the arrival of intelligence to the effect that the emperor was disposed in a way that has been ever wont to move his holiness wonderfully; for there came at that time, through Signor Cesare and Paolo di

Arezzo, such letters under his majesty's own hand as were necessary to produce an agreement between his holiness and the emperor, which agreement could not but be for the happiness of the whole world. How could it be imagined that a man could be born of a worse nature than the emperor must have, if he were capable of contriving this means for the ruin of the pope, which were indeed most unworthy of even the lowest and vilest man, how much more then of the greatest among Christians? But let us not even imagine such a thing; let us rather consider that God has permitted it to prove us, and to furnish occasion to his majesty for the display of more piety, more goodness, and more faith, by giving him such opportunity for setting the world in order as was never before conceded to any sovereign born. The papers of his holiness having all fallen into the hands of the soldiers, there will have been taken by them, among others, a new treaty made by his holiness but five or six days at most before the fall of Rome; but by which, if his holiness, again uniting himself with the league, did consent to many things which were to the prejudice of his imperial majesty, I do not think that any treating on the part of the emperor will on that account have the right to avail themselves of it; nay, they cannot do so without making further discovery of their own defects and failings; for if we admit that Bourbon was not to be restrained from his purpose of proceeding to the ruin of the pope, it is certain that there were many others in that camp, both of infantry, men-at-arms, and leading chiefs, who would have obeyed the commands of the emperor if these last had been duly enforced on them; then if Bourbon had been deprived of that portion of his force, he would have been but little in condition for the carrying forward of his designs. Or admitting further that this could not be effected, yet there can be no cause given which shall avail to excuse the fact that, although his holiness had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty that he had made with the viceroy, as your most reverend lordship will remember, and may see by reading again that copy of the treaty which you will bear with you, yet when his holiness required in return, that payment should be sent for those soldiers and men-at-arms who had attached themselves to his command, he could obtain nothing; so that our lord the pope, not being fairly replied to on any point of that treaty (because on the one

hand things were done against him that ought not to have been done, and on the other, the succours that ought to have been given were not given), I do not know with what face any one can set himself to calumniate his holiness for a thing done by mere necessity,—a necessity imposed by themselves, and which he so long delayed to do, that it was the very ruin of his holiness; or how any can take occasion to consider themselves offended by us on that account.

[In regard to the resolution taken by our lord the pope to make approaches to the emperor, even the enemies of his holiness cannot deny that he made it at a time when he could not be suspected of being moved by any other cause than by zeal for the welfare of all Christians, for he had that inspiration on a sudden, and instantly after the news was brought of the death of the king of Hungary and the loss of the kingdom, his holiness having consulted and resolved on that matter in consistory two or three days before the entry of the Colonnas into Rome. Nor do I believe that any one will be so gross as to suspect that our lord the pope was induced to that show of favour towards the emperor because his holiness had foreseen the storm, for it was not of such a character but that if he had had three hours' knowledge of it, to say nothing of three days, that would have enabled him to disperse it with very little effort or rumour.

[The conditions which the father-general proposed to our lord the pope were these: first, the emperor desired peace with his holiness; and if perchance the father-general, on his arrival, should find that the affairs of his holiness and of the church were ruined, his imperial majesty would yet be content that all things should be restored to their previous condition, and that peace should be granted to every one in Italy, he having no desire to obtain a hand's breadth of the country either for himself or his brother; on the contrary, he would have all men left in possession of that which they had held from old time. As to the difference respecting the duke of Milan, that should be examined judicially, by judges to be deputed by his holiness and his majesty. Then, if he were acquitted, his duchy should be restored to him; but if condemned, it should be given to Bourbon, when France would be content to make an agreement in money, a thing that had been previously refused; the sum named also was that which the most

Christian king had sent to offer, namely, two millions in gold. These conditions our lord accepted instantly, that is, so soon as the father-general could make proof of their validity, and he subscribed them with his hand; but it is true that they were not approved by the others, who, as your most reverend lordship knows, affixed to them most heavy and intolerable demands. Now, since it cannot be supposed but that his imperial majesty spoke in earnest, and with that sincerity proper to so great a prince, and these his embassies and propositions shewing him to be so moderate of mind and so benignant towards our lord; whilst, indeed, his majesty did not know what might be the mind of his holiness towards him, and believed the imperial arms so potent in Italy, by his lansquenets and the armada sent thither, that every thing must have been yielded to them—seeing, I say, all these things, it is not to be supposed but that when his majesty shall be informed that if he sent evidence of good-will to the pope, equal amity was displayed on the part of his holiness, the emperor will not only be like himself in proving his ready kindness and good-will to the church, offering to her and to our lord all due reparation, but will also add force to that his natural disposition, in proportion as he will desire to avoid the charge and obloquy that must else ensue, thus changing it from an ignominy which could not easily have been obliterated to a perpetual glory, making his fame all the more illustrious and firm by his own actions, as others have sought, his own ministers, for example, to depress and obscure it. And this he should do the rather, because so great a resistance was opposed to the imperial forces, that his holiness, in laying down his arms, was conferring a benefit instead of receiving one, as I said before, and as is most clear; so that all the subsequent calamities will be laid to the name and faith of his imperial majesty, in whom our lord the pope confided. And with regard to what things should be done to secure this end, as well for the church in particular and for its restoration, as for Italy and all Christendom in general, these will be readily discovered, supposing the emperor to be more inclined to securing the universal pacification than any other emolument. The benefits by which the sufferings of Italy may be cancelled will be very easily shewn, provided only there exist the wish to know the right, with the disposition and judgment to decide wherein the true good consists and may be found.

[Not to enter into the causes whereby we were compelled to take up arms, which is a thing that would require too much time, we will only say that we never took them for any hatred or ill-will that we had towards the emperor, nor from any ambition to increase our territories, or advance those of our house, but solely because of the necessity in which it appeared to us that our liberty and state, with the liberties of the Italian states in general, were then placed; and because we desired to make it manifest to all the world as well as to the emperor, that if he sought to oppress us, we could not and ought not to endure it without making every effort to defend ourselves. Also, that his majesty, if he had that intention, of which we never doubted, might see that he was not likely to succeed so easily as others perhaps may have given him to understand. Or, again, if we had been deceived in supposing that his majesty intended to do us evil—if these suspicions should be shewn to have had their birth rather from the proceedings of the ministers than from any other cause, then that his imperial majesty, making it clearly obvious that this was the fact, and giving us good assurance thereof, might enter with us into a good and lasting peace and friendship: nor with us only, but also with other princes and sovereign powers with whom we had associated ourselves, but for no other purpose than that of defending ourselves against the wrongs and offences offered us, and of obtaining such upright and reasonable conditions as might once more secure a peace for this unhappy Christendom. And if, when Don Ugo came hither, his majesty had sent us such conditions as most justly appeared to us necessary for attaining that end, we should have thought it the most signal grace and favour that God could bestow upon us, to be thus permitted to lay down our arms on the same day, so to speak, as they had been taken up. The disposition in which we were found by the general of the Franciscans will bear good witness to the truth of our having always been minded as we have said; for a year ago, and when he was here, on his way to Spain, we made him acquainted with the causes which we and the other princes of Italy had to be malcontent with the emperor: these we charged him to lay before his imperial majesty on our part, causing him to understand that if he would listen to our counsels and prayers, which all tended to

the praise and service of God, and to his benefit as well as to ours, he would always find us ready to prove that friendship which he had experienced aforetime; and some months after that, when the said general was sent back to us from his majesty, who replied to us most courteously that he was content, to use his own words, even to accept as a command that which we had sent to him as a counsel. And to give proof of this, the general bore, among other resolutions, the declaration that his imperial majesty was willing to restore the sons of the most Christian king for that ransom, and on that condition which was offered by his most Christian majesty, and which the emperor would never before consent to do. Besides this, he promised that if all Italy, as there was a fashion of saying at the time when the father-general was in Rome, were in his power, he would be content to place all things therein on their primitive footing, that he might thus shew the falsehood of those who desired to calumniate him by the assertion that he proposed to retain possession of the country. Further, he declared, that neither for himself nor for his most serene brother did he desire one palm's breadth of territory beyond what the crown of Spain had been wont to possess from old time in that country. And, to the end that his words might be accompanied by facts, the father-general brought the most ample commands for the arrangement of all things, either with Don Ugo or the viceroy, if the latter should have come to Italy at the time when the father-general himself arrived among us. How great was then our contentment, could not be expressed; and every hour appeared to us a thousand years, from our impatience to see the conclusion of some sort of general agreement for the laying down of arms. The viceroy also arriving at the same time, and sending us from St. Stefano, where he first took port in that sea, by the commandant Pignalosa, the most friendly messages in the world, differing in no way from what the father-general had told us, we rendered thanks to God, that the satisfaction we had received from the embassy of the father-general was not to be disturbed by any doubt whatever, seeing that the same was confirmed to us by the signor viceroy, who by causing us to understand the commissions he had received from the emperor, had comforted us mightily, at the same time that he sent to certify to us, that no one could be found who would set himself

to execute the same with more good-will than he would do. Now, in what manner the total contrary took place, will require but little labour to tell, because there is no man who does not know the most hard and insupportable, nay, ignominious conditions, that were demanded on the part of the viceroy, we having interposed no delay whatever in sending to beg that he would not lose time in declaring to us the conditions of so much benefit. Then, while we were expecting to find still better than we had already been told, because it is customary ever to make reserve of the best things, that they may taste the more gratefully, not only did we fail to receive any of that which had been promised, but were met by propositions altogether the contrary. Firstly, no faith was to be placed in us, as if there were, in truth, no man who could produce testimony to the opposite effect; so that, for security, the best part of our states and of the signory of Florence was demanded from us, together with a sum of money, impossible of attainment, even to any one who should possess mountains of gold, much more then to us, who, as every one knew, had not a groat. Next, it was required, to our infinite disgrace, or rather to that of the emperor, that we should reinstate in their possessions those who, in offence of all law, divine and human, and with so heavy a treason, had come to assail the person of our lord the pope, to despoil the church of St. Peter, and to sack the sacred palace. Furthermore, we were to be compelled, without the least respect, to bind ourselves immovably to the interests of his imperial majesty, though all the world knew the zeal we had shewn for those interests at a time when we were most of all flourishing and prosperous. And, not to insist on all other particulars, it was required that we should make a separate agreement of ourselves, apart and alone, which we could not do if we desired safely to conduct to a successful end that universal peace for which we were content to make this beginning. There was no hope of moving the viceroy from these his most insupportable demands; and he had, besides, come to invade our states, though we had always respected the territories of the emperor in the kingdom of Naples, and, during those few months that had elapsed, had in no way molested them. Next followed the arrival of Cesare Fieramosca, who, finding the viceroy already in the States of the Church, we believed

to be the bearer of such commands from the emperor to his excellency, that, had they been obeyed, would have prevented matters from proceeding to this pass. But his excellency the viceroy was intent on doing two very opposite things at one and the same time; the one being to shew that he had not done amiss in proceeding so far, or in seeking to avoid the loss of the opportunity that he thought he had of winning the whole; and the other to give obedience to the commands of the emperor, which were that by all means an agreement should be made; whence it followed that neither of the two has now been accomplished. For his excellency the viceroy found himself deceived, and discovered that he could not effect what he had proposed; and Signor Cesare Fieramosca returning with conditions for a truce of eight days, until a reply could be had as to whether the signory of Venice would enter into the treaty, when he arrived on the field he found the armies already engaged, so that, for that time, the matter could proceed no further. Yet, notwithstanding that occurrence, we, though knowing certainly that our position was most secure in Lombardy and in Tuscany, by reason of the large munitions and infinite force of troops of the whole league that there were in those parts, being well assured also that the affairs of the kingdom were in irremediable disorder, as experience had begun to make manifest,—we, I say, did never dismiss from our mind the desire for peace, nor cease from seeking it. And when we found affairs promising to turn so prosperously for ourselves, we rejoiced in it, solely because that might serve to shew that, if we desired peace, it was from sound judgment and our good-will, not because we were forced to it of necessity; and to prove to the emperor that if he had spoken sincerely to the father-general, as we believe, in saying that, supposing all to be at his disposal, he would restore every thing to its first condition, we, who were in that very case which he had supposed, were ready to execute what he had imagined and proposed to perform. To this our desire there was then added an extreme force, by various letters written with the emperor's hand, more particularly two, which we received at the last by the hands of Cesare Fieramosca, and by those of our servant Paolo di Arezzo, which are of such a tenor that we should not believe ourselves to have erred if, on the faith of those letters alone, we had

placed the whole world, nay, even our own soul, in the hands of his majesty; so frequently does he therein conjure us to give credence to what he says, besides that all the words of those letters are full of such promise of aid, such assurance of satisfaction; that we, on our parts, could not even have wished for better. And as, while treating for peace, we did not in any way remit our preparations for war until we should be certain of the return we might expect, so, there being two chiefs in Italy, Bourbon and the signor viceroy, we laboured to enlighten ourselves fully as to whether it would be sufficient to treat with one only, and that he would be answerable for all, or that we must negotiate with both separately; so that if that were to befal us which has happened, the blame thrown upon others for other causes, might not be cast upon us for our want of prudence. But having found that the power of treating with us was vested in the viceroy alone, we desired to put that matter in the clearest light, and were not satisfied to be told it by the father-general, Signor Cesare, the viceroy himself, Paolo di Arezzo, and Bourbon, but we required to be informed by the said Bourbon, not once only, but many times, and by divers persons, whether he would abide by the decision to be taken, and obey it; so that if it were proposed to treat with him particularly, he, refusing, should make no reply whatever to matters that belonged to the viceroy alone. Now it was an easy thing, and will ever be so to every man, to colour any purpose he may have with a show of uprightness, and if he cannot bring his purposes to bear honestly and openly, to compass them by fraud, as it appears to us was done in our case; for from whatever quarter it may have come, this appears to us to have been the aim, though we cannot guess from whom it proceeded. It is clear that all the precautions that can be used to escape deception were used by us, and indeed so many of them were there that they appeared to us at times to be superfluous, and we thought ourselves deserving of censure for adopting them. We had the emperor himself as testimony both by letters and word of mouth, to his own good-will, and to the obedience that Bourbon would pay the viceroy; nay, by way of caution, his majesty gave new letters to Paolo touching this obedience to the viceroy, and directed to the said Bourbon. The treaty also was made with powers from his

majesty so ample that they ought to have sufficed; and Bourbon had professed to submit himself in all things to the viceroy, who, on his part, was afterwards content to place himself in our power. Every thing was done to draw us into our present condition, insomuch that I know not what more could be found in the whole world to render it possible that faith should again be given to the word of a private gentleman, after the many causes that concurred and intervened to that effect in our case. Furthermore, and to speak only of what concerns our own proceedings, it was both more lawful and much more easy for us, without incurring the infamy attached to a violator of his word, or any other disgrace, to use the opportunity that fortune had brought us of maintaining ourselves in all security in Lombardy; for we had there so good a position, that Bourbon could never have made his way forward if the army of the League had not been restrained and cooled by the serious negotiations for peace, or rather by its conclusion. Nay, we might have profited by that advantage to pursue the war in the kingdom, and first gaining two or three fortresses, might then have taken them all; thence extending our operations to the places surrounding, we might have inflicted both injury and disgrace on the emperor; and attaching ourselves firmly to the company of the confederate princes, might have rendered all the designs of his imperial majesty more difficult of execution. But because it appeared to us that the service of God and the suffering state of Christendom required peace, we proposed to ourselves to forego whatever great victory or gain we might have acquired, and were even content to offend all the Christian and Italian princes, without knowing in any manner what we were to receive in exchange, but believing we should secure enough, if the mind of the emperor were such as his majesty by so many intimations had laboured to make us understand. For this we made but slight account of the offence given to the other Christian princes, who would indeed have found themselves in no long time greatly bound to us, if that had ensued which his majesty had so amply promised, assuring us with redoubled arguments that if we made an accord with him he would submit to us and place in our hands the conclusion of peace, and the power to form an agreement with the Christian princes. And if any man believe that we were

actuated by a different motive, such a one, knowing us, can in no way more manifestly make known his malignity; but if he did not know us, and will take pains to learn the actions of our life, he will find that we are well known never to have desired aught but good, or acted other than virtuously, to which end we have made every other interest subservient. And if now evil hath befallen us, though we receive with all humility from the hands of our Lord and God whatever he shall be justly pleased to inflict, yet shall it not be said but that we are most grievously wronged of men, and principally do we receive injury from them, who, although to a certain extent they may shield themselves by their power, and by the pretext of disobedience in others,—albeit enough might be said of that matter if the question came to be discussed,—yet now, and for some time past, they might well proceed very differently from that which they are doing, both as regards their own glory, and also in consideration of their duty, whether towards God or towards the world. We took part in the treaty afterwards made at Florence with those of Bourbon's party, through the medium of the signor viceroy, and which afterwards was not observed, because we did not wish to have the appearance of proposing to do evil against those who had been the cause of our being thus maltreated, whom may God judge with his just judgment! after whose mercy towards us and towards his church, we have hope in no other than in the piety, faith, and virtue of the emperor; for seeing that we have been brought to the pass wherein we stand by our own trust in the opinion we held of him, so do we look that he should withdraw us from such condition, and place us as high as we are now brought low. From whose majesty we expect such satisfaction for the infinite wrongs and disgraces that we have suffered as shall be suitable to his greatness, and to what is due, if indeed there be any thing to be found in this world that may suffice to make amends for the least and smallest part of our injuries. And here we will not enter into particulars, by expressing which we might diminish the grace of those suggestions that we cannot but hope he will find occur to him, and which he will send to propose to us. Let us say, nevertheless, that we putting our demands at the lowest possible scale, it would be a disgrace to his majesty if he did not grant more, as it would have been for us to ask

less, rather than difficult to concede what we claim. Thus his majesty ought to agree to the following provisions:—

[That our person, the sacred college, and the court of our state, shall, in all things spiritual and temporal, be restored to that condition in which we were when the negotiations were commenced with the signor viceroy, and that we shall not be burthened by the payment of a single coin towards the expense.

[And if any shall be found who, hearing this, make a jest of our proposals, we reply, that if the matters above stated be true, and he marvel at our being appeased with so little, he is justified, and many will find it strange; but if indeed they appear to him extraordinary, let him consider with what rectitude he so judges, whether towards the emperor or towards ourselves. As regards the emperor, let him consider well that so long as there is not promised on his majesty's part this and much more, he is made to be a participator in all the wrong that we have suffered; but in regard to ourselves we may say that this is an attempt iniquitously to defame us as none would venture to do directly and openly. Nor is our present position only to be considered, but also how we were led into it; and further, let it be remembered that it is better to effect at the call of sound judgment and virtue that which finally time must very certainly bring about, if not in our lifetime, yet assuredly in that of others.]

No. 16.

Sommario dell' Istoria d'Italia dall' anno 1512 *insino a* 1527. *Scritto da Francesco Vettori.* [Summary of the history of Italy, from 1512 to 1527; written by Francesco Vettori.]

This is a very remarkable little work, by the friend of Machiavel, a sensible man, and Guicciardini, who was intimately acquainted with the affairs of the house of Medici, as well as with those of the Italian peninsula in general. I found it in the Corsini library in Rome, but could only take extracts; I should otherwise have requested permission to get it printed, which it well deserves to be.

The plague of 1527 drove Vettori from Florence, and it

was at his villa that he wrote this review of the most recent events.

His attention is directed principally to Florentine affairs: in opinion he approximates closely to those of his friends above mentioned. In treating of the modes of government adopted in his native city by the Medici, in the year 1512, which were such that every thing was in the hands of Cardinal Medici, afterwards Leo X., he says, "Si ridusse la città, che non si facea se non quanto volea il card[l] de Medici." [The city was reduced to this, that nothing could be done there, excepting only what it pleased Cardinal Medici to do.] He adds, that this was called tyranny, but that he for his part knew no state, whether principality or republic, wherein there was not something tyrannical. "Tutte quelle republiche e principati de' quali io ho cognitione per historia o che io ho veduto mi pare che sentino della tirannide." [All those principalities or republics of which I have knowledge, whether from history or from personal observation, appear to me to have a certain odour of tyranny.] The example of France or of Venice may be objected to him; but in France the nobles held the preponderance in the state and monopolized the church patronage. In Venice 3,000 men were seen to rule, and not always justly, over 100,000: between the king and the tyrant there is no other difference than this, that an upright governor deserves to be called a king, a bad one merits the name of tyrant.

Notwithstanding the intimate terms on which he stood with both the popes of the house of Medici, he is far from being convinced of the Christian character of the papal power. "Chi considera bene la legge evangelica, vedrà i pontefici, ancora che tenghino il nome di vicario di Christo, haver indutto una nova religione, che non ve n'è altro di Christo che il nome: il qual comanda la povertà e loro vogliono la richezza, comanda la humiltà e loro vogliono la superbia, comanda la obedientia e loro vogliono comandar a ciascuno." [Whoever will carefully consider the law of the gospel will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's vicar, yet have brought in a new religion which has nothing of Christ but the name: for whereas Christ enjoins poverty, they desire riches; while he commands humility, they will have pride; and where he requires obedience, they are

resolved to command all the world.] It will be manifest that this worldliness of character and its opposition to the spiritual principle, contributed largely to prepare the way for Protestantism.

The election of Leo is attributed by Vettori above all else to the opinion entertained of his good nature. Two terrible popes had preceded him, and people had had enough of them. "Havea saputo in modo simulare che era tenuto di ottimi costumi." [He had known so well how to dissemble, that he was considered a man of excellent moral conduct.] The person who took the most active part in his election was Bibbiena, who knew the inclinations of all the cardinals, and managed to win them over even in opposition to their own interests. "Condusse fuori del conclave alcuni di loro a promettere, e nel conclave a consentire a detta elettione contra tutte le ragioni." [When out of the conclave he induced some of them to promise, and when in it he led them to consent to the said election in despite of all the reasons against it.]

The expedition of Francis I. in the year 1515, with the deportment of Leo during that campaign, are admirably described by Vettori. That no more unfortunate consequences resulted from it to the pope he attributes principally to the clever management of Tricarico, who entered the French camp at the moment when the king was mounting his horse to oppose the Swiss at Marignano, and who afterwards conducted the negotiations with the utmost prudence.

Then follow the commotions of Urbino. I have already described the reasons alleged by Vettori on the part of Leo. "Leone disse, chè se non privava il duca dello stato, el quale si era condotto con lui e preso danari et in su l'ardore della guerra era convenuto con li nemici nè pensato che era suo subdito, nè ad altro, che non sarebbe sì piccolo barone, che non ardisse di fare il medesimo o peggio; e che havendo trovato il ponteficato in riputatione lo voleva mantenere. Et in verità volendo vivere i pontefici come sono vivuti da molte diecine d'anni in qua, il papa non poteva lasciare il delitto del duca impunito." [Leo said that if he did not deprive the duke of his states (who, after he had taken service with him and received his money, had then gone over to the enemy in the very heat and ardour of the war, not considering that he

was the pope's subject, or being restrained by any other consideration), there was no baron so insignificant but that he would dare to do the same or worse; that having found the pontificate respected he would leave it so. And it is certain that if the pope desired to continue living as his predecessors had lived for many tens of years bygone, he could not permit the crime of the duke to go unpunished.]

Vettori composed, besides, a life of Lorenzo de' Medici. He praises him more than any other writer has done, and places his administration of the Florentine government in a new and peculiar light. That biography and the summary we are now considering complete and explain each other.

He treats, also, of the election of the emperor, which fell within that period, affirming that Leo assisted the efforts of the king of France only because he was previously convinced that the Germans would not elect him. The calculation of Leo, according to Vettori, was that Francis I., in order to prevent the election of Charles, would give his interest to some German prince. I find the unexpected declaration, which I do not, indeed, desire to have implicitly accepted, that the king really did at length endeavour to secure the election of Joachim of Brandenburg. "Il re .... haveva volto il favore suo al marchese di Brandenburg, uno delli electori, et era contento che li danari prometteva a quelli electori che eleggevano lui, dargli a quelli che eleggevano dicto marchese." [The king .... having turned his favour towards the marquis of Brandenburg, one of the electors, was content that the money promised to those electors who would vote for himself should be given to such of them as would elect the said marquis.] It is certain that the conduct of Joachim, on occasion of that election, was very extraordinary. The whole history of this occurrence—strangely misrepresented, both intentionally and unintentionally—well merits to receive, once for all, a satisfactory elucidation.*

The treaty of Leo with the emperor Charles was considered by Vettori to have been imprudent beyond all comprehension. "La mala fortuna di Italia lo indusse a fare quello che nessuno uomo prudente avrebbe facto." [The evil destiny of

* I have myself endeavoured, since writing the above, to make a somewhat nearer approach, in my German history, to the truth as regards this matter.—(*Note to the second edition.*

Italy induced him to do that which no prudent man would have done.] He lays the blame of this more particularly to the persuasions of Geronimo Adorno. Of the natural considerations by which the house of Medici was influenced he does not choose to speak.

Of Pope Leo's death he relates certain of those particulars which I have adopted (in the text). He does not believe him to have been poisoned. "Fu detto che morì di veneno, e questo quasi sempre si dice delli uomini grandi e maxime quando muojono di malattie acute." [It was said that he died of poison; and this is almost always said of great men, more especially when they die of acute diseases.] He is of opinion that there was more cause for surprise at Leo's having lived so long.

He confirms the assertion that Adrian refused, in the first instance, to do any thing against the French; it was only after receiving a pressing letter from the emperor that he agreed to contribute some little aid towards opposing them.

It would lead us too far if we were here to adduce all the remarks made in this work with relation to the subsequent course of events; it is nevertheless remarkable and worthy of attention, even in cases where the author does but express his own opinion. In these, as we have said, he makes a near approach to Machiavelli, and has an equally bad opinion of mankind. "Quasi tutti gli uomini sono adulatori e dicono volontieri quello che piaccia agli uomini grandi, benchè sentino altrimenti nel cuore." [Almost all men are flatterers, and are ever ready to say what is likely to please great men, even though they may think very differently in their hearts.] He declares the violation of the treaty of Madrid by Francis I. to have been the best and most noble action that had been performed for many centuries. "Francesco," he says, "face una cosa molto conveniente, a promettere assai con animo di non observare, per potersi trovare a difendere la patria sua." [Francis did a very proper and suitable thing in making large promises without any purpose of fulfilling them, that he might put himself in a condition to defend his country.] A mode of thinking worthy of the "Prince."

But Vettori proves himself to have held a kindred spirit in other respects with the great authors of that age. The work before us is full of originality and spirit, and is rendered all

the more attractive by its brevity. The author speaks only of what he actually knows but that is of great importance. It would require a more circumstantial examination than we have given to do him justice.

No. 17.

Sommario di la relatione di S. Marco Foscari, venuto orator del sommo pontefice a dì 2 Marzo, 1526. [Summary of the report presented by Marco Foscari on returning from his embassy to the supreme pontiff, March 2, 1526.] In Sanuto, vol. 41.

Marco Foscari was one of those ambassadors who proceeded to Rome to offer allegiance to Pope Adrian VI. He appears to have remained in Rome from that time until 1526.

He treats, to a certain extent, of the times of Adrian; but his remarks in relation to Clement VII. are all the more important from the fact that, in consequence of the close connection existing in those days between Venice and the pope, he had uninterrupted and animated intercourse with that pontiff.

He describes Clement in the following manner: "Hom prudente e savio, ma longo a risolversi, e di qua vien le sue operation varie. Discorre ben, vede tutto, ma è molto timido: niun in materia di stato pol con lui, alde tutti e poi fa quello li par: homo justo et homo di dio: et in signatura, dove intravien tre cardinali e tre referendarii, non farà cosa in pregiuditio di altri, e come el segna qualche supplication, non revocha piu, come feva papa Leon. Questo non vende beneficii, nè li da per symonia, non tuo officii con dar beneficii per venderli, come feva papa Leon e li altri, ma vol tutto passi rectamente. Non spende, non dona, nè tuol quel di altri: onde è reputa mixero. E qualche murmuration in Roma, etiam per causa del cardinal Armelin, qual truova molte invention per trovar danari in Roma e fa metter nove angarie e fino a chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar .... E continentissimo, non si sa di alcuna sorte di luxuria che usi .... Non vol buffoni, non musici, non va a cazare. Tutto il suo piacere è di rasonar con ingegneri e parlar di aque." [A prudent and wise man, but slow to resolve, and

thence it is that he is irresolute and changeable in his proceedings. He reasons well, and sees every thing, but is very timid. In matters of state, no one is permitted to influence him; he hears all, but then does what he thinks most fitting. He is a just man, a man of God; and in the segnatura, which is composed of three cardinals and three referendaries, he will never do any thing to the prejudice of others, and when he signs any petition he never revokes what he has granted, as Pope Leo used to do. This pontiff does not sell benefices, nor bestow them simoniacally. When he gives benefices, he does not take offices in their place that he may sell them, as Pope Leo and other popes have done, but will have every thing proceed regularly and legally. He does not squander the revenue or give it in presents, nor does he take from others; hence he is reputed to be parsimonious. There is, likewise, some dissatisfaction in Rome on account of Cardinal Armelino, who has devised many expedients for raising money and has imposed new duties, even taxing those who bring thrushes and other eatables into Rome .... He is extremely continent, and is not known to indulge in any kind of luxury or pleasure .... He will have no jesters, comedians, or musicians; nor does he hunt. His only amusement is the conversation of engineers, with whom he talks about waterworks and such matters.]

He next speaks of the pope's advisers. He would not permit his nephew to exercise any power; even Giberto had very little influence in state affairs. "Il papa lo alde, ma poi fa al suo modo." [The pope hears him, but then proceeds in his own manner.] He considers that Giberto—"devoto e savio" [who is pious and wise]—is favourable to the French, but that Schomberg—"libero nel suo parlar" [who uses great freedom of speech]—was disposed to the imperialists. The emperor had a firm adherent also in Zuan Foietta, who was less frequently in attendance on the pope from the time that Clement had formed his league with France. Foscari alludes also to the two secretaries of the pope, Giacopo Salviati and Francesco Vizardini (Guicciardini); he considers the latter the more able man, but quite in the French interest.

It is worthy of remark, that the pope was not on much better terms with the French than with the imperialists. He

perceived clearly what he had to expect at their hands. He felt himself to be truly allied with Venice alone. "Conosce, se non era la Signoria nostra, saria ruinada e caza di Roma." [He knows that if it were not for our Signory, he would be ruined and hunted out of Rome.]

Rome and Venice maintained and fortified each other in their efforts for Italian interests, and considered their honour to consist in upholding them. The pope was proud of having prevented Venice from coming to an understanding with the emperor. Our ambassador, on the other hand, directly asserts that it was himself (Foscari) by whom Italy had been made free. He tells us that Clement had already determined to acknowledge Bourbon as duke of Milan, but that he had so earnestly dissuaded him from doing so, as at length to prevail on him, and he changed his purpose.

He affirms that the pope would grant the emperor the dispensation needful for his marriage only on certain conditions; a fact not alluded to in the Instruction given above,* but that the emperor had contrived to obtain it without these conditions.

There is a certain peculiarity to be remarked in respect to this "Relatione." When the ambassadors were directed at a later period to prepare and present their reports in writing, Marco Foscari did so as well as the others, but we are instantly struck by the fact that the second relation is infinitely feebler than the first. The latter was written immediately after the occurrences described in it, and while all was fresh in the recollection of the writer; but so many important events took place afterwards, that the recollection of the earlier facts had become faint and obscure. We learn from this how much we are indebted to the diligence of the indefatigable Sanuto. This is the last report, of which my knowledge is derived from his chronicle. There follow others which were preserved in private copies revised by their authors.

* See No. 15.

No. 18.

Relatione riferita nel consiglio di pregadi per il clarissimo Gaspar Contarini, ritornato ambasciatore del papa Clemente VII. e dal imp^re Carlo V., Marzo, 1530. Informationi Politiche XXV. [Report presented in the Council of the Senate by the most illustrious Gaspar Contarini on returning from his embassy to Pope Clement VII., and to the emperor Charles V., March, 1530. Information Politiche, 25.] Berlin Library.

This is the same Gaspar Contarini of whom we have had occasion to speak so highly in our history.

After having been already engaged in an embassy to Charles V. (his report of which is extremely rare—I have seen one copy of it only in the Albani palace in Rome), he was chosen as ambassador to the pope in 1528 before the latter had returned to Rome, after so many misfortunes and so long an absence. Contarini accompanied the pontiff from Viterbo to Rome, and from Rome to the coronation of the emperor at Bologna. In the latter city he took part in the negotiations. Of all that he witnessed in Viterbo, Rome, and Bologna, he here gives a relation, to which we have but one objection, namely, that his narrative is so extremely brief.

The embassy of Contarini took place at that important period when the pope was gradually becoming disposed again to enter into such an alliance with the emperor as had formerly been concluded between that monarch and the Medici. The ambassador very soon remarks with astonishment, that the pope, notwithstanding the grievous injuries and offences he had received from the imperialists, was yet more inclined to give his confidence to them than to the allies, a disposition in which he was confirmed principally by Musettola; "huomo," says Contarini, "ingegnoso e di valore assai, ma di lingua e di audacia maggiore" [a man of sufficient ability and talent, but of still more loquacity and boldness]. While the fortune of war remained undecided, the pope would come to no resolution; but when the French were defeated and the imperialists gradually evinced a readiness to resign the fortresses they had occupied, he no longer hesitated. In the spring of 1529, the pope was already on good terms with the emperor,

and in June they concluded their treaty, the conditions of which Contarini could not obtain sight of without great difficulty.

Contarini also describes the persons with whom he acted.

The pope was rather tall and was well formed. He had at that time scarcely recovered from the effects of so many misfortunes and those of a severe illness. "He is neither affected by strong attachment nor violent hatred," says Contarini; "he is choleric, but restrains himself so powerfully that none would suspect him of being so. He is certainly desirous of relieving those evils by which the church is oppressed, but does not adopt any effectual measures for that purpose. With regard to his inclinations, it is not easy to form a positive opinion: it appeared for some time that he took the matter of Florence somewhat to heart, yet he now suffers an imperial army to march against the city."

Contarini remarks that many changes had been made in the ministry of Clement VII.

The datary Giberto always retained a larger share than any other person of his master's confidence; but after the measures adopted under his administration had resulted in so disastrous an issue, he retired of his own accord, and thenceforward devoted himself to his bishopric of Verona. Niccolo Schomberg, on the contrary, after an embassy on which he had been sent to Naples, had returned to take active part in the most important affairs. Contarini considers him to lean greatly to the imperialists, a man of good understanding and beneficent habits, but violent withal. Giacopo Salviati had also great influence, and was at that time still believed to be in the interests of France.

Although this paper is very short, it nevertheless supplies us with much instructive matter.

No. 19.

Instructio data Cæsari a rev^mo Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530. ["Instructions" given to the emperor by the most reverend Cardinal Campeggio at the diet of Augsburg, 1530.] MS. Rom.

Up to this time political affairs had been treated as most important, but ecclesiastical matters now gradually obtained

the larger share of attention. At the very commencement of this change we meet with that sanguinary proposal for the reduction of Protestantism to the Catholic power of which I have previously spoken, and which is here even called an "Instruction."

The cardinal remarks, that in conformity with the position he holds, and with the commission of the Apostolic See, he would proceed to set forth the measures which, according to his judgment, ought to be adopted.

He describes the state of affairs in the following manner:—"In alcuni luoghi della Germania per le suggestioni di questi ribaldi sono abrogati tutti li christiani riti a noi dagli antichi santi padri dati: non piu si ministrano li sacramenti, non si osservano li voti, li matrimonii si confundono e nelli gradi prohibiti nella legge," &c. &c. [In certain parts of Germany, all the Christian rites which were given to us by the ancient holy fathers have been abrogated in accordance with the suggestions of these scoundrels; the sacraments are no longer administered, vows are not observed, marriages are contracted irregularly, and within the degrees prohibited by the laws], &c. &c., for it would be superfluous to transcribe this *capucinade*.

He reminds the emperor that "this sect" would not procure him any increase of power, as he had been promised; and assures him of his own spiritual aid in the event of his adopting the counsels suggested. "Et io, se sarà bisogno, con le censure e pene ecclesiastiche li proseguirò, non pretermettendo cosa a far che sia necessaria, privando li heretici beneficiati delli beneficii loro e separandoli con le excommunicationi dal cattolico gregge, e V. Cels. col suo bando imperiale justo e formidabile li ridurrà a tale e sì horrendo esterminio che ovvero saranno costretti a ritornare alla santa e cattolica fede ovvero con la loro total ruina mancar delli beni e della vita. .... Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che dio nol voglia, li quali obstinatamente perseverassero in questa diabolica via, ... quella (V. M.) potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al foco et radicitus extirpare queste male e venenose piante." [And I, if there shall be need, will pursue them with ecclesiastical censures and penalties, omitting nothing that it may be needful to do. I will deprive the beneficed heretics of their benefices, and will separate them by excommunications from the Catholic

flock. Your highness also, with your just and awful imperial ban, will subject them to such and so horrible an extirmination that either they shall be constrained to return to the holy Catholic faith, or shall be utterly ruined and despoiled both of goods and life. And if any there be, which God forbid, who shall obstinately persevere in that diabolical course, ... the aforesaid (your majesty) will then take fire and sword in hand, and will radically extirpate these noxious and venomous weeds.]

To the kings of England and France, also, Campeggio proposes the confiscation of all property held by heretics.

He generally keeps his attention fixed, however, on the affairs of Germany; and shews how it was believed that the articles of the treaty of Barcelona, to which he continually recurs, might be interpreted. "Sarà al proposito, poiche sarà ridotta questa magnifica e cattolica impresa a buono e dritto camino, che alcuni giorni dipoi si eleggeranno inquisitori buoni e santi, li quali con summa diligentia et assiduità vadino cercando et inquirendo, s'alcuni, quod absit, perseverassero in queste diaboliche et heretiche opinioni nè volessero in alcun modo lasciarle, ... et in quel caso siano gastigati e puniti secundo le regole e norma che si osserva in Spagna con li Marrani." [It will be well and to the purpose, that when this magnificent and Catholic undertaking shall have been put firmly and directly on its way, there should be chosen, some few days after, efficient and holy inquisitors, who, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, should go about seeking and inquiring if there be any (but far be it from them) who persist in these diabolical and heretical opinions, nor will by any means abandon them, ... in which case they shall be castigated and punished according to the rule and practice observed in Spain with regard to the Moors.]

Happily all were not of this opinion; nor indeed can such recommendations be said to prevail to any great extent in the documents that we have examined.

No. 20.

Relatio viri nobilis Antonii Suriani doctoris et equitis, qui reversus est orator ex curia Romana, presentata in collegio 18 *Julii*, 1533. [Report of the most noble Antonio Suriano, doctor and knight, on his return from an embassy to the Roman court, presented in the college July 18, 1533.] Archivio di Venetia.

"Among the most important circumstances," he begins by remarking, "that ambassadors accredited to princes are bound to observe, are the personal qualities of those sovereigns."

He first describes the character of Clement VII. He is of opinion that if the regularity of this pontiff's life and habits be principally considered, his unwearied diligence in giving audience and assiduous observance of all ecclesiastical ceremonies, he will be supposed to have a "melancholy temperament;" but that those who know him well declare him to be rather of "sanguine temperament," only cold at heart—so that he is very slow to resolve, and readily permits himself to be dissuaded from his resolutions.

"Io per me non trovo che in cose pertinenti a stato la sia proceduta cum grande dissimulatione. Ben cauta: et quelle cose che S. S^ta^ non vole che si intendano, piu presto le tace che dirle sotto falso colore." [For my own part, I do not think that in matters pertaining to the state, his holiness proceeded with any great dissimulation, being cautious indeed; but such things as his holiness does not wish to be known, he passes over silently in preference to describing them under false colours.]

With regard to the ministers of Clement VII., those to whom the earlier reports allude most frequently, are no longer in power—they are not even mentioned. Giacopo Salviati, on the other hand, comes prominently forward, holding the principal administration of Romagna and directing the government of the ecclesiastical dominions generally. With respect to these matters, the pope relied implicitly on him. It is true that the pontiff perceived him to have his own interests too constantly in view, and had complained of this even in Bologna, but he permitted him to continue employed in public affairs.

But precisely for that cause Salviati was detested by the other connections of the pope. They considered him to stand in their way; and when Clement was less liberal to them than they desired, they ascribed it to Salviati. "Pare che suadi al papa a tener strette le mani nè li subministri danari secundo è lo appetito loro, che è grande di spender e spander." [It appears to them that he persuades the pope to keep his hands closed, and not to furnish them with money according to their appetite, which is great for spending and dissipating.]

But the kinsmen of Clement were also very much at variance among themselves. Cardinal Ippolito Medici would have preferred remaining in a secular state, but the pope did but remark, in relation to this matter, that he was "a mad devil, and did not wish to be a priest." "L'è matto diavolo, el matto non vole esser prete. [He is a mad devil, the crazy fellow does not like to be a priest.] It was, nevertheless, exceedingly vexatious to the pope when Ippolito really made attempts to expel Duke Alexander from Florence.

Cardinal Ippolito lived on terms of strict friendship with the young Catherine de' Medici, who is here called the "duchessina." She was his "cusina in terzo grado, con la quale vive in amor grande, essendo anco reciprocamente da lei amato, nè piu in altri lei si confida nè ad altri ricorre in li sui bisogni e desiderj salvo al dicto card'." [Cousin, in the third degree, with whom he lives in great affection, being equally beloved by her in return; there is no one in whom she more confides, and in all her wants and wishes she applies to no one but to the said cardinal.]

Suriano describes the child who was destined to hold so important a position in the world as follows:—"Di natura assai vivace, monstra gentil spirito, ben accostumata: è stata educata e gubernata cum le monache nel monasterio delle murate in Fiorenza, donne di molto bon nome e sancta vita: è piccola de persona, scarna, non de viso delicato, ha li occhi grossi propri alla casa de' Medici." [Her disposition is lively, her character firm and spirited, her manners good. She has been brought up and educated by the nuns of the convent "Delle Murate," in Florence, ladies of excellent reputation and holy life. She is small in person and thin; her features are not delicate, and she has the large eyes peculiar to the house of Medici.

Suitors from all quarters presented themselves to seek her hand. The duke of Milan, the duke of Mantua, and the king of Scotland, desired her as their consort; but various objections were made to all these princes: the French marriage was at that time not yet decided. "In accordance with his irresolute nature," remarks Suriano, "the pope speaks sometimes with greater, and sometimes with less earnestness respecting this match."

But he thinks that the pontiff is certainly disposed to conclude the French alliance, in order that he may win the French party in Florence to his own side. On other points he treats of the foreign relations of the Papal See very briefly, and with much reserve.

No. 21.

Relatione di Roma d'Antonio Suriano. [Report from Rome, by Antonio Suriano, 1536.] Foscarini MS. in Vienna and Library of St. Mark, Venice.

The copies of this report are of varied date, from 1535 to 1539. The correct date I consider to be 1536; first, because the emperor's return to Rome is mentioned in the report, and this took place in April, 1536; and next, because there is a letter extant, from Sadolet to Suriano, dated Rome, Nov. 1536, which proves that the ambassador must have left the papal capital before that date.

This is a letter (Epp. Sadoleti, p. 383), of which the purport is greatly to the honour of Suriano: "Mihi ea officia præstitisti quæ vel frater fratri, vel filio præstare indulgens pater solet, nullis meis provocatus officiis." [You rendered to me those good offices which a brother is wont to lend a brother, or a kind father a son, although nothing on my part called forth these services.]

Three days after the communication of the preceding report, on the 21st of July, 1533, Suriano was again appointed ambassador to Rome.

The new report describes the further progress of those events previously alluded to, more particularly the conclusion of the French marriage, which does not appear to have been satisfactory to all the papal connections. "Non voglio tacere che questo matrimonio fu fatto contra il volere di Giac. Salviati e molto piu della S^ra^ Lucretia sua moglie, la quale etiam

con parole ingiuriose si sforzò di dissuadere S. S^tà." [I will not conceal that this marriage was contracted against the wish of Giacopo Salviati; and still more against that of the signora Lucretia, his wife, who laboured to dissuade the pope from it, even to the extent of using reproachful words.] This was doubtless because the Salviati were then disposed to favour the imperialists. Suriano further treats of that remarkable interview between the pope and emperor, to which we have already called attention. The pope conducted himself with the utmost caution and forethought, and would have no written agreement prepared. "Di tutti li desiderii s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli facevano credere S. S^tà esser disposta in tutte alle sue voglie senza pero far provisione alcuna in scritture." [Clement lent himself to all that was desired, with words of such a character that he made him believe his holiness to be disposed in all things to his will, but without making any arrangement in writing.] The pope wished to have no war—none, at least, in Italy; he desired only to keep the emperor in check: "Con questi spaventi assicurarsi del spavento del concilio." [By means of these fears, to secure himself from the dread of a council.]

Gradually the council became the principal consideration of the papal policy. Suriano discusses the points of view under which the Roman court considered this question, in the commencement of the pontificate of Paul III. Already Schomberg declared that it would be agreed to only on condition that whatever was brought before it should be first submitted to the pope and cardinals, to be examined, discussed, and determined on in Rome.

SECTION II.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON SARPI AND PALLAVICINI.

THE council of Trent, its preliminaries, convocation, twice repeated dissolution, and final assemblage, with all the motives contributing to these events, engross a large portion of the history of the sixteenth century. The immeasurable importance of its effect on the definitive establishment of the

Catholic system of faith, and its relation to that of the Protestants, I need not here insist on. This council forms precisely the central point of those theological and political discords which mark the century.

It has accordingly been made the subject of two elaborate historical delineations, each original, and both in themselves of great importance.

But not only are these works directly opposed to each other, they have also been made a cause of quarrel by the world, in regard to the historian as well as to facts recorded. Thus, even to our own times, Paolo Sarpi is received by one party as honest and trustworthy, while Pallavicini is accounted fallacious and unworthy of belief; by the other party, Pallavicini is declared to merit implicit credence, while Sarpi is affirmed to be almost proverbially mendacious.

On approaching these voluminous works, we are seized with a sort of terror. It would be a sufficiently difficult task to make oneself master of their contents, even did they treat only of authentic and credible matters; but how much more formidable is that task rendered by the fact that we have to be on our guard at every step, lest we should be falsely directed by one or the other, and drawn into a labyrinth of intentional deceptions!

It is, nevertheless, impossible to test their authenticity step by step, by means of facts better known to other authorities; for where could impartial information respecting this subject be found?—and even could we find them, fresh folios would be required before we could effect a satisfactory investigation.

There is, then, nothing remaining to us but the attempt at gaining a clear comprehension of the method pursued by each of our authors.

For we are not to consider all that appears in the works of an historian as belonging to himself, more particularly in works so comprehensive and so rich in matter as those in question. He receives the great mass of his facts from various sources, and it is in the mode of treatment to which he subjects his materials, and the mastery he obtains over them, that we first become acquainted with the individual man, who is himself the pervading spirit of his work and in whom its unity must be sought. Even in these folios, from which industry itself recoils in terror, the presence of a poet makes itself felt.

Storia del Concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano. [History of the Council of Trent, &c.] The first edition, free from extraneous additions. Geneva, 1629.

It was in England, and by the agency of Domini of Spalatro, an archbishop converted to Protestantism, that this work was first published. Although Fra Paolo Sarpi never acknowledged himself to be the author, there is yet no doubt that it is due to him. It may be gathered from his letters that he was occupied with such a history. There is a copy in Venice, which he had himself caused to be made, and which has corrections by his own hand; and it may be affirmed that he was precisely the only man who could, at any time, have composed a history such as that now before us.

Fra Paolo stood at the head of a Catholic opposition to the pope, the hostility of which proceeded originally from political motives; but this party held views similar to those of the Protestants on many points, from having adopted the principles of St. Augustine, and were indeed occasionally charged with Protestantism.

But Sarpi's work is not to be at once regarded with suspicion on account of these opinions. The whole world may be said to have been then divided between decided adherents and decided opponents of the council of Trent; from the former there was nothing but eulogy to be expected, from the latter nothing but reproach. The position of Sarpi was, upon the whole, removed from the influence of both these conflicting parties; he had no inducement to defend the council on every point, nor was he under the necessity of wholly condemning it. His position secured to him the possibility of examining passing events with an unprejudiced eye; it was only in the midst of an Italian Catholic republic that he could have gathered the materials requisite for that purpose.

If we desire to attain a correct idea of the mode in which he proceeded to his labour, we must first recal to memory the methods by which great historical works were composed down to Sarpi's time.

Writers had not then imposed on themselves the task either of gathering materials into a complete and uniform body, a thing always so difficult to do, nor yet of subjecting them to a critical examination; they did not insist on exploring original

sources of information, nor, finally, did they elaborate, by intellectual effort, the mass of matter before them.

How few, indeed, are they who impose on themselves this labour, even in the present day.

At that time, authors were content not only to take those authorities which were generally considered authentic as the basis of their histories, but they proceeded further, and even adopted whole passages, simply completing the narration where that was practicable, by means of the new materials which they had brought together and which were interpolated at the points requiring them. This done, their principal care then was to give all this matter a regular and uniform style.

It was thus that Sleidan formed his work out of the documents relating to the history of the Reformation, as he could best procure them; these he then linked together without much discrimination or critical labour, transforming them by the colouring of his Latinity into one uniform whole.

Thuanus has transferred, without scruple, long passages from other historians to his own pages. He has taken "Buchanan's Scottish History," for example, has separated its various parts, and inserted them amidst the different portions of his work. His English history was supplied to him from materials sent by Camden; the German he takes from Sleidan and Chytræus, the Italian from Adriani, and the Turkish he has borrowed from Busbequius and Leunclavius.

It is true that this was a method whereby there was but little chance for securing originality, and, as one of its consequences, the reader frequently receives the work of another as that of the author whose name is on the title-page. It has been revived and again adopted in our own day, more especially by the writers of French memoirs, who are, indeed, altogether without excuse, for it should be the peculiar characteristic of these works to communicate the unaltered original.

To return to Sarpi. In the very commencement of his work he places before us the following undisguised account of his own position.

"It is my purpose to write the History of the Council of Trent. For, though many renowned historians of our age have touched upon separate points thereof in their various works, and Johann Sleidan, a very accurate writer, has

related the previous causes which gave rise to it ('le cause antecedenti') with infinite diligence, yet were all these matters put together, they would not present a circumstantial narration. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind, I felt a great desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of that history; and when I had gathered all that I found written regarding it, whether such documents as had been printed or those that had been scattered about in manuscript, I began to seek further among the papers left by the prelates and others who had taken part in the council, and so to examine such intelligence as they had furnished in regard to the matter, with the votes they had given, as recorded either by themselves or others, and all information transmitted by letters from the city of Trent at the time of the council. In doing this, I have spared no pains or labour, and have had the good fortune to procure a sight of whole collections of notes and letters from persons who took a large part in those negotiations and transactions. When I had thus brought together so many documents, furnishing more than sufficient materials for a narrative, I resolved to put them in order and form a connected relation of them."

Sarpi has here described his position with evident simplicity. We see him on the one side placed amidst the historians whose accounts he arranges and links together, but which he does not find sufficient, and on the other side we perceive him to be provided with manuscript materials, from which he completes what has been left deficient by his printed auxiliaries.

Unhappily, Sarpi has not supplied us with a detailed enumeration of these authorities, whether manuscript or printed, neither had that been the method of his predecessors; he gave his whole care, as they had done, to the purpose of weaving a well-ordered agreeable history, and which should be complete in itself, out of the mass of intelligence that he had found.

Meanwhile we are enabled to ascertain of what printed historians he availed himself, even without requiring these particulars, and we find that these were for the earlier periods Jovius and Guicciardini; next Thuanus and Adriani, but principally Sleidan, whom he has besides mentioned by name.

For example, in the whole of his narrative describing the state of affairs at the time of the Interim, and after the trans-

fer of the council to Bologna, he had Sleidan before him. It was but in a few instances that he consulted the sources whence that author had derived his information; in all other cases he has nothing but Sleidan.

It will repay our labour to examine his mode of proceeding, and will conduct us a step further in the examination we have undertaken.

He not unfrequently gives a direct translation of Sleidan,—a free one certainly, but still a translation. In regard to the negotiations of the emperor with the princes, for example, as touching their preliminary submission to the authority of the council of Trent (Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 50) :—

"Et Palatinus quidem territatus fuit etiam, nisi morem gereret, ob recentem anni superioris offensionem, uti diximus, cum vix ea cicatrix coaluisset: Mauricius, qui et socerum landgravium cuperet liberari et nuper admodum esset auctus a Cæsare, faciundum aliquid sibi videbat. Itaque cum Cæsar eis prolixe de sua voluntate per internuncios promitteret, et ut ipsius fidei rem permitterent flagitaret, illi demum Octobris die vigesimo quarto assentiuntur. Reliquæ solum erant civitates; quæ magni rem esse periculi videbant submittere se concilii decretis indifferenter. Cum iis Granvellanus et Hasius diu multumque agebant; atque interim fama per urbem divulgata fuit, illos esse præfractos, qui recusarent id quod principes omnes comprobassent: audite quoque fuerunt comminationes, futurum ut acrius multo quam nuper plectantur. Tandem fuit inventa ratio ut et Cæsari satisfieret et ipsis etiam esset cautum. Etenim vocati ad Cæsarem, ut ipsi responsa principum corrigant, non suum esse dicunt, et simul scriptum ei tradunt, quo testificantur quibus ipsi conditionibus concilium probent. Cæsar, eorum audito sermone, per Seldium respondet, sibi pergratum esse quod reliquorum exemplo rem sibi permittant et cæteris consentiant." . . . . . [And the Palatine was indeed afraid that unless he complied evil might ensue, because of the offence given the year before, of which the wound, as we have said, was scarcely closed. Maurice, also, desiring that his father-in-law, the landgrave, should be liberated, and having besides lately received advantages from the emperor, perceived that something must be done. Thus when the emperor had sent them by his envoys repeated promises and assurance of his friendly intention, entreating them

to remit those matters to his good faith, they finally consented, on the 24th of October. All that remained was the free cities, but they perceived that it would be a perilous thing for them to submit to the decrees of the council without exception. Then Granvella and Hasius laboured with them for many days, and in the meantime it was declared throughout the city that those who refused to yield to what all the princes had approved, were to be held refractory; menaces also were bruited abroad to the effect that they would be curbed more sharply than before. Finally, a method was discovered by which the emperor might be satisfied, and which was also safe for themselves. When, therefore, they were called before the emperor, they declared that they did not take it upon them to correct the response of the princes; but at the same time they presented a document, wherein they had testified under what conditions they would approve the council. The emperor having heard their words, replied by means of Seld, that it was pleasing to him that they should follow the example of the others, and agree with the rest to leave the matter with him.] (Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 283.) "Con l'elettor Palatino le preghiere havevano specie di minacce rispetto alle precedenti offese perdonate di recente. Verso Mauricio duca di Sassonia erano necessità, per tanti beneficii nuovamente havuti da Cesare, e perche desiderava liberare il lantgravio suo suocero. Perilche promettendo loro Cesare d'adoperarsi che in concilio havessero la dovuta sodisfattione e ricercandogli che si fidassero in lui, finalmente consentirono, e furono seguiti dagli ambasciatori dell' elettore di Brandeburg e da tutti i prencipi. Le città ricusarono, come cosa di gran pericolo, il sottomettersi indifferentemente a tutti i decreti del concilio. Il Granvela negotiò con gli ambasciatori loro assai e longamente, trattandogli anco da ostinati a ricusar quello che i prencipi havevano comprobato, aggiongendo qualche sorte di minacce di condannargli in somma maggiore che la già pagata: perilche finalmente furono costrette di condescendere al voler di Cesare, riservata però cautione per l'osservanza delle promesse. Onde chiamate alla presenza dell' imperatore, et interrogate se si conformavano alla deliberatione de' prencipi, risposero che sarebbe stato troppo ardire il loro a voler correggere la risposta de' prencipi, e tutti insieme diedero una scrittura contenente le conditioni con che avrebbono ricevuto il concilio. La scrittura

fu ricevuta ma non letta, e per nome di Cesare dal suo cancellario furono lodati che ad essempio degli altri havessero rimesso il tutto all' imperatore e fidatisi di lui: e l'istesso imperatore fece dimostratione d'haverlo molto grato. Così l'una e l'altra parte voleva esser ingannata." [Entreaties to the Elector Palatine were a kind of menace, on account of his recent offences, which had been lately pardoned: in the case of Maurice, duke of Saxony also, there was a necessity for compliance, because of the many benefits that he had just received from the emperor, and also because he desired to liberate the landgrave, his father-in-law. For which causes, and on the emperor's promising them that he would take measures to secure them all due satisfaction from the council, at the same time that he requested them to confide in him, they ultimately consented to do so, and were followed by the ambassadors of the elector of Brandenburg, and all the other princes. The cities refused, considering it a dangerous thing to submit themselves indifferently to all the decrees of the council. Granvella negotiated much, and at great length with their ambassadors, charging them indeed with obstinacy for refusing to agree to that which had been approved by the princes, adding a sort of threat that they should be condemned in a larger amount than that already paid. Wherefore they were finally compelled to yield to the emperor's will, but taking caution, nevertheless, for the observance of the promises. Then, being called into the presence of the emperor, and questioned as to whether they would conform to the resolution of the princes, they replied that it would be too bold in them to wish to correct the answer of the princes, and together with this, they gave in a writing containing the conditions on which they would be willing to receive the council. The paper was received but not read; and they were commended by the chancellor, in the emperor's name, for having remitted all to the emperor, and confided themselves to him according to the example of the others: the emperor himself also made a show of being much pleased with this. Thus both parties chose to be deceived.]

Even in this translation it is obvious that Sarpi does not adhere with strict truth to the facts laid before him. It is not affirmed by Sleidan that Granvella threatened the cities, what the German describes as a mere common rumour, the

Italian puts into the mouth of the minister. The expedient adopted in the matter of the cities is more clearly expressed in the original than in the translation, and as in this instance, so it is in innumerable other passages.

If that were all, there would be nothing further to remark; the reader would merely require to bear constantly in mind that he had a somewhat arbitrary paraphrase of Sleidan before him: but we occasionally meet with alterations of a more important character.

In the first place, Sarpi had not acquired an accurate idea of the constitution of the empire; he has, in fact, always in his thoughts a constitution consisting of three estates,—the clergy, the temporal sovereigns, and the cities. He not unfrequently alters the expressions of his author, for the purpose of bringing them into harmony with his own peculiar and erroneous conception of the matter. Sleidan, for example (lib. xx. p. 108), discusses the votes given in respect of the Interim in the three colleges. 1. In the electoral college. The three ecclesiastical electors are in its favour, the three secular electors are opposed to it: "Reliqui tres electores non quidem ejus erant sententiæ, Palatinus imprimis et Mauricius, verum uterque causas habebant cur Cæsari non admodum reclamarent." [It is true that the other three electors were not of that opinion, especially the Palatine and Maurice; but both had causes for not dissenting from the will of the emperor.] 2. By the college of princes: "Cæteri principes, qui maxima parte sunt episcopi, eodem modo sicut Moguntinus atque collegæ respondent." [The other princes, who are for the most part bishops, reply in the same manner with Mayence and his colleagues.] 3. "Civitatum non ita magna fuit habita ratio." [Of the cities no great account was taken.] Now, from this Sarpi makes what follows (lib. iii. p. 300): the votes of the three ecclesiastical electors he gives as Sleidan has done, but proceeds thus: "Al parer de' quali s'accostarono tutti i vescovi: i prencipi secolari per non offendere Cesare tacquero: et a loro esempio gli ambasciatori delle città parlarono poco, nè di quel poco fu tenuto conto." [To the opinion of whom, all the bishops attached themselves: the temporal princes remained silent, that they might not offend the emperor; and, led by their example, the ambassadors of the cities spoke little, nor was any account made of that little.] Thus, what Sleidan has

said of two electors, is here extended to all the temporal princes. The bishops are made to appear as if giving their votes separately, and all the odium is thrown upon them. The high importance to which the council of the princes of the empire had at that time attained, is completely misunderstood. Even in the passages cited above, Sarpi affirms that the princes had gone over to the opinion of the electors; while the fact was, that they had already expressed a decision of their own, which differed from that of the electoral princes on very many points.

But it is of still higher moment that Sarpi, whilst adopting the statements he finds in Sleidan, and inserting them together with statements which he finds elsewhere, and which he extracts or translates, has also interwoven his own remarks and observations through the whole course of the narrative. Let us examine the nature of these, for this is extremely remarkable.

For example, the worthy Sleidan (lib. xx. p. 58) repeats, without the least suspicion, a proposal of the bishop of Trent, wherein three things are demanded: the reinstation of the council in Trent, the dispatch of a legate into Germany, and a regulation, fixing the manner in which proceedings should be continued, in the event of a vacancy occurring in the papal see. This, Sarpi translated literally, but interpolates the following remark: "The third requisition was added," he says, "to remind the pope of his advanced age, and his approaching death, that he might thus be rendered more compliant and disposed to greater concessions, for he would surely not wish to leave the resentment of the emperor as a legacy to his successor."

Such is the spirit of his observations throughout the work: they are steeped in gall and bitterness, one and all. "The legate summoned the assembly, and gave his opinion first; for the Holy Spirit, which is wont to move the legates in accordance with the wishes of the pope, and the bishops in accordance with those of the legates, inspired them on this occasion in his usual manner."

According to Sleidan, the Interim was sent to Rome,—"for there was still something conceded to the Protestants in it." According to Sarpi, the German prelates insisted on this, "for," says he, "they have laboured from old times to maintain the papal authority in reverence, because this was the

only counterpoise that could be presented to that of the emperor, which they could not withstand but with the aid of the pope, especially if the emperor should once compel them to do their duty according to the practice of the primitive Christian church, and should seek to restrain the abuses of the so-called ecclesiastical liberty within due limits."

It is obvious that Sarpi differs widely, upon the whole, from the compilers who preceded him. The abstract that he makes, the epitome he gives, is full of life and spirit. In despite of the foreign material that he works on, his style has an easy, pleasant, and agreeable flow; nor does the reader perceive the points of transition, when he passes from one author to another. But with these qualities there is, without doubt connected, the fact that his narration assumes the colour of his own opinions: his systematic opposition to the Roman court, his ill-will or his hatred to the papacy, are constantly apparent, and so much the greater is the effect produced.

But Paolo Sarpi had, as we have seen, materials wholly different from any to be found in printed authorities; and from these it is that by far the most important part of his work has been derived.

He has himself distinguished the "interconciliary" and preliminary events from the proper history of the council. He tells us that he desires to treat the former more in the manner of an annual register, or book of annals; the latter in that of a diary. He has also made another difference, which consists in this, that for the former he has for the most part adhered to the well known and current authors; while for the latter, on the contrary, he has drawn from new sources, and used original documents.

The question first, in regard to these authorities, is, of what kind and nature they were.

And in reference to this, I cannot believe that he could obtain much information as to particulars from such a man as Oliva, secretary to the first legate sent to the council; or from Ferrier, French ambassador to Venice, who was also at the council. With respect to Oliva, indeed, Sarpi has committed a great error, since he describes him as leaving the council before he really did so. The French documents were very soon printed. The influence of these men, who

belonged to the malcontent party, with Sarpi, consisted in this, that they confirmed and strengthened the aversion he felt to the council. The Venetian collections, on the other hand, supplied him with the original acts and documents in great number and completeness: letters of the legates, for example, as those of Monte; notes of secret agents, such as Visconti; reports of the nuncios, Chieragato, for example; circumstantial diaries, that had been kept at the council; the "Lettere d'Avisi," and other memorials in vast numbers, and more or less authentic. Sarpi was in this respect so fortunate, that he had opportunity for availing himself of some documents which have never since come to light, and which Pallavicini, notwithstanding the important and extensive aids afforded him, was not able to procure. For these, the inquirer into history must have recourse to the pages of Sarpi through all time.

There now remains only the question of how he employed these materials.

He has, without doubt, directly transferred some portions of them to his own work, with very slight modifications. Courayer assures us, that he had held in his hands a manuscript report on the congregations of the year 1563, which had been used and almost copied by Sarpi: "Que notre historien a consultée, et presque copiée mot pour mot."

I have in my possession a manuscript "Historia del S. Concilio di Trento scritta per M. Antonio Milledonne, Secr. Veneziano, which was also known to Foscarini (Lett. Venez. i. p. 351) and to Mendham, by a contemporary and well-informed author, and this, notwithstanding its extreme brevity, is by no means unimportant, in relation to the later sittings of the council.

Now, I find that Sarpi has occasionally adopted this manuscript word for word. For example, Milledonne says: "Il senato di Norimbergo rispose al nuntio Delfino, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accettava il concilio, come quello che non aveva le conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simil risposta fecero li senati di Argentina e Francfort al medesimo nuntio Delfino. Il senato di Augusta e quello di Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dalli altri che tenevano la confessione Augustana." The following are the words of Sarpi (p. 450): "Il nuncio Delfino nel ritorno espose il suo

carico in diverse città. Dal senato di Norimberg hebbe risposta, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accetterà il concilio, come quello che non haveva conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simili risposte gli fecero li senati d'Argentina e di Francfort. Il senato d'Augusta e quello d'Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dagli altri che tengono la lor confessione." [The senate of Nuremberg replied to the nuncio Delfino, that they would not separate themselves from the Confession of Augsburg, and did not accept the council, because the conditions required by the Protestants had not been accepted. The senates of Strasburg and Frankfort made him a similar reply. The senates of Augsburg and of Ulm, also, declared that they would not separate themselves from the others who held the Confession of Augsburg.] *

Sarpi refrains from following Milledonne there only where the latter has used terms of praise, even though these eulogies are wholly unprejudiced.

Thus Milledonne remarks, that " Il C^l Gonzaga prattico di negotii di stato per aver governato il ducato di Mantova molti anni doppo la morte del duca suo fratello fino che li nepoti erano sotto tutela, gentiluomo di bell' aspetto, di buona creanza, libero e schietto nel parlare, di buona mente, inclinato al bene. Seripando era Napolitano, arcivescovo di Salerno, frate eremitano, grandissimo teologo, persona di ottima coscienza e di singolar bontà, desideroso del bene universale della christianità." [Cardinal Gonzaga is well versed in affairs of state, from having governed the duchy of Milan many years after the death of the duke, his brother, and while his nephews were in their minority. He is a gentleman of handsome presence, and elegant manners, frank and simple in speech, of upright mind and good disposition. Seripando, archbishop of Salerno, is a Neapolitan and an Eremite friar; he is a most profound theologian, exceedingly conscientious, and singularly kind-hearted; he sincerely desires the universal welfare of Christendom.]

Sarpi is much more reserved and frugal of praise in regard to these men: he remarks, for example, " Destinò al concilio Fra Girolamo, C^l Seripando, theologo di molta fama" [He

* The translation here given is of the passage from Milledonne. The differences in Sarpi are simply verbal, and would scarcely be appreciable in a translation.—Tr.

selected for the council Fra Girolamo, Cardinal Seripando, a theologian of much renown]. That he considers to be enough.

The letters of Visconti, which Sarpi had before him, were subsequently printed, and we perceive, on comparing them with his pages, that he has in some places kept very close to them. We have one example of this in vol. ii. p. 174, of Visconti, Lettres et Négotiations:—"Ci sono poi stati alcuni Spagnuoli, li quali parlando dell' istituzione de' vescovi e della residenza havevano havuto ordine di affirmare queste opinioni per vere come li precetti del decalogo. Segovia seguì in queste due materie l'opinione di Granata, dicendo ch'era verità espressa la residenza ed istituzione delli vescovi essere de jure divino e che niuno la poteva negare, soggiungendo che tanto più si dovea fare tal dichiarazione per dannare l'opinione de gli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Guadice, Aliffi e Montemarano con molti altri prelati Spagnuoli hanno aderito all' opinione di Granata e di Segovia; ma piacque al signore dio che si fecero all' ultimo di buona risoluzione." [But some of the Spaniards who were there had received orders to affirm, in speaking of the institution of bishops and of residence, that these opinions were as true as the precepts of the Decalogue. On these two questions Segovia followed the opinion of Granada, declaring it to be an obvious truth that the residence and institution of bishops was of divine appointment, and that no one could deny it; adding, that it was all the more needful to make such a declaration in order to condemn the opinion of the heretics who held the contrary. Cadiz, Aliffe, Montemarano, and many other Spanish prelates adhered to the opinion of Segovia and Granada, but it pleased God that they should ultimately come to a right determination.]

Then follows Sarpi, viii. 753:—"Granata disse, esser cosa indegna haver tanto tempo deriso li padri trattando del fondamento dell' instituzione de' vescovi e poi adesso tralasciandola, e ne ricercò la dichiarazione de jure divino, dicendo maravegliarsi perche non si dichiarasse un tal punto verissimo et infallibile. Aggionse che si dovevano prohibire come heretici tutti quei libri che dicevano il contrario. Al qual parer adherì Segovia, affermando che era espressa verità che nissuno poteva negarla, e si doveva dichiarare per dannare l'openione degli

heretici che tenevano il contrario. Seguivano anco Guadice, Aliffe et Monte Marano con gli altri prelati Spagnuoli, de' quali alcuni dissero, la loro openione esser così vera come li precetti del decalogo." [Granada declared that it was an unworthy thing to have so long derided the fathers, by bringing the fundamental principle of the institution of bishops into question, and afterwards entirely neglecting it; he required a declaration of divine right, affirming that he marvelled wherefore they had not maintained that point to be most true and infallible. He added, that they ought to prohibit as heretical all books that should assert the contrary. To which opinion Segovia adhered, declaring that it was manifest truth, that none could justly deny it, and that it ought to be affirmed, for the purpose of condemning the opinion of the heretics who held the contrary. Then followed also, Cadiz, Aliffe, and Montemarano, with the other Spanish prelates, of whom some maintained that their opinion was as true as the precepts of the Decalogue.]

We perceive that Sarpi was no common transcriber, and the more we compare him with his sources, the more we become convinced of the talent he possessed for completing the connection of his materials, and for giving force and elevation to the manner of his authorities by some slight turn of expression. But equally obvious are the efforts he makes to strengthen all impressions unfavourable to the council.

His unprinted sources are treated precisely in the same manner with his printed materials; nor could we indeed expect that it should be otherwise.

But it will be readily perceived that this method has occasionally much influenced his mode of presenting matters of fact. This appears among other instances in his account of the most important of the German religious conferences,—that held at Ratisbon in 1541.

He here again follows Sleidan, and very closely; he had also, without doubt, the report which Bucer drew up in relation to this conference before him.

But in his mode of using these German authorities he again commits the same faults. The states twice returned replies to the proposals of the emperor in this diet, and each time they were divided among themselves. The electoral college was favourable to the emperor's purpose; the college

of princes was opposed to it. But there was a further difference, namely, that the princes gave way the first time, and did not do so on the second occasion; on the contrary, they returned a dissentient reply.

Sleidan seeks to explain the opposition of the college of princes by remarking that there were so many bishops among its members,—certainly a very important point as regarded the constitution of the empire. But Sarpi completely destroys the essential meaning of this passage by persisting in calling the college of princes directly "bishops." Speaking of the first reply, he says, "I vescovi rifiutarono" [the bishops refused]; of the second, "I vescovi, con alcuni pochi prencipi cattolici" [the bishops, with some few Catholic princes]; whereby, as we have said, he completely misrepresents the constitution of the empire.

But we will not dwell further on this point. The principal question is, in what manner he used those secret sources that were attainable to himself only, and which he might venture to believe would long remain unknown.

Towards the history of that diet, he had the Instructions given to Contarini, and which Cardinal Quirini afterwards caused to be printed, also from a Venetian manuscript.

And here we have first to remark, that what Sarpi found in the Instructions he has interwoven here and there into the conferences held between the legate and the emperor.

We find in the Instructions for example:—"Eos articulos in quibus inter se convenire non possunt, ad nos remittant, qui in fide boni pastoris et universalis pontificis dabimus operam ut per universale concilium vel per aliquam viam æquivalentem, non præcipitanter, sed mature quemadmodum res tanti momenti exigit, finis his controversiis imponatur, et remedium quod his malis adhibendum est quam diutissime perdurare possit." [Those articles with respect to which they cannot agree among themselves, let them remit to us, and we, on the faith of a good pastor and as universal pontiff, will give then due labour, either by a general council or by some other equivalent method, to see that an end be put to these controversies, not precipitately, but after mature consideration, and as a work of so much moment demands, to the effect that the remedy which is to be applied to these evils shall endure as long as may be.]

Sarpi makes Contarini require, "ogni cosa si mandasse al papa, il qual prometteva in fede di buon pastore et universale pontefice di fare che il tutto fosse determinato per un concilio generale o per altra via equivalente con sincerità e con nissun affetto humano, non con precipitio, ma maturamente" [that every thing should be referred to the pope, who promised, on the faith of a good pastor and as universal pontiff, to secure that all should be determined by a general council, or by some equivalent means, with uprightness and without bias of human affection,—not precipitately, but maturely].

In another place the Instructions proceed as follows: "Si quidem ab initio pontificatus nostri, ut facilius hoc religionis dissidium in pristinam concordiam reduceretur, primum christianos principes ad veram pacem et concordiam per literas et nuntios nostros sæpissime hortati sumus; mox ob hanc eandem causam concilium generale .... christianis regibus et principibus etiam per proprios nuntios significavimus .... multaque in Germania religionis causa non ea qua decuit auctoritatem nostram, ad quam religionis judicium cognitio et examen spectat, reverentia tractari et fieri, non absque gravi dolore animi intelleximus; tum temporum conditione moti, tum Cæsareæ et regiæ majestatum vel earum oratorum pollicitationibus persuasi, quod ea quæ hic fiebant boni alicujus inde secuturi causa fierent, partim patientes tulimus," &c. [Wherefore, from the beginning of our pontificate, to the end that this religious dissension might the more easily be brought back to the primitive concord,—first, we very frequently exhorted the Christian princes to peace and true agreement by letters and by our nuncios; afterwards, for that same cause, a general council was signified by us to Christian kings and princes, even by our own nuncios. Many things were treated and done in Germany on account of religion, without that reverence which is due to our authority, whereunto belongs the cognizance, examination, and judgment of all things appertaining to religion, the which we have understood not without heavy sorrow of heart. Yet, moved by the state of the times, and by the promises and assurances of imperial and royal sovereigns or their ambassadors, that the things there done had been done for the sake of some good end that was to follow, we have patiently borne for a time, &c.]

Sarpi adds to this: "Sicome la S^tà S. nel principio del ponti-

ficato per questo medesimo fine haveva mandato lettere e nuntii a' prencipi per celebrar il concilio, e poi intimatolo, e mandato al luogo i suoi legati, e che se haveva sopportato che in Germania tante volte s'havesse parlato delle cose della religione con poca riverentia dell' autorità sua, alla quale sola spetta trattarle, l'haveva fatto per essergli dalle M^ta^ S. data intentione e promesso che cio si faceva per bene." [As his holiness in the beginning of his pontificate had for this very cause sent letters and nuncios to princes for the convocation of a council, and afterwards signified the place and sent his legates to it, so if he had endured that religion and its concerns should so often have been spoken of in Germany with little reverence towards his authority, to which it belongs to treat of them, he had done so because his majesty had given him assurance and promises that this was done for a good end.]

We have said enough to shew that the declarations which Sarpi puts into the mouth of Contarini are taken directly from the Instruction itself; and when we are once made aware of how the matter stands, we can readily excuse him; yet it is not to be denied that truth is sometimes placed in jeopardy by this method of proceeding. The legate received instructions constantly altered to meet the exigences arising from daily changes in the course of events. Sarpi represents him as proposing reasons for referring to Rome only the points on which no agreement had been come to, at a time when it was required in Rome that all should be submitted to the approbation of the Roman court, not excepting even those points on which the parties had already agreed.

But to this first departure from his authority, where he has applied the words of an Instruction to a case for which they were never intended, he adds others of still greater importance.

The pope declares himself in the Instructions to be strongly opposed to a national council: "Majestati Cæsareæ in memoriam redigas, quantopere concilium illud sit semper detestata, cum alibi tum Bononiæ palam diceret nihil æque perniciosum fore et apostolicæ et imperiali dignitatibus quam Germanorum nationale concilium, illa nulla meliore via quam per generale concilium obviam iri posse confiteretur: quin imo etiam S. M. post Ratisbonensem dictam anno d^ni^ 1532 habitam pro sua singulari prudentia omni studio semper egit ne qua imperialis

dieta hactenus sit celebrata ac ex ea occasione ad concilium nationale deveniretur." [You will recal to the memory of his imperial majesty how much he always detested that council, and as well at Bologna as elsewhere, and said that nothing could be equally pernicious to the apostolical and to the imperial dignity as a national council of the Germans. He confessed also that there was no better way to avoid this than a general council; and furthermore, that his majesty, after the diet of Ratisbon in 1532, had ever laboured, as was to be expected from his singular prudence, to prevent the holding of any imperial diet from that time forth, lest from that imperial diet there should arise occasion for a national diet.]

This also Sarpi gives literally, and even cites it as taken from the Instruction, but still with a remarkable addition: "Che raccordasse all' imperatore quanto egli medesimo havesse detestato il concilio nationale essendo in Bologna, conoscendolo pernicioso all' autorità imperiale: poiche i sudditi preso animo dal vedersi concessa potestà di mutare le cose della religione pensarebbono ancora a mutare lo stato: e che S. M. dopo il 1532 non volse mai più celebrare in sua presenza dieta imperiale per non dar occasione di domandar concilio nationale." [That he should remind the emperor how much he had himself detested the national council when he was at Bologna, as knowing it to be pernicious to the imperial authority; because subjects, taking courage from finding themselves granted power to change affairs of religion, would next think of changing matters of state; so that his majesty, after 1532, would never more have an imperial diet held in his presence, that he might not give occasion for demanding a national council.]

Who could avoid supposing from this that the emperor had himself expressed the idea of a nation readily changing the form of its government, when once it had altered that of its religion? Yet, on this point, I cannot believe the author simply on his own assertion; nothing of the kind is to be found in the Instruction: it is, indeed, a thought that did not obtain currency in the world until after the events of a later period.

I do not think my criticism will appear too minute. How shall we ascertain whether a writer speaks the truth or not,

except by comparing him with the original authorities that he has had before him?

And I discover a deviation still more important than those that we have already observed.

Even in the first conference that he describes as taking place between the emperor and Contarini, we find him interweaving the words of the Instruction—those important words to which we have already referred.

The pope excuses himself for not having given to the cardinal so full and extensive an authority as the emperor and king desired to see him invested with. "Primum, quia videndum imprimis est, an protestantes .... in principiis nobiscum conveniant. cujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, sacros. ecclesiæ sacramenta, et alia quædam quæ tam sacrarum literarum auctoritate tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus: quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur." [First, because it is, before all, to be seen whether the Protestants will agree with us in our most essential principles, of which kind are these; that the primacy of this holy seat was instituted by God himself and by our Saviour; those concerning the holy sacraments of the church, with certain other matters which have been always observed and approved, as well by the authority of holy writ as by the perpetual observance of the church, and with which we know you to be well acquainted; if these things were at once admitted from the beginning, an argument might be attempted on all other points of controversy.]

Sarpi makes Contarini say, "Che S. S^tà gli aveva data ogni potestà di concordare co' protestanti, purche essi ammettino i principii, che sono il primato della sede apostolica instituito da Christo, et i sacramenti sicome sono insegnati nella chiesa Romana, *e le altre cose determinate nella bolla di Leone*, offerendosi nelle altre cose di dar ogni sodisfattione alla Germania." [That his holiness had given him all power to agree with the Protestants, provided they would admit the first principles, which were, the primacy of the Apostolic See instituted by Christ, *and the other things determined in the bull of Leo*, offering, in respect of all other questions, to give full satisfaction to Germany.]

We see how great a difference is here; it was in the vague and undefined character of the pope's words that the only possibility of an amicable issue lay. The conference could have had no conceivable object if this expedient had not left it the prospect of such an issue; but in Sarpi this is altogether done away with. The pope is not merely desiring "quædam quæ tibi nota esse bene scimus," but openly demands the recognition of the decrees contained in Leo's bull, the condemnation, that is, of the Lutheran tenets: this was a thing which was utterly impracticable.

Sarpi will by no means acknowledge that the Papal See gave proof of a disposition to conciliatory measures of any kind whatever. According to him, Contarini was compelled to assert the papal authority in its most rigorous forms. In Sarpi, Contarini begins at once with the declaration that "the pope could by no means share the power of deciding on doubtful points of faith with any person whatsoever; to him, alone, was the privilege of infallibility accorded, in the words "I have prayed for thee, Peter" [Ego rogavi pro te, Petre]; matters concerning which, in the Instructions at least, there is not a word to be found.

Upon the whole, Sarpi considered the papacy in the light proper to his times. After the restoration was accomplished, it became much more despotic and inflexible than it had been during the times of its danger and depression. But it was in its plenitude of power and in the perfection of its self-confidence that it stood before the eyes of Sarpi. He transferred to earlier times what he perceived and felt in his own: all the information he obtained, all the documents that passed through his hands, were interpreted in this spirit, which was entirely natural to him, and was derived from the position held by his native city, and by his party in that city, as also from his own personal condition.

We have yet another historical work by Paolo Sarpi, and which relates to the dissensions between Rome and Venice in the year 1606: "Historia particolare delle cose passate tra 'l summo pontefice Paolo V. e la Ser^ma^ Rep^a^ di Venetia; Lion, 1624." This is written, for the most part, in a similar spirit. It is a masterly delineation, and, upon the whole, is true; still it is a party work. With regard to those dissensions existing among the Venetians themselves, which broke forth on that occasion and formed so important a characteristic of their

domestic history, there is little or nothing to be found in Sarpi. To judge from what he says, it would appear that there was but one opinion in Venice; he is continually speaking of the "princeps," by which name he designates the Venetian government. The employment of this fiction scarcely permits him to attain to any very minute or exact representation of internal relations. He glides very lightly over such things as were but little to the honour of Venice,—over that peculiar case mentioned in the text of the delivering up of the prisoners, for example,—speaking as if he did not know why they were first given up to the ambassador, and then, with a different form of words, to the cardinal. Nor does he mention the fact that the Spaniards were favourable to the exclusion of the Jesuits. He had vowed an implacable hatred to both, and will not give himself the trouble to remark that their interests were on this occasion at variance.

It is much the same with his History of the Council; the original authorities, the sources of information, are collected with diligence, elaborated carefully, and used with the highest intelligence. Neither can we affirm that they are falsified, or that they are frequently and essentially perverted; but the conduct of the work is in the spirit of a decided opposition.

By this method, Sarpi laid open a new path. To what had been mere compilation, he gave the unity of a general and definite tendency. His work is disparaging, reproachful, and hostile. It is the first example of a history in which the whole development of the subject is accompanied by unceasing censures. The character of his work is far more decided in this respect than that of Thuanus, who first made a slight approach to that manner wherein Sarpi has found innumerable followers.

Istoria del Concilio di Trento scritta dal Padre Sforza Pallavicino della Compagnia di Gesu, 1664. [History of the Council of Trent, written by Father Sforza Pallavicini, of the Company of Jesus, 1664.]

A book like the "History" of Sarpi, so richly furnished with details never before made known, so full of spirit and sarcasm, treating of an event so important, and one of which the consequences exercised a commanding influence on those

times, could not fail to produce the deepest impression. The first edition appeared in 1619, and between that year and the year 1622, four editions of a Latin translation had been published. There were, besides, a German and a French translation. The court of Rome was the more earnestly determined to have this work refuted, from the fact that it contained many errors which were immediately obvious to all who were accurately acquainted with the events of that period.

A Jesuit, Terentio Alciati, prefect of the studies in the Collegio Romano, immediately occupied himself with the collection of materials for a refutation, which should be also a circumstantial exposition of the subject. His book received the title of "Historiæ Concilii Tridentini a veritatis hostibus evulgatæ Elenchus;" * he amassed an enormous body of materials, but died in 1651, before he had brought them into order.

The general of the Jesuits, Goswin Nickel, selected another member of his order, Sforza Pallavicini, who had already given evidence of some literary talent, for the completion of the task, and for this purpose relieved him from all other occupations. The general appointed him to that work, we are told by Pallavicini himself, "as a condottiere appoints one of his soldiers."

He published the results of his labours in three thick quartos, of which the first appeared in the year 1656.

It is a work comprising an immense accumulation of material, and is of the utmost importance to the history of the sixteenth century, beginning, as it does, from the commencement of the Reformation. The public archives were all thrown open to the author, and he had access to all that could promote his purpose, in the several libraries of Rome. Not only were the acts of the council, in all their extent, at his command, but he had also the correspondence of the legates with Rome, together with various other collections of documentary evidence, and sources of information innumerable, all at his entire disposal. He is far from attempting to conceal his authorities; he rather makes a parade of their titles on the margin of his book: the number he cites is nearly countless.

His principal object is to refute Sarpi. At the end of each

* It is so called in Mazzuchelli.

volume, he places a catalogue of the "errors, in matters of fact," of which he maintains that he has convicted his opponent; he reckons 361, but adds, that he has confuted innumerable others, which do not appear in the catalogue.

In his preface, he announces that he "will not suffer himself to be drawn into any slight skirmishing; whoever shall propose to attack him may advance in full order of battle, and refute his whole book as he had wholly refuted Paolo Sarpi." But what an undertaking were that! We are not to be tempted into any such mode of proceeding.

We must be content, as we have said, with giving the means of forming an idea of Pallavicini's method by the collection of some few examples.

Since he drew from so many concealed records and other sources previously unknown, and in fact derived his whole work from their combination, our first inquiry must be directed to the manner in which he availed himself of these resources.

We shall do this with the more facility in cases where the original authorities used by Pallavicini have since been printed; but I have also been so fortunate as to have had a whole series of such documents as never have been printed and which he has quoted, laid open to my examination: our first business must now be to compare the originals with his elaboration of their contents.

I will do this in respect to some few points consecutively.

1. And first, it must be acknowledged, that Pallavicini has in many instances made very satisfactory use of the Instructions and other papers laid before him, and given faithful extracts. I have compared an Instruction received by the Spanish ambassador in November, 1562, for example; as also the answer returned to him by the pope in March, 1563, and the new instructions dispatched by the pope to his nuncio, with the extracts made from these papers by Pallavicini, and have found them to be throughout in perfect harmony. (Pall. xx. 10; xxiv. 1.) He has simply availed himself of a right, when, in certain cases, he has made transpositions which do no injury to truth. It is indeed true that he occasionally softens the strength of the expression; as for example, where the pope says that he had opened the council again, only because he relied on the support of the king, and in the persuasion that

the king would be his right arm, a guide and leader in all his purposes and proceedings. "Il fondamento che facessimo nella promessa di S. M^tà^ e de' suoi ministri di doverci assistere ci fece entrare arditamente nell' impresa, pensando di avere S. M^tà^ per nostro braccio dritto e che avesse a esserci guida o conduttiero in ogni nostra azione e pensiero." [The reliance we placed on the promise of his majesty and his ministers that they would assist us, caused us to enter boldly into this undertaking, expecting to have his majesty for our right arm, and as a guide or leader in our every thought and action.] He thus makes the pope merely say that he would not have reopened the council had he not cherished the expectation that the king would be his right arm and leader; but since he has suffered the substance to remain, there is no great cause for censure. In regard to the mission of Visconti to Spain, and that of another ambassador to the emperor, Sarpi is of opinion (viii. 61) that their commission to propose a meeting was a mere pretence; but this is too subtle a suspicion; the proposal for a congress, or a conference as it was then called, is one of the points most urgently insisted on in the Instruction. Pallavicini is without doubt quite right in maintaining this.

2. But Pallavicini is not always the more correctly informed of these two writers. When Sarpi relates that Paul III. had proposed to the Emperor Charles V., at the conference of Busseto, the investiture of his nephew, who had married a natural daughter of Charles, with the fief of Milan, Pallavicini devotes an entire chapter to the refutation of this assertion. He will not believe the historians in whose works it appears. "How," he exclaims, "could the pope then have ventured to write letters to the emperor in such a tone as that he employed?" "Con qual petto avrebbe ardito di scrivere a Carlo lettere così risentite?" The emperor might have at once reproached him with shameless dissimulation (simulatione sfacciata). Now, since Pallavicini is so much in earnest, we must needs believe that he is here writing *bonâ fide*. Yet the facts as related by Sarpi are nevertheless founded in truth. By the dispatches of the Florentine ambassador (Dispaccio Guicciardini, 26 Giugno, 1543) this is established beyond contradiction.

In a manuscript life of Vasto may be found still more circumstantial details respecting this matter. We will here cite 2

"Discorso" of Cardinal Carpi which tends to the same purpose. Nay, the pope had not given up this idea even in the year 1547.—Le cardinal de Bologne au roy Henry II., Ribbier, ii. 9:—"L'un—le pape—demande Milan, qu'il jamais n'aura; l'autre—l'empereur—400,000 sc., qu'il n'aura sans rendre Milan." [One—the pope—demands Milan, which he will never have; the other—the emperor—requires 400,000 scudi, which he will not get without giving up Milan.] Notwithstanding this, Pope Paul III. did certainly write those letters.

3. But the question next arises whether Pallavicini's errors are generally made *bonâ fide*. This cannot have been the case in every instance; it sometimes happened that his documents were not so orthodox and Catholic as himself. While the passing events of the time were still in progress—while they were displaying themselves in all their varying aspects, and presenting the possibility of changing development and differing results, it was not possible to take views so rigorous in regard to them as were entertained when all was again established on its former basis. Such an agreement as that made at the peace of Augsburg could not possibly be approved by the rigid orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. Pallavicini accordingly bemoans the most heavy injuries (detrimenti gravissimi) resulting from it to the Roman See; he compares it with a palliative which only brings on a more dangerous crisis. He had nevertheless found the report of a nuncio in relation to it, by whom its necessity was clearly perceived. This was Delfino, bishop of Liesina. Pallavicini brings forward the report presented by that bishop to Cardinal Caraffa, and has, in fact, made use of it. But in what manner has he done this?

All the reasons by which Delfino proves the absolute necessity for this agreement, are changed by Pallavicini into so many grounds of exculpation alleged by the Emperor Ferdinand in defence of himself.

The nuncio says, that there was at that time no prince and no city which had not some quarrel with their neighbours; these he specifies, and declares that the land was going to ruin;—Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony, as if constituting an opposition diet, affirmed that they would hold together. The king had entreated the emperor to make peace with France and to

direct his attention to Germany, but he refused to do so. In the midst of all these disorders, the states assembled; the king then confirmed the points on which both parties had agreed, and so joyfully had they done this (sì allegramente), that since the days of Maximilian, Germany had never been so quiet as it then was.

Now on all these matters Pallavicini also touches (l. xiii. c. 13); but how much does he weaken the effect by placing these remarks in the mouth of a prince who is merely seeking to excuse himself!

"Scusavasi egli di cio con addurre che haveva richiesto d'ordini specificati, l'imperatore, confortandolo alla pace di Francia, ... ed havergli ricordato esser questa l'unica arme per franger l'orgoglio de' protestanti, etc." [He excused himself for that by alleging that he had requested specific orders from the emperor exhorting him to peace with France; and had reminded him that this was the only weapon wherewith they could crush the pride of the Protestants, &c.] Let us contrast these ambiguous phrases with the words of Delfino. "Il ser^mo re vedendo questi andamenti (the religious dissensions) scrisse a S. M^tà Cesarea esortandola alla pace col christianissimo accioche ella possa attendere alle cose di Germania e farsi ubedire, etc." [The most serene king beholding these proceedings, wrote to his imperial majesty, entreating him to make peace with the most Christian king, to the end that he might attend to the affairs of Germany, and might make himself obeyed, &c.]

It is without doubt a great inaccuracy, and in a writer who boasts so loudly of his authentic information, altogether unpardonable, that he should convert the relation of a nuncio into the exculpation of a prince; but the worst aspect of this proceeding is, that the correct view of the occurrence becomes obscured by it.

The whole of the documents used are generally translated from the style of the sixteenth century into that of the seventeenth; but they are dishonestly treated.

4. If we confine ourselves to the relations existing between the pope and Ferdinand I., we have still some few remarks to make. We know that the emperor pressed and wished for a reform which was not very agreeable to the pope. In the course of the first months of the year 1563, Pius twice sent

his nuncios—first Commendone, and afterwards Morone—to Inspruck, where the emperor resided at that time, in the hope of prevailing on him to desist from his opposition. These were very remarkable missions, and had important consequences as regarded the council. The manner in which Pallavicini (xx. 4) has given the reports of these missions is an interesting subject of observation. We have the report of Commendone, Feb. 19, 1563, which Pallavicini had also before him.

And respecting this we have first to remark, that Pallavicini materially weakens the expressions employed at the imperial court, as well as the purposes entertained there. With regard to the alliance subsisting at that time between the emperor and the French, as represented by Cardinal Lorraine, he makes Commendone say, "Rendersi credibile che scambievolmente si confirmerebbono nel pare e si prometterebbono ajuto nell' operare." [It was to be expected that they would confirm each other in opinion, and promise aid each to the other in their undertakings.] Commendone expresses himself in a totally different manner. The imperial court did not merely propose to seek reform in common with the French: "Pare che pensino trovar modo e forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con Francesi." [They seem intent on ways and means for securing the greater weight and authority in the present council, that, in conjunction with France, they may carry through all their measures.]

But there are many things that Pallavicini omits entirely. An opinion prevailed at the imperial court that, with a more conciliatory disposition and by more earnest reforms, much better progress might have been made and more good effected with regard to the Protestants. "La somma è che a me pare di haver veduto non pur in S. M.ª ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remittendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione et impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliano riforma." [The sum of the matter is, that I think I have seen, not indeed in his majesty, but in the principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire

for reform and for the progress of the council, with a firm hope that by remitting somewhat of the positive law, and by the reform of morals and discipline in the church, they might not only preserve the Catholics in their faith, but even win over and bring back heretics; but there is also too fixed an opinion and impression that there are some here who are resolved against all reform.] I will not attempt to discover who those Protestants may have been from whom there was ground for expecting a return to the Catholic church in the event of a regular reform; but these remarks are much too offensive to the courtier prelate to permit of Pallavicini's reporting them. Allusion being made to the difficulties found in the council, Seld answered laconically: "Oportuisset ab initio sequi sana consilia." [Just counsels ought to have been adopted from the beginning.] The complaints in respect of difficulties presented by the council are reported by Pallavicini, but he suppresses the reply.

But, on the other side, he gives at full length a judgment pronounced by the chancellor in favour of the Jesuits.

We have said enough to shew that he dwells on whatever he finds agreeable to his own ideas, but whatever does not suit himself and the Curia, he passes lightly over, or chooses to know nothing of it. For example, the legates were opposed to the purpose of the bishops, who desired to exclude abbots and the generals of religious orders from voting on the question (vox decisiva), on the ground, "per non sdegnar tante migliara de' religiosi, fra quali in verità si trova oggi veramente la teologia" [*that they might not give offence to so many thousands of the regular clergy*, among whom, in fact, the true theology must nowadays be sought]. (Registro di Cervini, Lettera di 27 Decem. 1545. Epp. Poli, iv. 229.) Here Pallavicini takes occasion to set forth the motives actuating their decision in a light very honourable both to the bishops and the orders. "Il che (the admission of the generals, that is) desideravano, perche in effetto la teologia, con la quale si doveva decidere i dogmi, resedeva ne' regolari, ed era opportuno e dicevole che molti de' giudici havessero intelligenza esquisita di articoli da giudicarsi" (VI. ii. 1, p. 576). [They desired the admission of the regular clergy, because it was among them that the theology, whereby the tenets in dispute were to be judged, had taken up its abode, and it was

manifestly desirable that many of the judges should possess the clearest comprehension and the most finished judgment respecting the articles to be submitted to their decision.]

5. Now it is obvious that this method cannot have failed to impair the accuracy of the views presented by Pallavicini to his reader.

For example, in the year 1547, the Spaniards brought forward certain articles of reform known under the name of Censures. The transfer of the council followed very soon afterwards, and there can be no question as to the fact that this event was greatly influenced by these Censures. It was, without doubt, of the utmost importance that the immediate adherents of the emperor Charles should present demands so extraordinary at the very moment when he was victorious. Sarpi has given them at full length, lib. ii. p. 262, subjoining the replies of the pontiff shortly after. But demands so outrageous on the part of orthodox prelates do not suit the purpose of Pallavicini. He tells us that Sarpi relates many circumstances concerning this matter, of which he can find no trace; and says he can discover nothing more than a reply of the pope to certain proposals of reform presented to him by several fathers, and which had been made known to him by the presidents, "sopra varie reformazioni proposte da molti de' padri." What these were he takes good care not to say. To have done so might have impeded him in his refutation of Sarpi's assertion that the transfer of the council was attributable to worldly motives.

6. In the art of holding his peace in relation to such matters as may not conveniently be made public, he has proved himself quite a master.

In the third book, for example, he has occasionally cited a Venetian report by Suriano. And in allusion to this report, he says that the author asserts himself to have made diligent search, and acquired unquestionable information respecting the treaties between Francis and Clement; nor does Pallavicini think of contradicting him on this point (III. c. xii. n. 1). He adopts portions of Suriano's work, on the contrary, and gives them in his own narrative; such, for example, as that Clement had shed tears of pain and anger on hearing that his nephew was taken prisoner by the emperor. It is evident, in short, that he puts faith in Suriano's statements. He declares also that this Venetian is directly opposed to his

countryman Sarpi. The latter affirms, namely, that "il papa negotiò confederazione col re di Francia, la quale si concluse e stabilì anco col matrimonio di Henrico secondogenito regio e di Catarina" [the pope negotiated an alliance with the king of France, which was rendered more stable, and concluded by the marriage of Henry, the second son of the king, with Catherine]. Respecting this matter Pallavicini exclaims aloud. "The pope," says he, "did not ally himself with the king, as P. Soave so boldly maintains." He appeals to Guicciardini and Soriano. Now what does Soriano say? He traces at great length the whole course of the inclination of Clement towards the French, shews when and where it began, how decidedly political a colour it bore, and finally speaks of the negotiations at Bologna. He certainly denies that matters had proceeded to the formation of an actual treaty, but he merely refutes the assertion that a positive draft in writing was prepared. "Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli fanno credere, S. S^ta^ esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza però far provisione alcuna in scrittura." [Clement agreed to all the wishes of the king, using such words as to make him believe his holiness disposed to comply with his requisitions in every particular; but, nevertheless, without having made any condition whatever in writing.] He subsequently relates that the king had pressed for the fulfilment of the promises then made to him. "S. M^ta^ chr^ma^ dimandò che da S. S^ta^ li fussino osservate le promesse." [His most Christian majesty required that the promises of his holiness should be fulfilled.] And this, according to the same author, was one of the causes of Clement's death. Here we have the extraordinary case of falsehood being in a certain sense truer than the truth itself. There is no doubt that Sarpi is wrong, where he says that an alliance was concluded; the treaty, commonly so called, never was put into legal form. Pallavicini is right in denying the existence of this treaty; and yet, upon the whole, Sarpi comes much nearer to the truth. There was the closest union, but it was entered into verbally only, and not by written forms.

7. Similar circumstances may be remarked in the use made by Pallavicini of the letters of Visconti. Sarpi has sometimes borrowed more from these letters than is literally contained in them: for example, he says, vii. 657, "In respect to the

decree for enforcing residence, that Cardinal Lorraine had spoken at great length and very indistinctly, so that it was not possible to ascertain whether he was favourable, upon the whole, to that decree or not." Hereupon he is stoutly attacked by Pallavicini: "Si scorge apertamente il contrario" (xix. c. 8); he even cites Visconti to support his contradiction. But let us hear Visconti himself: "Perchè s'allargò molto, non poterò seguire se non pochi prelati." (Trento, 6 Dec. in Mansi Misc. Baluzii, iii. p. 454.) [None but a few prelates could follow his words, because he enlarged greatly.] Thus it was perfectly true that his hearers could not follow him, and that his meaning was not properly understood. Further on Pallavicini is enraged with Sarpi for having given it to be understood that the cardinal had refrained from appearing in one of the congregations, because he desired to leave the French at full liberty to express their opinions, and that he made the intelligence he had received of the death of the king of Navarre his pretext for absenting himself. Pallavicini protests, with vehemence, that this was the true and sole motive of the cardinal. "Nè io trovo in tante memorie piene di sospetto, che ciò capitasse in mente a persona." (*Ibid.*) [Nor do I find among so many records full of suspicions that this had ever occurred to any one.] How, was there no one in whose mind this absence had awakened suspicion? Visconti says, in a letter published by Mansi in another place: "Loreno chiamò questi prelati Francesi e gli commise che havessero da esprimere liberamente tutto quello che haveano in animo senza timor alcuno. E'sono di quelli che pensano che il cardinal se ne restasse in casa per questo effetto." [Lorraine called those prelates, and told them that they were to speak freely of all they had in their minds without fear of any one; and there were some who thought that the cardinal had remained at home for that express purpose.] Of the assertion that the cardinal had used the king's death as a pretext, it is true that Visconti says nothing, unless, indeed, he did so in other letters; which is the more probable, from the fact that Sarpi had evidently other sources of information under his eyes at this place. But as to the true point in question, that the cardinal was suspected of remaining at home for the reason assigned, that is certainly to be found literally expressed in these writings. And what are we to say to this, since Pallavicini unquestionably saw them?

8. The general purpose of Pallavicini is, in fact, to refute his opponent without having any interest in the question as to how truth might best be brought to light. This is in no case more obvious than in that part of his work which relates to the conference of Ratisbon, of which we have already treated so fully. Pallavicini also was acquainted with the Instruction here referred to, as will be readily imagined, only he considered it to be more secret than it really was; but from the mode in which he handles it, we gain a perfect acquaintance with himself. He makes a violent attack on Sarpi, and reproaches him for representing the pope to declare that he would accord entire satisfaction to the Protestants, provided they would agree with him in the main points already established of the Catholic tenets: "Che ove i Luterani convenissero ne' punti già stabiliti della chiesa romana, si offeriva nel resto di porger ogni sodisfattione alla Germania." [That when the Lutherans should agree to the points already established by the Roman church, entire satisfaction should be given to Germany in other respects.] He affirms this assertion of Sarpi's to be directly contrary to the truth: Questo è dirimpetto contrario al primo capo dell' Instruttione." [This is directly contrary to the principal point, the chief head of the Instruction.] How! Can he venture to affirm that the opposite of this was the truth? The pope's Instruction is thus expressed: "Videndum est an in principiis nobiscum conveniant, ... quibus admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur" [It must first be seen whether they will agree with us in the principal points, ... which being admitted, an agreement might be attempted on all other controverted questions], and the other words which have been quoted above. It is true that Sarpi has here fallen into an error by restricting the legate more closely than the truth would demand. He has also said too little of the conciliatory disposition of the pope. Instead of discovering this error, as it most obviously was, Pallavicini describes Sarpi as saying too much. He enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, which had not been made in the bull, and brings forward a number of things which are true indeed, but which are not the only things that are true, and cannot do away with the words really to be found in those Instructions, nor invalidate their force. In matters altogether unessential, he is strictly correct; but he totally misrepresents and distorts

things of vital importance. Nay, we sometimes find him attempting to convict Sarpi of intentional and deliberate falsehood,—lib. iv. 13, for example: "Mentisce Soave con attribuire ad arte de' pontefici l'essersi tirato il convento in lungo, senza effetto." [Soave asserts a falsehood, when he attributes the long extension of the diet (of Worms), without having produced any effectual result, to the acts of the popes.] Yet it is clear that such was the case, as results from the whole correspondence of Morone relating to that convention, as we now have it before us. In short, Pallavicini proceeds as might an advocate who had undertaken to carry through his sorely-pressed client, on every point, and at whatever cost. He labours hard to place him in the best light, and brings forward all that seems likely to help his course; but whatever he thinks likely to do it injury, he not only leaves out of view, but directly denies its existence.

It would be impossible to follow Pallavicini through all the lengthened discussions into which he enters; it must suffice that we have made ourselves acquainted, to a certain extent, with his manner.

It must be allowed that we do not gather from our researches the most encouraging results as regards the history of the council.

It has indeed been affirmed, that from these two works combined, the truth may be elicited. This may perhaps be maintained if we confine our remarks to very general views, and regard the subject merely as a whole; but when we examine particulars, we find that it is not the case.

These authors both deviate from the truth; this lies between them, without doubt, but we can never obtain it by conjecture. Truth is something positive; it is an independent and original existence; it is not by a mere reconciliation of conflicting assertions that we can arrive at truth,—we acquire it only by a perception of the actual fact.

Sarpi, as we have seen, affirms that a treaty was concluded at Bologna; Pallavicini denies it: now from no conjecture in the world could we deduce the fact that the treaty was made but verbally only, and was not prepared in writing, by which the contradiction certainly is reconciled.

The Instructions given to Contarini are misrepresented by them both, their discrepancies can never be brought into har-

mony; it is only by examining the original that we can arrive at the truth.

They possessed minds of totally opposite character. Sarpi is acute, penetrating, and sarcastic; his arrangement is exceedingly skilful, his style pure and unaffected; and although the Crusca would not admit him into the catalogue of classic writers,—probably on account of certain provincialisms to be found in his works,—yet are his writings, after the pompous display of words through which we have to wind our way in other authors, a true enjoyment. His style is well adapted to his subject, and in power of description he is, without doubt, entitled to the second place among the modern historians of Italy. I rank him immediately after Macchiavelli.

Neither is Pallavicini devoid of talent. He frequently makes ingenious parallels, and often defends his party with considerable address. But his intellect has something weighty and cumbrous in its character. His talent was for the most part displayed in making phrases and devising subterfuges: his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom. Pallavicini is not without a certain flow of manner, but he is obscure, diffuse, and shallow.

Both are positive and thorough-going partisans. The true spirit of the historian, which, apprehending every circumstance and object in its purest truth, thus seizes and places it in the full light of day,—this was possessed by neither. Sarpi was doubtless endowed with the talent required, but he would never desist from accusing. Pallavicini had talent also, though in an infinitely lower degree; but at every cost he is resolved on defending.

Nor can we obtain, even from both these writers together, a thorough and complete view of their subject. A circumstance that must be ever remarkable, is the fact that Sarpi contains much which Pallavicini never succeeded in eliciting, numerous as were the archives and resources of all kinds laid open to his research. I will but instance one memoir, that of the nuncio Chieregato, concerning the deliberations at the court of Adrian VI., which is of the highest importance, and against which Pallavicini makes exceptions that signify absolutely nothing. Pallavicini also passes over many things from a sort of incapacity; he does not perceive the extent of their importance, and so he allows them to drop. But, on

the other hand, Sarpi was excluded from innumerable documents which Pallavicini possessed. Of the correspondence maintained by the Roman court with the legates, for example, Sarpi saw but a small portion. His errors are for the most part attributable to the want of original sources of information.

But there were many important memorials to which neither of them had recourse. There is a short report of Cardinal Morone, who conducted the decisive embassy despatched to Ferdinand I., and which is of the highest moment in regard to the history of all the later sittings of the council. This remains, without having been used by either of our authors.

Nor must it be imagined that Rainaldus or Le Plat has completely supplied this deficiency. Rainaldus frequently gives no more than extracts from Pallavicini. Le Plat often follows the latter or Sarpi, word for word, and takes the Latin translations of their text as authentic memorials of what he could not find authority for elsewhere. He has also used fewer unprinted materials than might have been expected. In Mendham's "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," there is much that is new and good. We find in p. 181, for example, an extract from the acts of Paleotto, together with his introductions, even to individual sessions, as to the 20th, for instance; but he has not given due care to the study and elaboration of his subject.

Would any one now undertake a new history of the council of Trent,—a thing which is not to be very confidently expected, since the subject has lost much of its interest,—he must begin anew from the very commencement. He must collect the several negotiations, and the discussions of the different congregations, of which very little that is authentic has been made known; he must also procure the despatches of one or other of the ambassadors who were present. Then only could he obtain a complete view of his subject, or be in a condition to examine the two antagonist writers who have already attempted this history. But this is an undertaking that will never be entered on, since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done, and will therefore not make the attempt; and those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means.

SECTION III.

TIMES OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION DOWN TO SIXTUS V.

We return to our manuscripts, in which we find information that, even when fragmentary, is at least authentic and unfalsified.

No. 22.

Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ, Pauli III., ad regem Romanorum nuntio destinato. 24 *Oct.*, 1536. *MS. Barb.* 3007, 15 *leaves.* [Instruction touching the faith and the council given by Paul III. to the bishop of Modena, appointed nuncio to the king of the Romans. Barberini Library.]

A conclusive proof is afforded by this Instruction of the sense entertained by the Roman court that it was highly needful to collect its strength and take heed to its reputation. The following rules were prescribed, among others, to the nuncio. He was neither to be too liberal nor too sparing, neither too grave nor too gay; he was not to make known his spiritual authority by notices affixed to the church doors, since he might thereby cause himself to be derided. Those who required his intervention, could find him without that. He was not indeed entirely to remit his dues, except under peculiar circumstances, but he was never to exact them too eagerly. He was to contract no debts, and was to pay for what was supplied him at inns. "Nec hospitii pensione nimis parce vel fortasse etiam nequaquam soluta discedat, id quod ab aliquibus nuntiis aliis factum plurimum animos eorum populorum in nos irritavit . . . In vultu et colloquiis omnem timorem aut causæ nostræ diffidentiam dissimulet . . . Hilari quidem vultu accipere se fingant invitationes, sed in respondendo modum non excedant, ne id forte mali iis accidat quod cuidam nobili Saxoni, camerario secreto q. Leonis X. (Miltitz), qui ob Lutheranam causam componendam in Saxoniam missus, id

tantum fructus reportavit, quod sæpe, perturbatus vino, ea effutire de pontifice et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur non modo quæ facta erant, sed quæ ipsi e malæ in nos mentis affectu imaginabantur et optabant; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatiensi nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobrabant." [Nor let him, on quitting his inn, be too narrow in payment of the reckoning, or perhaps, as some nuncios have done, refuse to pay it at all, whereby they have greatly exasperated the minds of those people against us. In his countenance and his discourse let him dissemble all fear or distrust of our cause . . . Let them feign to accept invitations with a cheerful countenance, but in replying to them let them not exceed in any manner, lest, perhaps, to them there should befal that same mischance which once happened to a certain Saxon noble, private chamberlain to Leo X. (Miltitz), who, being sent into Saxony to make a settlement of the Lutheran matters, brought back only so much fruit of his labour, as that often, when confused by wine, he was led on by the Saxons to pour out things respecting the pontiff and the Curia,—not only such as were truly done, but such as they, in the evil affections of their minds to us wards, imagined or wished done: and all these things being put down in writing, were afterwards publicly brought against us at the diet of Worms, and before the face of all Germany.]

We learn from Pallavicini also (i. 18), that the conduct of Miltitz had caused his memory to be held in very little respect at the court of Rome.

The Instruction we are now considering, and which Rainaldus has adopted almost entire into his work, is further remarkable from the fact that it supplies us with the names of many less known defenders of Catholicism in Germany; among them are Leonh. Marstaller, Nicol. Appel, Joh. Burchard, preacher of his order, "qui etsi nihil librorum ediderit contra Lutheranos, magno tamen vitæ periculo ab initio usque hujus tumultus pro defensione ecclesiæ laboravit" [who, although he has not published books against the Lutherans, has yet laboured to the great peril of his life, even from the beginning of these tumults, in defence of the church]. Among those better known, Ludwig Berus, who had fled from Basle to Freiburg, in Breisgau, is particularly extolled and recom-

mended to the nuncio, "tum propter sanam et excellentem hominis doctrinam et morum probitatem, tum quia sua gravitate et autoritate optime operam navare poterit in causa fidei" [both on account of the sound and excellent doctrine and moral probity of the man, and because by his weight and influence he can render the best service in the cause of the faith]. It is well known that Ber had found means to make himself respected, even among Protestants.

No. 23.

Instruttione mandata da Roma per l'elettione del luogo del concilio, 1537. [Instruction sent from Rome for the selection of the place wherein the council is to be held, 1537.] Informationi Politt. vol. xii.

It was now without doubt the intention of Paul III. to convoke a council. In the Instruction before us he affirms that he was fully resolved (tutto risoluto) on doing so; but his wish was that it should be assembled in Italy. He was equally disposed to choose either Piacenza or Bologna, places belonging to the church, the common mother of all; or he would have been content to select a city of the Venetians, since they were the common friends of all. His reason was that the Protestants were by no means earnest in regard to the council, as was manifest from the conditions which they proposed respecting it. Even here we perceive the presence of that idea which afterwards acquired so high an historical importance, namely, that the council was only an affair of the Catholics among themselves.

The pontiff, moreover, gives intelligence to the emperor of his efforts for the promotion of an internal reform: "Sarà con effetto e non con parole." [It shall be effectual, and not a matter of words only.]

No. 24.

Instruttione data da Paolo III. al C^l^ Montepulciano, destinato all' imperatore Carlo V. sopra le cose della religione in Germania, 1539. *Bibl. Corsini, N^r^.* 467. [Instruction given by Paul III. to Cardinal Montepulciano, who was sent to the emperor Charles V. to treat of the religious affairs of Germany, 1539. Corsini Library, No. 467.]

It was, nevertheless, most evident that the necessity for a reconciliation was first made obvious in Germany. On some occasions both parties were placed in opposition to the pope from this cause. At the convention of Frankfort very important concessions were made to the Protestants by the imperial ambassador, Johann Wessel, archbishop of Lund,—a truce of fifteen months, during which all judicial proceedings of the Kammergericht should be suspended, and the promise of a religious conference, in which the pope should take no part. This was of course altogether abhorrent to Paul III. Cardinal Montepulciano, afterwards Marcellus II., was therefore despatched into Germany for the purpose of preventing so uncatholic an arrangement.

The Instruction accuses the archbishop of Lund, in the first place, of being moved by corrupt personal motives, attributing the fault of these concessions to gifts, promises, and hopes of further advancement. "La communità d'Augusta gli donò 2,500 fiorini d'oro, poi gli fu fatta promissione di 4,000 f. singulis annis sopra il frutto del suo arcivescovato di Lunda occupato per quel re Luterano" (of Denmark). [He received 2,500 gold florins from Augsburg, and a promise was made to him in addition of 4,000 florins yearly, to be paid out of the revenues of his archbishopric of Lund, then occupied by that Lutheran king of Denmark.] He was further said to be desirous of remaining on good terms with the duke of Cleves and Queen Maria of Hungary; for that sister of the emperor, who was then governess of the Netherlands, was suspected of being very decidedly favourable to the Protestants. "Secretamente presta favore alla parte de' Luterani, animandogli ove può, e con mandarli huomini a posta disfavoreggia la causa de' cattolici." [She secretly shews favour to the Lutheran party, encouraging them to the utmost of her power, and by sending

men to their aid, she purposely injures the cause of the Catholics.] She had sent an envoy to Smalkalde, and expressly exhorted the elector of Trèves to abstain from joining the Catholic league.

Maria and the archbishop, that is to say, represented the anti-French and anti-Romish tendency of politics in the imperial court. They wished to see Germany united under the emperor. The archbishop declared that this depended only on the yielding of some few religious concessions: "Che se S. M^ta volesse tolerare che i Luterani stassero nei loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta Germania." [That if his majesty would tolerate the persistance of the Lutherans in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany according to his own manner and pleasure.]

The pope replied, that there were very different means for coming to an end with matters in Germany. Let us listen to his own words.

"Annichilandosi dunque del tutto per le dette cose la dieta di Francfordia, et essendo il consiglio di S. M^ta Cesarea et altri principi christiani, che per la mala dispositione di questi tempi non si possa per hora celebrare il concilio generale, non ostante N. S. già tanto tempo lo habbia indetto et usato ogni opera e mezzo per congregarlo, pare a S. B^ne che sarebbe bene che S. M^ta pensasse alla celebratione di una dieta imperiale, per prohibire quelli inconvenienti che potriano nascere massimamente di un concilio nationale, il quale facilmente si potria fare per cattolici e Luterani per la quiete di Germania quando i cattolici havendo visto infiniti disordini seguiti per causa di alcun ministro della Cesarea e Regia M^ta vedessero anche le Maestà loro esser tardi alli rimedj: nè detto concilio nationale sarebbe meno dannoso alla Cesarea e Regia Maestà, per le occulte cause, che sanno: che alla sedia apostolica; non potria se non partorire scisma in tutta la christianità così nel temporale come nello spirituale. Ma S. S^ta è di parere che si celebri tal dieta in evento che S. M^ta si possa trovare presente in Germania o in qualche luogo vicino a la congregatione: altrimenti se S. M^ta Cesarea distratta da altre sue occupationi non potesse trovarsi così presto, è d'opinione che la dieta non s'indichi, nè che S. M^ta si riposi nel giudicio altrui, quantunque sufficienti e buoni che procurassero e sollecitassero fare detta dieta in assenza di S. M^ta, per non incorrere in quei disordini

che sono seguiti nelle altre diete particolari ove non si è trovato S. M^ta^, e tra questo mezzo con fama continuata da ogni banda di voler venire in Germania e fare la dieta e con honeste vie et esecutioni trattenere quei principi che la sollecitano e l'addimandano: mentre che S. M^ta^ venendo da buon senno la indichi poi e celebri, et interea vedendo S. M^ta^ quanto bene et utile sia per portare la propagatione della lega cattolica, attenda per hora a questa cosa principalmente, e scriva al suo oratore in Germania e parendoli ancora mandi alcun' altro che quanto più si può procurino con ogni diligenza e mezzo d'accrescere detta lega cattolica acquistando e guadagnando ogn' uno, ancora che nel principio non fossero così sinceri nella vera religione, perche a poco a poco si potriano poi ridurre, e per adesso importa più il togliere a loro che acquistare a noi: alla quale cosa gioveria molto quando S. M^ta^ mandasse in Germania quella più quantità di denari ch'ella potesse, perche divulgandosi tal fama confirmarebbe gli altri, che più facilmente entrassero vedendo che li primi nervi della guerra non mancariano. E per maggiore corroboratione di detta lega cattolica S. S^tà^ si risolverà di mandare una o più persone a quei principi cattolici per animarli similmente con promissioni di ajuto, di denari et altri effetti, quando le cose s'incammineranno di sorte, per il beneficio della religione e conservatione della dignità della sede apostolica e della Cesarea M^tà^, che si veda da buon senno la spesa dover fare frutto: nè in questo si partirà dal ricordo di S. M^tà^: nè sarebbe male tra questo mezzo sotto titolo delle cose Turchesche mandare qualche numero di gente Spagnuola et Italiana in quelle bande con trattenerli nelle terre del re de' Romani suo fratello, accioche bisognando l'ajuto fosse presto in ordine." [The diet of Frankfort being therefore dispersed and broken up for the aforesaid causes, and his imperial majesty, with other Christian princes, being advised that because of the evil dispositions of these times a general council cannot for the present be held, our lord the pope, notwithstanding that he had so long before proclaimed this council, and has used every effort and means for convening it, is now of opinion that his majesty would do well to think rather of the convocation of an imperial diet for the prevention of those evils which are so especially to be expected from the celebration of a national diet. And his holiness believes that such evils might easily be brought about

to the disturbance of quiet in Germany, both by Catholics and Lutherans, when the Catholics, having seen infinite disorders following on the proceedings of any royal and imperial minister, should also perceive that their majesties were slow to apply the remedies. Nor would the said national council be less injurious to the imperial and royal majesty, for those secret causes of which his majesty is aware, than to the Apostolic See; for it would not fail to give occasion to a schism throughout all Christendom, as well in temporal as in spiritual government. But while his holiness is of opinion that this imperial diet may be held in the event of his majesty's being able to be present, either in Germany or in some place near to that wherein the said diet shall assemble, he is convinced that it ought not to be convoked, if, on the contrary, his imperial majesty, engaged by his other occupations, should not be able to continue thus close at hand. Nor would his holiness advise that his majesty should depend on the judgment of others, however numerous, capable, or good, who should solicit and endeavour to procure the holding of the said diet in the absence of his majesty; lest the same disorders should ensue that have followed upon other special diets where his majesty was not present. It will, nevertheless, be advisable that the report should be continually bruited about from all quarters that his majesty intends to appear in Germany and there hold the diet. All other honest means and ways should likewise be used to restrain and keep in tranquillity those princes who solicit and demand the said diet; then when his majesty shall arrive in good earnest, he may proclaim and hold the same. But meanwhile, his majesty, perceiving how good and useful it may be to promote the propagation of the Catholic league, should for the present give his attention principally to that matter, and he might write to his ambassador in Germany to that effect; or if it seem good to him, may send other envoys who should labour with all diligence, and by every possible means, to increase and extend the said Catholic league by acquiring and gaining over every one, and this, even though at first they should not be altogether sincere in the true religion, for by little and little they may afterwards be brought to order; besides that for the present it is of more consequence that we take from them, than that we truly acquire to ourselves. And for the furtherance of

this purpose, it would greatly avail if his majesty would send into Germany whatever sums of money he can possibly command, because the rumour of this, being extended through the country, would confirm others in their purpose of entering the league, which they would do the more readily on perceiving that the chief sinews of war are not wanting. And for the more effectual consolidation of the said Catholic league, his holiness will himself despatch one or more emissaries to those Catholic princes, to encourage them in like manner by promises of aid in money, and other benefits, when things shall have proceeded to such an extent for the advancement of religion and the preservation of the dignity, both of the Apostolic See and of his imperial majesty, as to give warrant that there is good ground for expecting the outlay to produce its fruit. Nor in this will his holiness be forgetful of his majesty. And it would not be ill-advised, that among these means his majesty should adopt the pretext of the Turkish affairs, to send, under that colour, a certain number of Spanish and Italian troops into those parts, and by retaining them in the territories of his brother, the king of the Romans, to secure that in case of need there should be due assistance at hand.]

Pallavicini was acquainted with this Instruction as well as with the preceding one (lib. iv. c. 14). We perceive, from what he says, that the notices relating to Germany in the latter of these documents were obtained from the letters of Alcander, who acquired so equivocal a reputation for himself in these negotiations. Rainaldus also gives extracts from them; but this very instance will serve to shew how needful it is to consult original authorities. In Rainaldus, the rather obscure passage just quoted is to the following effect: "Interea omni studio catholicorum fœdus augere atque ad se nonnullos ex adversariis pellicere niteretur, mitteret etiam aurum militare ut fœderatis adderet animos fluctuantesque ad se pertraheret." [He should meanwhile make every effort to extend the league of the Catholics, and to win over adherents from the side of the adversaries; he should likewise despatch the aid of gold, that so he might give courage to the league, and attract all who might be wavering to himself.]

No. 25.

Instructiones pro rev^mo dom^no episcopo Mutinensi apostolico nuntio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maji, 1540, celebrando. Barb. 3,007. [Instructions for the most reverend lord the bishop of Modena, apostolic nuncio to the German convention about to be held at Spires, May 12, 1540. Barberini Library, 3,007.]

The religious conferences then took place. We here see the light in which they were regarded at Rome: "Neque mirum videatur alicui si neque legatis neque nuntiis plenaria facultas et auctoritas decidendi aut concordandi in causa fidei detur, quia maxime absurdum esset et ab omni ratione dissentaneum, quin imo difficile et quam maxime periculosum, sacros ritus et sanctiones, per tot annorum censuras ab universali ecclesia ita receptas ut si quid in his innovandum esset, id nonnisi universalis concilii decretis vel saltem summi pontificis ecclesiæ moderatoris mature et bene discussa deliberatione fieri debeat, paucorum etiam non competentium judicio et tam brevi ac præcipiti tempore et in loco non satis idoneo committi.

"Debet tamen rev. dom. nuntius domi suæ seorsim intelligere a catholicis doctoribus ea omnia quæ inter ipsos et doctores Lutheranos tractabuntur, ut suum consilium prudentiamque interponere et ad bonum finem omnia dirigere possit, salva semper sanctissimi domini nostri et apostolicæ sedis auctoritate et dignitate, ut sæpe repetitum est, quia hinc salus universalis ecclesiæ pendet, ut inquit D. Hieronymus. Debet idem particulariter quadam cum dexteritate et prudentia catholicos principes, tam ecclesiasticos quam sæculares, in fide parentum et majorum suorum confirmare, et ne quid in ea temere et absque apostolicæ sedis auctoritate, ad quam hujusmodi examen spectat, innovari aut immutari patiantur, eos commonefacere." [Nor let it seem strange to any one if neither to legates nor to nuncios full power and authority are given to decide or to make agreement in matters of faith, because it would be most absurd and opposed to all reason, nay, in the utmost degree difficult and exceedingly perilous, that the sacred rites and sanctions commended to the universal church by the experience of so many years, and so fully sanc-

tioned by it, should be committed to the judgment of a few persons, and even those not competent, in so short a space of time, with so much precipitation, and in a place not entirely suitable; for, if any innovation were to be made, it should not be done except by decrees of a general council, or at least by the mature and well-discussed deliberation of the sovereign pontiff, the moderator of the church.

[The most reverend lord nuncio ought nevertheless to hear and understand from Catholic doctors in his own house, whatever shall relate to those things which are to be treated of between them and the Lutheran doctors, that he may be able to interpose with his counsel and prudence, and direct every thing to a good end; always guarding the authority and dignity of our most sacred lord and the Apostolic See, as hath often been repeated, because on this depends the safety of the universal church, as saith St. Jerome. He ought, besides, with a certain skill and prudence, particularly to confirm the Catholic princes, as well spiritual as secular, in the faith of their parents and forefathers, and should admonish them not to suffer any change or innovation to be made in it rashly, and without the authority of the Apostolic See, to which all examinations of that kind belong.]

No. 26.

Instructio data rev^mo Card^li Contareno in Germaniam legato. 28 *Jan.* 1541. [Instruction given to the most reverend Cardinal Contarini, legate in Germany. 28 Jan. 1541.]

This has been already printed, and is often mentioned. The Roman court was at length induced to make certain concessions.

Between the years 1541 and 1551, our collections present a number of letters, reports, and instructions by no means inconsiderable; they comprehend all parts of Europe, and not unfrequently throw a new light on events. We are not yet prepared minutely to investigate them in this place, for the book which these extracts would further illustrate was not

designed to give a complete representation of that period. I confine myself, therefore, without much scruple, to the more important.

No. 27.

1551 *die* 20 *Junii, in senatu Matthæus, Dandulus, eques, ex Roma orator.* [Matteo Dandolo, knight, ambassador returned from Rome, appears in the senate on the 20th of June, 1551.]

The above is the title of the report presented by Matteo Dandolo, who, as we see from the letters of Cardinal Pole (ed. Quir. ii. p. 90), was brother-in-law to Gaspar Contarini, after a residence of twenty-six months in Rome. He promises to be brief: "Alle relationi non convengono delle cose che sono state scritte se non quelle che sono necessarie di esser osservate." [Those things that have been already written do not require to be put into the reports, excepting some that it is necessary to remark.]

He treats first of the latter days of Paul III. Of this part I have already cited the most important facts. He then speaks of the conclave, and all the cardinals are mentioned by name. Dandolo asserts that he arrived with members of the college belonging to the university of Padua: we see how well he must have been informed. He then communicates a tabular account of the papal finances: "Il particolar conto, io l'ho avuto da essa camera." [I received the computation from the treasury itself.]

"1. La camera apostolica ha d'entrata l'anno: per la thesaureria della Marca 25,000 scudi, per la salara di detta provincia 10,000, per la thesaureria della città d'Ancona 9,000, —d'Ascoli 2,400,—di Fermo 1,750,—de Camerino 17,000,— di Romagna et salara 31,331,—di Patrimonio 24,000,—di Perugia et Umbria 35,597,—di Campagna 1,176, per Norsia 600, per la salara di Roma 19,075, per la doana di Roma 92,000, per la gabella de cavalli in Roma 1,322, per le lumiere 21,250, per l'ancoraggio di Civita Vecchia 1,000; per il sussidio triennale: dalla Marca 66,000, da Romagna 44,334, da Bologna 15,000, da Perugia et Umbria 43,101,

da Patrimonio 18,018, da Campagna, 21,529; da censi di S. Pietro 24,000, dalla congreg^ne de frati 23,135, da vigesima de Hebrei 9,855, da maleficj di Roma 2,000. Summa, 559,473

Da dexime del stato ecclesiastico quando si pongono 3,000 scudi, da dexime di Milano 40,000, —del regno 37,000, dalla gabella della farina 30,000, —dalla gabella de contratti 8,000. = 220(?)000.

Ha il datario per li officii che vacano compositioni et admissioni 131,000, da spoglie di Spagna 25,000 = (?) 147,000

Summa delle entrate tutte ... 706(?)473

senza le 5 partite non tratte fuora, che stanno a beneplacito di N. Signore.

"2. La camera ha di spesa l'anno: a diversi governatori, legati, roche 46,071 scudi, alli officiali di Roma 145,815, a diverse gratie 58,192, in Roma al governatore Bargello, guardie camerali et altri officii 66,694, al capitano generale 39,600, alle gallere 24,000, al populo Romano per il Capitolio 8,950, al maestro di casa, il vitto della casa 60,000, a diversi extraordinarii in Roma 35,485, al signor Balduino cameriere 17,000, al signor Gioan Battista 1,750, alla cavalleria quando si teneva l'anno 30,000, al N. S. per suo spendere et per provisioni da a cardinali e tutto il datariato 232,000. Summa in tutto questo exito 70(6?)5,557 scudi."

[1. The apostolic chamber possesses of yearly revenue, from the treasury of the March, 25,000 scudi; from the salt-tax of the said province, 10,000; from the treasury of the city of Ancona, 9,000; from that of Arcoli, 2,400; of Fermo, 1,750; of Camerino, 17,000; of Romagna, including its salt-dues, 31,331; from the patrimony (of St. Peter), 24,000; from Perugia and Umbria, 35,597; from the Campagna, 1,176; from Nursia, 600; from the salt-tax of Rome, 19,075; from the customs of Rome, 92,000; from the tax on horses in Rome, 1,322; from lights, 21,250; from the anchorage dues of Cività Vecchia, 1,000; from the triennial subsidy of the March, 66,000; of Romagna, 44,334; of Bologna, 15,000; of Perugia and Umbria, 43,101; of the patrimony, 18,018; of the Campagna, 21,529: from St. Peter's tax, 24,000; from the congregation of friars, 23,135;

from the double tithes of the Hebrews, 9,855; from the malefactors of Rome, 2,000. Total, 559,473

Also from the tithes of the Ecclesiastical State, when they are available, 3,000 scudi; from the tithes of Milan, 40,000; from the kingdom, 37,000; from the tax on flour, 30,000; for the impost on contracts, 8,000 = 220,(?)000.

The datario receives, for the offices that fall vacant, in compositions and admissions, 131,000; from the spoglia of Spain, 25,000 = (?) 147,000

Total of the revenue ... 706(?)473

Besides the five portions not brought forward, and which remain at the good pleasure and disposal of our lord the pope.

[2. The annual expenditure of the chamber is:—to different governors and legates, and for certain forts, 46,071 scudi; to the officials of Rome, 145,815; for various gratuities, 58,192; in Rome, to the governor Bargello, guards of the chamber, and other offices, 66,694; to the captain-general, 89,600; for the galleys, 24,000; to the Roman people for the Capitol, 8,950; to the master of the palace, for the support of the household, 60,000; for various contingent expenses in Rome, 35,485; to Signor Balduino, the chamberlain, 17,000; to Signor Giovanni Battista, 1,750; to the cavalry, when it was kept in service, 30,000; to our lord the pope, for his private expenditure, and for pensions to the cardinals, and all the datariato, 232,000. Total of the whole expenditure, 70(?)5,557 scudi.]

He concludes with remarks on the personal qualities of Julius III.

"Papa Giulio, Ser^ma Sig^ria, gravissimo e sapientissimo cons°, è dal Monte Sansovino, picciol luogo in Toscana, come già scrissi alle Ecc^ze V^e. Il primo che diede nome e qualche riputatione alla casa sua fu suo avo, dottore e molto dotto in legge, e fu al servitio del duca Guido de Urbino, dal quale mandato in Roma per negotii del suo stato lì acquistò gratia molta, sicche col molto studio che in detta facultà fece il suo nepote, acquistò tanto di gratia et riputatione che el fu il cardinal de Monte: di chi poi fu nipote questo. Arrivato in corte per il primo grado camerier di papa Julio secondo, fu poi arcivescovo di Siponto, et in tal grado venne qui alle Ecc^ze V^e

a dimandargli Ravenna et Cervia, quandoche elle le hebbeno doppo il sacco di Roma: et col multo suo valore nel quale el si dimostrò et nelle lettere di legge et nei consigli havuti molti et per l'auttorità molta di suo zio, che fu il cardinal de Monte, doppo morto lui, fu fatto cardinal questo. Et fatto papa si prese subito il nome di Julio, che fu il suo patron, con una perfettion (presuntion ?) di volerlo imitare.

" Ha Sua S^ta^ 64 anni a 28 di Ottobre, di natura collerica molto, ma ancho molto benigna, sicche per gran collera che l'abbi la gli passa inanzi che compisse di ragionarla, sicche a me pare di poter affirmare lui non portar odio nè ancho forse amore ad alcuno, eccetto però il cardinal di Monte, del quale dirò poi. A Sua Santità non volsero mai dar il voto li cardinali nè di Marsa (?) nè di Trento, et furono li subito et meglio premiati da lei che alcun' altro di quei che la favorirono. Il più favorito servitore di molti anni suo era lo arcivescovo di Siponto, che lei essendo cardinale gli diede l'arcivescovato e da lui fu sempre ben servita, sicche si credea che subito la lo farebbe cardinale, ma lui si è rimasto in minoribus quasi che non era quandoche lei era cardinale, che poi fatto papa o poco o nulla si è voluto valer di lui, sicche el poverino se ne resta quasi come disperato."

[Pope Julius, most serene Signory, most grave and most wise Council, is from Monte Sansovino, a small place in Tuscany, as I have already written to your excellencies. The first who gave a name, and some degree of reputation to his house, was his grandfather, a doctor of laws and very learned therein, and he was in the service of Duke Guido of Urbino, who, having sent him to Rome on matters concerning his state, he there acquired great favour, so that his nephew, having also made good progress in the study of the said faculty, did himself acquire so much approval and reputation that he was made cardinal di Monte; and his nephew is this present pope. Having arrived at court, his first step was to become chamberlain to Pope Julius II., and he was afterwards made archbishop of Siponto. When in that rank it was that he was sent to your excellencies, to demand from you Ravenna and Cervia, when you held possession of them after the sack of Rome. And by reason of his great merit, which was made manifest both in respect of his legal learning, and on many occasions where his counsels were

available, as well as because of the great weight and influence of his uncle, who was the cardinal di Monte, this last having died, he was himself made cardinal. And being made pope, he took instantly the name of Julius, who had been his patron, with the intention of seeking to imitate him.

[His holiness will be 64 years old on the 28th of October. He is of a very choleric nature, yet very kindly withal; so that, however angry he may be, it quickly passes away if any man can succeed in reasoning with him. It appears to me that he does not bear ill-will to any one, but neither, perhaps, does he regard any one with much affection, except indeed the cardinal di Monte, of whom I will speak hereafter. Neither cardinal di Marsa, nor the cardinal of Trent, would consent to give a vote for his holiness; yet they were more immediately favoured by him, and more highly rewarded, than any one of those who had voted for him. His most favoured servant, and one of many years' standing, was the archbishop of Siponto, to whom, when he was himself made cardinal, he gave the archbishopric, and was always well served by him. Thus it was thought that he would immediately make him cardinal; but he has, nevertheless, been left "in minoribus," and is, in a manner, worse than when his holiness was but cardinal; for after becoming pope he seemed to make little or no account of the archbishop, so that the poor man is almost brought to despair thereby.] This manuscript is unfortunately too defective to make it advisable that we should copy at greater length, more particularly as the intelligence conveyed in it frequently degenerates into mere trivialities of detail.

No. 28.

Vita di Marcello II., scritta di propria mano del Signor Alex. Cervini, suo fratello. Alb. Nr. 157. [Life of Marcellus II., written by his brother Signor Alex. Cervini, with his own hand.]

There is a most useful little work respecting Pope Marcellus II. by Pietro Polidoro, 1744. Among the sources whence this author derived his work, we find precisely the first that he mentions to be this biography by Alex. Cervini. Unfortunately, however, the original copy was

greatly injured so early as the year 1598, by a fire that broke out in the family residence of the Cervini at Montepulciano, and we have but a fragment of it remaining. I extract from it the following passage, which refers to the attempt at a reformation of the calendar made under Leo X., and which is not to be found in Polidoro :—

" Havendolo adunque il padre assuefatto in questi costumi et esercitatolo nella grammatica, rettorica, aritmetica, e geometria, accadde che anche fu esercitato nell' astrologia naturale più ancora che non haverebbe fatto ordinatamente, e la causa fu questa : la S^ta di N. Sig^re in quel tempo, Leone X., per publico editto fece intendere che chi haveva regola o modo di correggere l'anno trascorso fino ad all' hora per undici giorni, lo facesse noto a S. S^ta : onde M^r Riccardo già detto (Vater des Papstes), siccome assai esercitato in questa professione, volse obbedire al pontefice, e però con longa e diligente osservatione e con suoi stromenti trovò il vero corso del sole, siccome apparisce nelli suoi opusculi mandati al papa Leone, con il quale e con quella gloriosissima casa de Medici teneva gran servitù e specialmente con il magnifico Giuliano, dal quale aveva ricevuti favori et offerte grandi. Ma perche la morte lo prevenne, quel Signore non seguì più oltre il disegno ordinato che M^r Riccardo seguitasse, servendo la persona Sua Ecc^za in Francia e per tutto dove essa andasse, come erano convenuti. Nè la Santità di N. Signore potette eseguire la publicatione della correttione dell' anno per varii impedimenti e finalmente per la morte propria, che ne seguì non molto tempo doppo." [His father, therefore, having accustomed him to these habits, and exercised him in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and geometry, it chanced that he became also much versed in natural astrology, and more than he would have been in the ordinary course of things, the cause of which was as follows :—His holiness our lord, who was pope at that time, Leo X., caused to be made known by public edict that whoever might possess a rule or method for correcting the year, which up to that time had got wrong by eleven days, should make it known to his holiness ; wherefore the above-mentioned Mr. Riccardo (father of the pope), as one who was tolerably well versed in that profession, applied himself to obey the pontiff, and therefore by long and diligent observation, and with the aid of his instruments, he sought and found the true

course of the sun, as appears from his essays and sketches sent to Pope Leo X., to whom, and to that most glorious house of Medici, he had ever shewn faithful service; more particularly to the magnificent Julian, from whom he had received favours and great offers. The death of that Signor prevented the fulfilment of the design that Mr. Riccardo should attend the person of his excellency into France, or wherever else he might go, as had been agreed between them. Neither could our lord his holiness execute the publication of the correction of the year, because of various impediments, and finally, because of his own death, which followed not long after.]

It is, nevertheless, manifest that the mind of Italy was actively employed on this matter, even in the times of Leo X.; and that the bishop of Fossombrone, who recommended the reform of the calendar in the Lateran council of 1513, was not the only person who gave attention to that subject.

No. 29.

Antonio Caracciolo Vita di Papa Paolo IV. 2 *vol. fol.*
[Life of Pope Paul IV., by Antonio Caracciolo. 2 volumes folio.]

Antonio Caracciolo, a Theatine, a Neapolitan, and a compiler all his life, could not fail to apply himself diligently to the history of the most renowned Neapolitan pope, the founder of the Theatines, Paul IV., and we owe him our best thanks for doing so. He has brought together a vast amount of information, and innumerable details, which but for him would have been lost. His book forms the groundwork of Carlo Bromato's elaborate performance: "Storia di Paolo IV., Pontefice Massimo, Rom. 1748," and which presents an exceedingly rich collection of materials, in two thick and closely-printed quartos.

But, from the rigid severity of the censorship exercised in the Catholic church, there resulted the inevitable consequence that Bromato could by no means venture to admit all the information afforded him by the sources to which he applied.

I have frequently alluded to a circumstantial report from

J. P. Caraffa to Clement VII., and which was prepared in the year 1532. From this Bromato (i. p. 205) makes a long extract. But he has also made several omissions, and that of matters most particularly essential; for example, the remarks on the extension of Lutheran opinions in Venice.

"Si supplica S. S^tà, che per l'honore di Dio e suo, non essendo questa città la più minima nè la più vil cosa della christianità et essendovi nella città e nel dominio di molte e molte migliara d'anime commesse a S. S^tà, sia contenta da per sona fedele ascoltare qualche cosa del loro bisogno, il quale ancorche sia grande, pure se ne dirà per hora qualche parte E perche, come l'apostolo dice, sine fide impossibile est placere Deo, comminciarete da questa, et avisarete S. S^tà come si sente degli errori e dell' heresie nella vita e nei costumi di alcuni, come è in non fare la quaresima e non confessarsi, etc., e nella dottrina di alcuni, che publicamente ne parlano e tengono e communicano ancora con gli altri do' libri prohibiti senza rispetto. Ma sopra tutto direte che questa peste, tanto dell' heresia Luterana quanto d'ogni altro errore contra fidem et bonos mores, da due sorti di persone potissimamente si va disseminando et aumentando, cioè dagli apostati e da alcuni frati massime conventuali, e S. S^tà deve sapere di quella maledetta nidata di quelli frati minori conventuali, la quale per sua bontà fermando alcuni suoi servi ha incominciato a mettere in iscompiglio: perche essendo loro stati discepoli d'un frate heretico già morto, han voluto far onore al maestro . . . . E per dire quello che in cio mi occorse, pare che in tanta necessità non si debba andare appresso la stampa usata: ma siccome nell' ingruente furore della guerra si fanno ogni dì nuove provvisioni opportune, così nella maggior guerra spirituale non si deve stare a dormire. E perche S. S^tà sa che l'officio dell' inquisitione in questa provincia sta nelle mani de' sopradetti frati minori conventuali, li quali a caso s'abbattono a fare qualche inquisitione idonea, come è stato quel maestro Martino da Treviso, della cui diligenza e fede so che il sopradetto di buona memoria vescovo di Pola informò S. S^tà, et essendo hora lui mutato da quello in altro officio, è successo nel' inquisitione non so chi, per quanto intendo, molto inetto: e però bisogneria che S. S^tà provvedesse parte con eccitar gli ordinarj, che per tutto quasi si dorme, e parte con deputare alcune persone d'autorità, mandare in questa terra qualche legato, se possibile

fosse, non ambitioso nè cupido, e che attendesse a risarcire l'honore e credito della sede apostolica e punire o almeno fugare li ribaldi heretici da mezzo de' poveri christiani: perche dovunque anderanno, porteranno seco il testimonio della propria nequitia e della bontà de' fedeli cattolici, che non li vogliono in lor compagnia. E perche la peste dell' heresia si suole introdurre e per le prediche e libri hereticali e per la lunga habituatione nella mala e dissoluta vita, della quale facilmente si viene all' heresia, par che S. S^ta potria fare in cio una santa, honesta, et utile provvisione."

[Let his holiness be implored that, for the honour of God and his own, this city not being the least or the vilest object in Christendom, and there being in the said city and in her dominions many and many thousands of souls committed to his holiness, he will be content to hear from a faithful witness some portion of their wants, which are indeed very great, but of which there shall be now set forth at least some part; and because, as the apostle saith, without faith it is impossible to please God, you shall begin with this, and acquaint his holiness with the heresies and errors in the life and conduct of many who do not keep Lent, do not go to confession, &c.—in the doctrine of others, who publicly speak of and profess these heresies, putting about also prohibited books among the people, without respect to rule. But above all, you will say that this pestilence, as well of the Lutheran heresy as of every other error, contrary to the faith and to sound morals, is chiefly disseminated and increased by two sorts of persons, that is to say, by the apostates themselves, and by certain friars, chiefly "conventuali." Also his holiness should be made aware of that accursed nest of conventuals, the Friars Minorites; for he by his goodness having restricted some of his servants who would have moved in this matter, these friars have begun to put all in confusion; for, having been disciples of a heretic monk, now dead, they have determined to do honour to their master. . . . And, to say what are my thoughts in this matter, it appears to me that in so great an emergency we ought not to confine ourselves to the usual method, but, as in the menacing and increasing fury of war, new expedients are daily adopted, as the occasion demands, so in this still more important spiritual warfare, we should not waste our time in sleep. And since it is known to his holiness that the

office of the Inquisition in this province is in the hands of those conventuals aforesaid, the Friars Minors, who will only by chance and occasionally persuade themselves to perform any real and fitting inquisition, such as was exercised by that master Martino of Treviso, of whose diligence and faith I know that his holiness was informed by the above-named bishop of Pola, of honoured memory,—since he has been now transferred to another office, and is succeeded in the Inquisition by I know not whom, but, so far as I can learn, a very insufficient person, it will therefore be needful that his holiness should take the requisite measures, partly by arousing and exciting the ordinaries, who are everywhere no better than asleep, and partly by deputing some persons of authority to this country, and sending hither some legate, who, if it were possible, should be free from ambition and cupidity, that so he might apply himself to repair the honour and credit of the Apostolic See, punishing those rascal heretics, or at least driving them away from the midst of the poor Christians; for wherever they shall go they will carry with them the testimony of their own wickedness, and of the goodness of the faithful Catholics, who will not have them in their company. And since the pest of heresy is for the most part introduced by preaching, by heretical books, and by a long continuance in an evil and dissolute life, from which the passage to heresy is easy, it seems that his holiness would make a holy, honourable, and useful provision by taking measures in this respect.]

There are other notices of more or less importance contained in the work of Caracciolo, which have for the most part remained unknown, but which, in a work of greater detail than that here presented to the reader, ought not to be passed over. This Italian biography is wholly distinct from another of Caracciolo's writings, the "Collectanea historica di Paolo IV.:" it is an entirely different, and much more useful work. There are, nevertheless, some things in the Collectanea which are also to be found in the "Vita;" as, for example, the description of the changes which Paul IV. proposed to make after he had dismissed his nephews.

No. 30.

Relatione di M. Bernardo Navagero alla S^ma Repca di Venetia tornando di Roma ambasciatore appresso del pontefice Paolo IV. 1558. [Report presented to the most serene Republic of Venice by M. Bernardo Navagero, ambassador to Pope Paul IV., on his return from Rome.]

This is one of the Venetian Reports which obtained a general circulation. It was used even by Pallavicini, who was attacked on that account. Rainaldus also mentions it (Annales Eccles. 1557, No. 10), to say nothing of later authors.

It is, without doubt, highly deserving of these honours. Bernardo Navagero enjoyed that consideration in Venice which was due to his learning. We perceive from Foscarini (Della Lett. Ven., p. 255) that he was proposed as historiographer to the republic. In his earlier embassies to Charles V., Henry VIII., and Soliman, he had become practised in the conduct of difficult affairs, as well as in the observation of remarkable characters. He arrived in Rome immediately after the accession of Paul IV.

Navagero describes the qualities required of an ambassador under three heads: understanding, which demands penetration; negotiation, which demands address; and reporting, which requires judgment that he may say only what is necessary and useful.

He commences with remarks on the election and power of a pope. It is his opinion that if the popes would earnestly apply themselves to the imitation of Christ, they would be much more to be feared. He then describes "le conditioni," as he says, "di papa Paolo IV., e di chi lo consiglia," [the qualities of Pope Paul IV., and of those who advise him,]—that is, above all, his three nephews. I have made use of his descriptions, but the author is not always to be followed in his general conclusions. He thinks that even Paul IV. had no other object than the exaltation of his own house. Had he written later, after the banishment of the nephews, he would not have expressed such an opinion. That event marked the point of change in the papal policy, from worldly views to those of a more spiritual character. From personal

descriptions, Navagero proceeds to an account of the war between Paul IV. and Philip II.: this also is quite as happily conceived, and is full of the most intelligent remarks. There next follow a review of the foreign relations of Rome, and reflections on the probable result of a future election. It is only with the most cautious discretion that Navagero proceeds to speak of this matter. "Più," he says, "per sodisfare alle SS. VV. EE. che a me in quella parte." [More to satisfy your excellencies than myself, I speak of this part.] But his conjectures were not wide of the mark. Of the two in regard to whom he perceived the greatest probability of succession, he names, in fact, the one who was elected, Medighis (Medici), although it is true that he considered the other, Puteo, to be a still more likely successor.

"But now," he says, "I am here again. I again behold the countenance of my sovereign, the illustrious republic, in whose service there is nothing so great that I would not venture to attempt it, nothing so mean that I would not undertake it." This expression of devotedness gives heightened colour to the description.

No. 31.

Relatione del Cl^mo M. Aluise Mocenigo Cav^r ritornato della corte di Roma, 1560. (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report of the most illustrious M. Aluise Mocenigo, presented on his return from the court of Rome, 1560.] (Venetian Archives.)

Mocenigo remained during seventeen months at the court of Paul IV. The conclave lasted four months and eight days: he then conducted the embassy during seven months at the court of Pius IV.

He first describes the ecclesiastical and secular administration, that of justice, and the court under Paul IV. He makes an observation respecting these things, of which I have not ventured to make use, although it suggests many reflections. "I cardinali," he says, "dividono fra loro le città delle legationi (nel conclave): poi continuano in questo modo a beneplacito delli pontefici." [The cardinals divide the different cities of the legations among themselves (in the conclave), and the arrangement afterwards remains, but subject to the

good pleasure of the pope.] May we then consider this the origin of that administration of the state by the clergy which was gradually introduced?

Nor does he forget the antiquities, of which Rome possessed a richer abundance at that time than at any other, as is testified by the descriptions of Boissard and Gamucci: "In cadaun loco, habitato o non habitato, che si scava in Roma, si ritrovano vestigie e fabriche nobili et antiche, et in molti luoghi si cavano di bellissime statue. Di statue marmoree, poste insieme si potria fare un grandissimo esercito." [In every place, whether inhabited or uninhabited, that is excavated in Rome, there are found vestiges of noble and ancient structures; also from many places most beautiful statues are dug out. Of marble statues, if all were placed together, there might be made a very large army.]

He next comes to the disturbances that broke forth on the death of Paul IV., and which were repeated in a thousand fresh disorders, even after they appeared to be allayed. "Cessato c'hebbe il popolo, concorsero nella città tutti falliti e fuorusciti, che non si sentiva altro che omicidii, si ritrovavano alcuni che con 8, 7 e fin 6 scudi si pigliavano il carico d'amazzar un' uomo, a tanto che ne furono in pochi giorni commesse molte centenara, alcuni per nimicizia, altri per lite, molti per ereditar la sua roba et altri per diverse cause, di modo che Roma pareva, come si suol dire, il bosco di Baccaro." [When the people had ceased, there flocked to the city all the broken men and outlaws, so that nothing was heard of but murders, and some were found, who for eight, seven, or even for six scudi, would take upon themselves the charge of killing a man; and this went to such a degree that many hundred murders were committed in a few days, some from motives of enmity, others on account of lawsuits,—many that they might inherit the property of the murdered, and others for divers causes, so that Rome seemed, as the saying is, to have become a very den of Baccaro.]

The conclave was very joyous,—every day there were banquets. Vargas was there whole nights, at least "alli busi del conclave" [at the merry-makings of the conclave]. But the person who really elected the pope was Duke Cosmo of Florence. "Il duca di Firenze l'a fatto papa: lui l'a fatto poner nei nominati del re Filippo e poi con diversi mezzi

raccommandar anco dalla regina di Franza, e finalmente guadagnatogli con grand' industria e diligenza la parte Carafesca." [The duke of Florence has made him pope; it was he who caused him to be placed among the nominees of King Philip; then by various means he had him recommended by the queen of France; and finally, by great industry and diligence, he gained the Caraffa party to his side.] How completely do all these intrigues, described in the histories of the conclaves, lie exposed in their utter nothingness! The authors of these histories, themselves for the most part members of the conclaves, saw only the mutual relations of those individuals with whom they were in contact; the influences acting on them from without were concealed from their perception.

The report concludes with a description of Pius IV., so far as his personal qualities had at that time been made manifest.

No. 32.

Relatione del Cl^mo^ M. Marchio Michiel, K^r^ e Proc., ritornato da Pio IV., sommo pontefice, fatta a 8 di Zugno, 1560. [Report of the most illustrious M. Marchio Michiel, knight and procurator, presented on his return from Pius IV., supreme pontiff. June 8, 1560.]

This is the report of an embassy of congratulation, which was absent from Venice only thirty-nine days, and cost 13,000 ducats. As a report it is very feeble. Michiel exhorts to submission towards Rome. "Non si tagli la giurisdition del papa, e li sig^ri^ avogadori per non turbare l'animo di S. S^tà^ abbino tutti quelli rispetti che si conviene, i quali ho visto che molto volte non si hanno." [The jurisdiction of the pope should not be invaded, and that the mind of his holiness may not be disturbed, the avogadors should pay him all those marks of respect that are proper, but which I have often remarked them to omit.]

No. 33.

Despatches of the Venetian Ambassadors—18*th of May*—21*st of September*, 1560. *Informat. Politt. vol.* viii. *leaves* 272. *Reports of the Venetian Ambassadors in Rome*, 1561. *Inform. Politt. vol.* xxxvii. *leaves* 71.

The reports are also despatches, dated January and February, 1561, and are all from Marc Antonio de Mula, who for some time filled the place of ambassador. (See Andrea Mauroceni, Hist. Venet. lib. viii. tom. ii. 153.) They are very instructive, giving interesting particulars in regard to the circumstances of the times and to the character of Pius IV. The closing fortunes of the Caraffa family occupy a prominent place, and we learn from these documents that Philip II. then wished to save these old enemies of his. This was even charged against him as a crime at the court (of Rome). Vargas replied, that Philip II. had given them his pardon; "quel gran re, quel santo, quel cattolico non facendo come voi altri" [that great king, that holy, that Catholic monarch, not doing as ye Romans do]. The pope, on the contrary, reproached them with the utmost vehemence: "Havere mosse l'arme de Christiani, de Turchi e degl' eretici, ... e che le lettere che venivano da Francia e dagli agenti in Italia, tutte erano contrafatte, &c." [That they had moved Christians, Turks, and heretics to war, ... and that the letters which came from France and from the agents in Italy, were all forged, &c.] The pope said he would have given 100,000 scudi to have it proved that they were innocent, but that atrocities such as they had committed could not be endured in Christendom.

I abstain from making extracts from these letters; it will suffice to have intimated the character of their contents.

No. 34.

Extractus processus Cardinalis Caraffæ. Inff. tom. ii. *f.* 465 *to* 516. *With the addition : Hæc copia processus formati contra cardinalem Caraffam reducta in summam cum imputationibus fisci eorumque reprobationibus perfecta fuit d.* 20 *Nov.* 1560. [Extract from the trial of Cardinal Caraffa. Inff. vol. ii. folios 465 to 516. With the addition of the following note :—This copy of the writ instituted against Cardinal Caraffa, with the charges brought by the exchequer, and the statements in denial of the same, was completed on the 20th of Nov. 1560.]

From the ninth article of the defence, under the word "Heresy," we learn that Albert of Brandenburg sent a certain Colonel Friedrich to conclude a treaty with Paul IV. The colonel had even an audience of the pope himself; but the cardinal of Augsburg (Otho von Truchsess) made so many objections and representations against him, that he was at length sent out of Rome. To this document is annexed : "El successo de la muerte de los Garrafas con la declaracion y el modo que murieron y el di y hora, 1561."—Inform. ii. [The event of the death of the Caraffas, with an account of the manner in which they died, together with the day and hour, &c.]

No. 35.

Report of Girolamo Soranzo—1563. *Rome. Venetian Archives.*

The date, 1561, which is on the copy in the archives, is, without doubt, incorrect. According to the authentic lists of the embassies, Girolamo was certainly chosen as early as the 22nd of September, 1560, because Muka had accepted an appointment from Pius IV., and had on that account fallen into disgrace with the republic. But that offence was forgiven, and it was not until Muka had been nominated cardinal, in the year 1562, that Soranzo superseded him. The latter fre-

quently makes allusion to the council also, which did not, in fact, sit at all in the year 1561.

Girolamo Soranzo has remarked, that the reports were agreeable as well as useful to the senate: "E volontieri udite e maturamente considerate." [They are willingly listened to, as well as maturely considered.] He prepared his own reports with pleasure, no less than with diligence. It will amply repay our labour to listen to his description of Pius IV.

"Delle qualità dell' animo di Sua Beatitudine dirò sinceramente alcune particulari proprietà, che nel tempo della mia legatione ho potuto osservare in lei et intender da persone che ne hanno parlato senza passione. Il papa, come ho detto di sopra, ha studiato in leggi: con la cognitione delle quali e con la pratica di tanti anni nelli governi principali, che ha havuto ha fatto un giudicio mirabile nelle cause così di giustitia come di gratia che si propongono in segnatura, in modo che non s'apre la bocca che sa quello si può concedere e quello si deve negare, la quale parte è non pur utile ma necessaria in un pontefice per le molte et importanti materie che occorre trattar di tempo in tempo. Possiede molto bene la lingua latina e s'ha sempre dilettato di conoscer le sue bellezze, in modo che, per quanto mi ha detto l'illustrissimo Navagiero, che ne ha così bel giudicio, nei concistorj, dove è l'uso di parlar latino, dice quello che vuole e facilmente e propriamente. Non ha studiato in theologia, onde avviene che non vuole mai propria autorità pigliar in se alcuna delle cause commesse all' ufficio dell' inquisitione: ma usa di dire che non essendo theologo si contenta rimettersi in tutte le cose a chi si ha il carico: e se bene si conosce non esser di sua satisfattione il modo che tengono gl'inquisitori di procedere per l'ordinario con tanto rigore contra gl'inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che più gli piaceria che usassero termini da cortese gentilhuomo che da frate severo, nondimeno non ardisce o non vuole mai opponersi ai giudicii loro, nei quali interviene poche volte, facendosi per il più congregationi senza la presenza sua. Nelle materie e deliberationi di stato non vuole consiglio d'alcuno, in tanto che si dice non esser stato pontefice più travagliato e manco consigliato di S. S^tà, non senza meraviglia di tutta la corte che almeno nelle cose di maggior importantia ella non voglia avere il parere di qualche cardinale, che pur ve ne sono molti di

buon consiglio: e so che un giorno Vargas lo persuase di farlo, con dirle che se bene Sua S^ta^ era prudentissima, che però unus vir erat nullus vir, ma ello se lo levò d'inanzi con male parole: et in effetto si vede che, o sia che ella stima di esser atta di poter risolver da se tutte le materie che occorrono, o che pur conosca esser pochi o forse niuno cardinale che non sia interessato con qualche principe, onde il guidicio non può esser libero é sincero, si vede, dico, che non si vuole servire d'altri che dal card^l^ Borromeo e dal sig^re^ Tolomeo, i quali essendo giovani di niuna o poca sperienza et esseguenti ad ogni minimo cenno di S. S^ta^, si possono chiamar piutosto semplici esecutori che consiglieri. Da questo mancamento di consiglio ne nasce che la Beat^e^ Sua, di natura molto presta per tutte le sue attioni, si risolve anco molto presto in tutte le materie, per importanti che le sieno, e presto si rimuove da quello che ha deliberato: perche quando sono publicate le sue deliberationi e che li venga poi dato qualche advertimento in contrario, non solo le altera, ma fa spesso tutto l'opposito al suo primo disegno, il che a mio tempo è avvenuto non una ma molte volte. Con i principi tiene modo immediate contrario al suo precessore: perche quello usava di dire il grado del pontefice esser per metter sotto i piedi gl'imperatori et i re, e questo dice che senza l'autorità de' principi non si può conservare quella del pontefice: e percio procede con gran rispetto verso di cadauno principe e fa loro volentieri delle gratie, e quando le niega, lo fa con gran destrezza e modestia. Procede medesimamente con gran dolcezza e facilità nel trovar i negotii indifferentemente con tutti: ma se alcuna volta segli domanda cosa che non sente, se mostra vehemente molto e terribile, nè patisce che segli contradica: nè quasi mai è necessaria con S. S^ta^ la destrezza, perché quando si è addolcita, difficilmente niega alcuna gratia; è vero che nell' essecutione poi si trova per il più maggior difficultà che nella promessa. Porta gran rispetto verso i rev^mi^ card^li^, e fa loro volentieri delle gratie, nè deroga mai ai soi indulti nelle collationi de' beneficii, quello che non faceva il suo precessore. E vero che da quelli di maggior autorità par che sia desiderato che da lei fusse dato loro maggior parte delle cose che occorrono a tempo di tanti travagli di quello che usa di fare la S. S^ta^: onde si dogliono di vedere deliberationi di tanta importantia passar con così poco consiglio, e chiamano felicissima in questa parte la Serenità Vostra. Alli ambas-

ciatori usa S. Beat^ne^ quelle maggior dimostrationi d'amore et honore che si possi desiderare, nè lascia adietro alcuna cosa per tener li ben satisfatti e contenti: tratta dolcemente i negotii con loro, e se alcuna volta s'altera per causa di qualche dimanda ch'ella non senta o altra occasione, chi sa usare la destrezza, l'acquieta subito, e fa in modo che se non ottiene in tutto quanto desidera, ha almeno in risposta parole molto cortesi: dove quando segli vuol opponere, si può esser certo di non aver nè l'uno nè l'altro: e però Vargas non è mai stato in gratia di S. S^tà^, perche non ha proceduto con quella modestia ch'era desiderata da lei. Finito che ha di trattar li negotii con li ambasciatori, fa loro parte cortesemente, parla delli avvisi che ha di qualche importantia, e poi entra volentieri a discorrere de lo presente stato del mondo: e con me l'ha fatto in particulare molto spesso, come si può ricordar V. S^ria^ che alcune volte ho empito i fogli dei suoi ragionamenti. Con i suoi famigliari procede in modo che non si può conoscere che alcuno ha autorità con lei, perche li tratta tutti egualmente, non li dando libertà di far cosa alcuna che non sia conveniente, nè permettendo che se la piglino da loro medesimi, ma li tiene tutti in così bassa e povera fortuna che dalla corte saria desiderato di veder verso quelli più intimi camerieri et altri servitori antichi dimostratione di maggior stima et amore. Fa gran professione d'esser giudice giusto, e volentieri ragiona di questo suo desiderio che sia fatto giustitia, e particolarmente con gli ambasciatori de' principi, con li quali entra poi alle volte con tal occasione a giustificarsi della morte di Caraffa o delle sententie di Napoli e Monte come fatte giustamente, essendoli forse venuto alle orecchie esser stato giudicato della corte tutta ch'esse sententie e particularmente quella di Caraffa siano state fatte con severità pur troppo grande et extraordinaria. E naturalmente il papa inclinato alla vita privata e libera, perche si vede che difficilmente si può accomodare a procedere con quella maestà che usava il precessore, ma in tutte le sue attioni mostra piutosto dolcezza che gravità, lasciandosi vedere da tutti a tutte l'hore et andando a cavallo et a piedi per tutta la città con pochisima compagnia. Ha una inclinatione grandissima al fabbricare, et in questo spende volentieri e largamente, sentendo gran piacere quando si lauda le opere che va facendo: e par che habbi fine lasciar anco per questa via memoria di se, non vi essendo hormai luogo in Roma che

non habbi il nome suo, et usa di dire il fabbricare esser particularmente inclinatione di casa de Medici, nè osserva S. Beat^ne^ quello che è stato fatto dalli altri suoi precessori, che hanno per il più incominciato edificii grandi e magnifici lasciandoli poi imperfetti, ma ella ha piutosto a piacere di far acconciar quelli che minacciano rovina e finir gl'incominciati, con farne anco de' nuovi, facendo fabbricar in molti luoghi d lo stato ecclesiastico: perche fortifica Civita Vecchia, acconcia il porto d'Ancona, vuol ridur in fortezza Bologna: in Roma poi, oltra la fortificatione del borgo e la fabbrica di Belvedere e del palazzo, in molte parti della città fa acconciar strade, fabbricar chiese e rinovar le porte con spesa così grande che al tempo mio per molti mesi nelle fabbriche di Roma solamente passava 12 m. scudi il mese e forse più di quello che si conviene a principe, in tanto che viene affermato da più antichi cortigiani non esser mai le cose passate con tanta misura e così strettamente come fanno al presente. E perche credo non habbia ad esser discaro l'intendere qualche particulare che tiene S. Beat^ne^ nel vivere, però satisfarò anche a questa parte. Usa il pontefice per ordinario levarsi, quando è sano, tanto di buon' hora così l'inverno come l'estate ch'è sempre quasi inanzi giorno in piedi, e subito vestito esce a far esercitio, nel quale spende gran tempo: poi ritornato, entrano nella sua camera il rev^mo^ Borromeo e mons Tolomeo, con i quali tratta, come ho detto, S. S^a^ tutte le cose importanti così pubbliche come private, e li tiene per l'ordinario seco doi o tre hore: e quando li ha licentiati, sono introdutti a lei quei ambasciatori che stanno aspettando l'audientia: e finito che ha di ragionar con loro, ode S. S^a^ la messa, e quando l'hora non è tarda, esce fuori a dare audientia ai cardinali et ad altri: e poi si mette a tavola, la qual, per dir il vero, non è molto splendida, com' era quella del precessore, perche le vivande sono ordinarie e non in gran quantità et il servitio è de' soliti soi camerieri. Si nutrisce di cibi grossi e di pasta alla Lombarda; beve più di quello che mangia, et il vino è greco di somma molto potente, nel quale non si vuole acqua. Non ha piacere che al suo mangiare si trovino, secondo l'uso del precessore, vescovi et altri prelati di rispetto, ma piutosto ha caro udir qualche ragionamento di persone piacevoli e che habbino qualche umore. Ammette alla sua tavola molte volte di cardinali e degli ambasciatori,

et a me in particulare ha fatto di questi favori con dimostrationi molto amorevoli. Dapoi che ha finito di mangiare, si ritira nella sua camera, e spogliato in camicia entra in letto, dove vi sta per l'ordinario tre o quattro hore: e svegliato si ritorna a vestire, e dice l'ufficio et alcune volte da audientia a qualche cardinale et ambasciatore, e poi se ne ritorna al suo esercitio in Belvedere, il quale non intermette mai l'estate fin l'hora di cena e l'inverno fin che si vede lume." [Of the mental characteristics of his holiness I will speak sincerely, describing certain peculiarities which I was enabled to observe in him during the time of my embassy, or of which I obtained knowledge from persons who spoke of them dispassionately. The pope, as I have said above, has studied the laws, his knowledge of which, and the practice acquired during so many years, in the important governments he has held, have given him an admirable certainty of judgment in all causes, whether of justice or mere favour, that are brought forward in the Segnatura; so that he never opens his mouth without proving that he well knows what may be conceded, and what ought to be refused, which is a quality not only useful, but necessary to a pontiff, on account of the many and important matters that from time to time he has to treat and decide upon. He is very well acquainted with the Latin tongue, and has always taken pleasure in studying its beauties; so that, according to what I have been told by the most illustrious Navagiero, who has so perfect a judgment in respect to that question, he expresses himself in the consistories, where it is customary to speak Latin, with great ease and propriety. He has not studied theology, and for this reason will never take upon himself to decide by his own authority such causes as are committed to the office of the Inquisition, but is in the habit of saying, that, not being a theologian, he is content to refer all such matters to those who have the charge of them; and although it is well known that the ordinary manner of the inquisitors, in proceeding with so much rigour against the persons examined, is not to his satisfaction, and that he has suffered it to be understood that it would please him better to see them use the methods proper to a courteous gentleman, rather than those of a rigid monk, yet he either does not choose, or does not dare, to oppose their decisions, with which, indeed, he but rarely interferes, the congregations being held

for the most part without his presence. In affairs and deliberations of state he will not take counsel of any man, insomuch that it is said there has never been a pontiff more hardly worked, and less advised, than his holiness. And it does not fail to be made matter of wonder to the whole court, that he will not take the opinion at least of some cardinal, more especially for affairs of great importance, and the rather, as many of the cardinals are men of very sound judgment. I know that Vargas one day advised him to do so, remarking to him, that although his holiness was, doubtless, most wise, yet that *one man was no man* (unus vir erat nullus vir); but his holiness sent him off with a rough reply; and it is in fact very evident that, whether because he considers himself capable of deciding all questions that come before him, or because he knows that there are few, perhaps no cardinals, who are not in the interest of some prince, and that all are thus incapacitated for giving a free unbiassed judgment, it is, I say, evident, that he will not accept the service of any, save Cardinal Borromeo and Signor Tolomeo, who being young men of little or no experience, and ready to obey the very slightest intimation from his holiness, may rather be called simple executors than counsellors. From this want of counsel it results that his holiness, who is by nature prompt in all his actions, takes his resolutions also very quickly in respect to all public affairs, however important they may be, but as readily abandons the determination he has taken, so that when his decisions are published, and there happens afterwards to be brought to him some information of a contrary tendency, he not only changes his measures, but frequently does the very opposite of what he had first designed, a circumstance that occurred in my time, not once only, but on various occasions. Towards princes the conduct of his holiness is directly contrary to that of his predecessor, for the latter used to say that the position of the pontiff permitted him to place emperors and kings beneath his feet, while the present pope declares that without the authority of princes it is impossible to maintain that of the pontiff. Thus he deports himself with great respect towards every prince, is extremely willing to grant them favours, and when he refuses them any thing, he does it with infinite address and modesty. He proceeds in like manner with exceeding gentleness and affability towards all persons whatso-

ever who approach him in the conduct of affairs; but if at any time he be required to do a thing which displeases him, he becomes excessively vehement, and proves himself to be really terrible, nor will he suffer the slightest contradiction. Yet it is hardly ever necessary to use address with his holiness, for when he has become pacified, he finds it difficult to refuse any request. It is true that there is more difficulty in securing the subsequent execution than in obtaining the promise. He displays the utmost respect towards the most reverend cardinals, and willingly confers favours on them; nor does he ever diminish the value of the privileges conferred in the collation to benefices, as was done by his predecessor. It is true that among those of the cardinals who have the principal influence, there exists the desire that he would give them a more active part in the affairs that occur during times of so much movement than that which his holiness is accustomed to accord them; they are dissatisfied that resolutions of the highest importance should be adopted with so little advice and deliberation, and in this respect they consider your Serenity most fortunate. Towards the ambassadors his holiness evinces the highest demonstrations of respect and goodwill,—better could not be desired; nor does he omit any thing that can tend to their satisfaction. He conducts himself most amicably in all negotiations with them, and if at any time he falls into anger on account of some demand that has displeased him, yet any one who uses discretion may readily appease him, and can always succeed so far as to gain at least a very friendly reply, even though he may not obtain all he demands; but whoever attempts to place himself in direct opposition to his holiness, may be assured of receiving neither the one nor the other. Therefore it is that Vargas has never possessed the favour of Pope Pius IV., for he has at no time proceeded with the modesty required from him. When the pontiff has finished the discussion of business matters, he converses courteously with the ambassadors; mentions any important notices or advices that may have reached him, and freely enters into discourse respecting the present state of the world. With myself, in particular, he has done that very frequently, as your Serenity will remember, for I have often filled whole sheets with his remarks. Towards his domestics he proceeds in such a manner that one cannot perceive any

one among them to have any influence with him; he treats them all alike, not giving one of them liberty to do any thing unsuitable to his position, nor permitting them to take any thing upon themselves. But he retains them all in so poor and humble a fortune that the court would willingly see more esteem and regard displayed towards the more confidential chamberlains and other old servants. He makes earnest profession of being strictly just as a judge, and readily converses of the desire he has that justice should be done, more particularly towards the ambassadors of princes, with whom he will sometimes enter on such occasions into a justification of the death of Caraffa, and the sentences of Naples and Monte, which he declares to have been pronounced in an equitable manner; for it may have come to his ears that the whole court considered these sentences, and especially that of Caraffa, to have been marked by an extraordinary and excessive severity. The pope is naturally inclined to a life of privacy and freedom, because it is obvious that he finds difficulty in accommodating himself to that majesty of deportment remarked in his predecessor. In all his actions he displays affability rather than dignity, permitting himself to be seen at all times and by all people, and going throughout all parts of the city on foot or on horseback, with a very small train. He has a very great love of building, and in this he spends willingly and largely, listening with great pleasure when the works he has in progress are praised; and it would seem that he desires to leave a memorial of his pontificate in this manner also, for there is now scarcely a place in Rome that does not bear his name; and he frequently remarks that the family of Medici has an especial love of building: nor does his holiness pursue the method of many other popes his predecessors, who have, for the most part, commenced large and magnificent edifices, which they afterwards left imperfect; but Pope Pius, on the contrary, finds pleasure in restoring such as are falling to decay, and in finishing those already begun; yet he also constructs many new ones, causing divers buildings to be erected in many parts of the Ecclesiastical States: thus, he is fortifying Cività Vecchia, is repairing the harbour of Ancona, and proposes to constitute Bologna a fortress. In Rome also, besides the fortification of the Borgo, and the building of the Belve-

dere and the palace, he is causing streets to be repaired in many parts of the city, is erecting churches, and restoring the gates, at so great a cost, that in my time there were more than 12,000 scudi per month expended on the buildings of Rome alone, for many months consecutively, and perhaps more than it is suitable that a sovereign should spend in this manner; so that it has been affirmed, by many of the older courtiers, that things had never been reduced to so close a measure or so strictly ordered as at present. And now, because I think that some particulars of the mode of life adopted by his holiness will not be unwelcome, so I will furnish information on that subject also. It is the custom of the pontiff to rise so early when he is in good health, as well in the winter as in the summer, that he is always on foot almost before daybreak, and being quickly dressed, he goes out to take exercise, in which he spends much time. Then, having returned, the most reverend Cardinal Borromeo enters his chamber, with Mons^re^ Tolomeo, with whom, as I have said, his holiness treats of all important matters, whether public or private, commonly detaining them for two or three hours; when he has dismissed them, the ambassadors, who have been waiting an audience, are introduced, and when he has finished conversing with them, his holiness hears mass; after which, if the hour be not late, he goes out to give audience to the cardinals and others. He then sits down to table, which, to say the truth, is not served very splendidly, or as that of his predecessor was, for the viands are common, and supplied in no great quantity, while the service is performed by his usual attendants. His diet is of the most ordinary kind, for the most part Lombard maccaroni; he drinks more than he eats, and his wine is Greek, of considerable strength, in which he mingles no water. He does not take pleasure, as did his predecessor, in receiving bishops and other dignified prelates at his table, but rather prefers the conversation of persons who are amusing, and possess some humour. He frequently admits cardinals and ambassadors to his table, and on myself, in particular, he has frequently conferred these favours with many gracious demonstrations of kindness. When he has finished eating, he withdraws to his room, undresses, and goes to bed, where he most commonly remains two or three hours. On awaking, he quickly dresses again, then says mass, and some-

times gives audience to some one of the cardinals or ambassadors; he then returns to his exercise in the Belvedere, which he never ceases until supper-time in summer, and which he continues in winter while any light remains.]

Many other notices of interest and importance, from the illustrations they afford of the history of those times, are brought forward by Soranzo. He throws light, for example, on the otherwise scarcely intelligible secession of the king of Navarre to Catholicism, and explains it clearly. This prince had received assurance from Rome, that even though Philip II. should not give him Sardinia as indemnification for the lost part of Navarre, yet that the pope would, at all events, give him Avignon. It was not theologians, says the ambassador, that were employed to effect a change in his opinions,—the negotiation sufficed.

No. 36.

Instruttione del re Cattolico al C^r M^r d'Alcantara, suo ambasciatore, di quello ha da trattar in Roma. Madr. 30 *Nov.* 1562. *MS. Rom.* [Instructions from the Catholic king to his ambassador Alcantara, touching matters to be treated of in Rome. Madrid, 30 Nov. 1562.]

These Instructions are accompanied by the pope's reply. Pallavicini has made satisfactory extracts from this document (Pal. xx. 10), with the exception of the following passage, which he does not appear to have clearly understood. "Circa l'articolo della communione sub utraque specie non resteremo di dire con la sicurtà che sapemo di potere usare con la M^tà Sua, che ci parono cose molto contrarie il dimandar tanta libertà e licenza nel concilio et il volere in un medesimo tempo che noi impediamo detto concilio e che prohibiamo all' imperatore, al re di Francia, al duca di Baviera et ad altri principi che non possano far proponere et questo et molti altri articoli che ricercano attento, che essi sono deliberati et risoluti di farli proponere da suoi ambasciatori e prelati, etiam che fosse contra la volontà dei legati. Sopra il che S. M^tà dovrà fare quella consideratione che le parerà conveniente. Quanto a quello che spetta a noi, havemo differita la cosa fin qui, cercaremo di differirla più che potremo, non ostante lo

grandi istanze che circa cio ne sono state fatte: e tuttavia se ne fanno dalli sudetti principi, protestandoci che se non se gli concede, perderanno tutti li loro sudditi, quali dicono peccar solo in questo articulo e nel resto esser buoni cattolici, e di più dicono che non essendogli concesso, li piglieranno da se, e si congiungeranno con li settarii vicini e protestanti; da quali quando ricorrono per questo uso del calice, sono astretti ad abjurare la nostra religione: sicche S. M^tà^ può considerare in quanta molestia e travaglio siamo. Piacesse a Dio che S. M^tà^ cattolica fosse vicina e potessimo parlare insieme ed anche abboccarsi con l'imperatore—havendo per ogni modo S. M^tà^ Cesarea da incontrarsi da noi,—che forse potriamo acconciare le cose del mondo, o nessuno le acconcierà mai se non Dio solo, quando parerà a Sua Divina Maestà." [In regard to the article of communion in both kinds, we do not hesitate to say, with all the freedom that we know we may use towards his majesty, that it appears to us a great contradiction to demand so much liberty and license in the council, and at the same time to desire that we should impede the said council, and should prevent the emperor, the king of France, the duke of Bavaria, and other princes, from having the faculty of proposing this and many other articles, all requiring attention, and which these monarchs have deliberately determined to have proposed by their ambassadors, even though their doing so should be contrary to the will of the legates. With relation to this matter, his majesty must adopt such resolutions as shall appear to him most suitable. As to what concerns ourselves, we have contrived to defer the matter until now, and will do our utmost to prolong the delay, notwithstanding the urgent representations which have been made to us in respect of it, and which continue to be made, by the above-named princes, who protest to us that if it be not conceded to them, they will lose all their subjects, and these commit no fault, as they say, except in this one particular, for in all the rest they are good Catholics. And they further say, that if this privilege be not granted to them, they will take it for themselves, joining with the neighbouring sectaries and the Protestants, by whom, on their having recourse to them for this use of the cup, they are compelled to abjure our religion: let his majesty then consider in how great a strait we are placed, and what perplexity we suffer. Would to God that his

Catholic majesty were near us, so that we might speak together, or indeed that we could both meet and confer with the Emperor; for his Imperial majesty ought, by all means, to have an interview with us, and perchance we might thus give better order to the affairs of the world; but otherwise, none will ever be able to amend them, save God alone, when it shall seem good to his Divine Majesty.]

No. 37.

Instruttione data al S^re Carlo Visconti, mandato da Papa Pio IV. al re Cattolico per le cose del Concilio di Trento. [Instruction given to Signor Carlo Visconti, sent from Pope Pius IV. to the Catholic king, touching the affairs of the Council of Trent.] Signed,—Carolus Borromæus, ultimo Oct. 1563.

This document is not comprised in the collection of the nuncio's letters, which includes those only to Sept. 1563, but is remarkable from the fact that it investigates the motives for closing the council. Pallavicini (xxiv. lib. i.) has adopted the greater part of this Instruction, but in an order different from that in which it was written. The most remarkable circumstance here made known, perhaps, is, that it was proposed to bring the affairs of England before the council, a design that was abandoned only from motives of consideration for Philip II. "Non abbiamo voluto parlare sin ora nè lasciar parlare in concilio della regina d'Inghilterra (Mary Stuart), con tutto che lo meriti, nè meno di quest' altra (Elizabeth), e cio per rispetto di S. M^tà cattolica . . . . . Ma ancora a questa bisognerebbe un dì pigliare qualche verso, e la M^tà S. dovrebbe almeno fare opera che li vescovi et altri cattolici non fossero molestati." [Up to the present time we have not been willing to speak, or to suffer that the council should speak, of the queen of England (Mary Stuart), much as that subject deserves attention, nor yet of that other (Elizabeth), and this from respect to his Catholic majesty; but still a plan must, at some time, be adopted respecting these things, and his majesty should at least take measures that the bishops and other Catholics may not be molested.] It is here rendered manifest that the office of protecting the Catholics of England was imposed as a kind of duty on Philip II.

No. 38.

Relatione in scriptis fatta dal Commendone ai S^ri Legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dell' imperatore, 19 *Feb.* 1563. [Report made in writing by Commendone to the Lord Legates, in regard to the matters touched upon by the emperor, 19 Feb. 1563.]

"La somma è che a me pare di aver veduto non pur in S. M^tà ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remettendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione o impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliano riforma." [In fact, I thought I could perceive, not indeed in his majesty, but in the principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire for reform, and for the progress of the council, with a firm hope that by a certain remission of the positive law, and by a reform of the morals and discipline of the church, not only might the Catholics be preserved, but some of the heretics also might be gained and recovered, together with an opinion or impression, perhaps too powerful, that there were many here who did not wish for reform.]

The activity of the Jesuits in particular had made an impression. "Seldio disse, che li Gesuiti hanno hormai mostrato in Germania quello che si può sperare con effetto, perche solamente con la buona vita e con la prediche e con le scuole loro hanno ritenuto e vi sostengono tuttavia la religione cattolica." [Seld remarked, that the Jesuits have now shewn clearly in Germany what effects may be hoped for, since merely by their purity of life, their preaching, and their schools, they have maintained, and still wholly support, the Catholic religion in that country.]

No. 39.

Relatione sommaria del Cardinal Morone sopra la legatione sua, 1564, *Januario*. *Bibl. Altieri, VII. F.* 3. [Summary Report of Cardinal Morone, touching his embassy in January, 1564. Altieri Library, VII. F. 3.]

This ought properly to be given word for word. Unfortunately I did not find myself in a position to take a copy. The extract that I have inserted in the third book must therefore suffice.

No. 40.

Antonio Canossa: On the attempt to assassinate Pius IV. See vol. i. p. 268.

No. 41.

Relatione di Roma al tempo di Pio IV. e V. di Paolo Tiepolo, ambasciatore Veneto. [Report from Rome in relation to the times of Pius IV. and V., by Paolo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador.] First found in manuscript at Gotha, afterwards in many other collections. 1568.

This Report is described in almost all the copies as belonging to the year 1567 ; but since Paolo Tiepolo expressly says that he was thirty-three months at the court of Pius V., and the latter was elected in January, 1566, it is clear that its true date must be some time after September, 1568. The dispatches also of this ambassador—the first that were preserved in the Venetian archives—come down to this year.

Tiepolo describes Rome, the States of the Church and their administration, as well as the ecclesiastical power, which, as he says, punishes by interdicts, and rewards by indulgences. He next institutes a comparison between Pius IV. and V., touching on the piety, justice, liberality, habits, and general dispositions of these pontiffs respectively. Venice had found a very mild pope in the former, in the latter an extremely rigorous one. Pius V. complained incessantly of the restrictions which Venice permitted herself to impose on the eccle-

siastical immunities. He instances the taxation of monasteries, the trial of priests by the civil tribunals, and the conduct of the "Avogadores." Still, in despite of these misunderstandings, the comparison of Tiepolo tends entirely to the advantage of the more rigid pontiff, and to the disadvantage of the milder pope. We perceive clearly that the personal qualities of Pius V. had produced an impression on this ambassador similar to that received from his character by Europe generally.

This report has been extensively circulated, as we have said; it has also been occasionally inserted in printed works; but let us remark the manner in which this has been done. In the "Tesoro Politico," i. 19, there is a "Relatione di Roma," in which all that Tiepolo says of Pius V. is applied to Sixtus V. Traits of character, nay, even particular actions, ordinances, &c., are transferred without ceremony from one pope to the other. This report, thus completely falsified, was afterwards inserted in the "Respublica Romana" (Elzevir), where it will be found, word for word, p. 496, under the title "De statu urbis Romæ et pontificis relatio tempore Sixti V. papæ, anno 1585."

No. 42.

Relatione di Roma del Cl^mo S^r Michiel Suriano K. ritornato ambasciatore da N. S. Papa Pio V., 1571. [Report presented by the most illustrious M. Suriano, ambassador to our lord Pope Pius V., on his return from Rome, 1571.]

Michael Suriano, with respect to whom, as we are told by Paruta, the study of literature placed talents for business in a more brilliant light (Guerra di Cipro, i. p. 28), was the immediate successor of Paolo Tiepolo.

He describes Pius V. in the following words:—

"Si vede che nel papato S. Santità non ha atteso mai a delitie nè a piaceri, come altri suoi antecessori, che non ha alterato la vita nè i costumi, che non ha lasciato l'essercitio dell' inquisitione che haveva essendo privato, et lasciava più presto ogn' altra cosa che quella, riputando tutte l'altre di manco stima et di manco importantia: onde benche per il papato fosse mutata la dignità et la fortuna, non fu però

mutata nè la volontà nè la natura. Era S. S^tà^ di presenza grave, con poca carne magra, et di persona più che mediocre ma forte et robusta: havea gl'occhi piccoli ma la vista acutissima, il naso aquilino, che denota animo generoso et atto a regnare, il colore vivo et la canitie veneranda, caminava gagliardissimamente, non temea l'aere, mangiava poco e bevea pochissimo, andava a dormire per tempo: pativa alcune volte d'orina, et vi rimediava con usar spesso la cassia et a certi tempi il latte d'asina et con viver sempre con regola et con misura. Era S. S^tà^ di complessione colerica et subita, et s'accendeva in un tratto in viso quando sentiva cosa che le dispiacesse: era però facile nell' audiente, ascoltava tutti, parlava poco et tardo et stentava spesso a trovar le parole proprie et significanti al suo modo. Fu di vita esemplare et di costumi irreprensibili con un zelo rigoroso di religione, che haveria voluto che ogn' un l'havesse, et per questo corregea gl'ecclesiastici con riserve et con bolle et i laici con decreti et avvertimenti. Facea professione aperta di sincerità et di bontà, di non ingannare, di non publicar mai le cose che gli eran dette in secretezza et d'esser osservantissimo della parola, tutte cose contrarie al suo predecessore: odiava i tristi et non poteva tollerarli, amava i buoni o quei che era persuasa che fosser buoni: ma come un tristo non potea sperar mai di guadagnar la sua gratia, perche ella non credea che potesse diventar buono, così non era senza pericolo un buono di perderla quando cadea in qualche tristezza. Amava sopra tutte le cose la verità, et se alcuno era scoperto da S. S^tà^ una sol volta in bugia, perdeva la sua gratia per sempre, et fu visto l'essempio nel sig^r^ Paolo Ghisilieri suo nipote, il quale scacciò da se per averlo trovato in bugia, come S. S^tà^ medesima mi disse, et per officii che fusser fatti non volse mai più riceverlo in gratia. Era d'ingegno non molto acuto, di natura difficile et sospettosa, e da quella impressione che prendea una volta non giovava a rimoverlo niuna persuasione di ragione di rispetti civili. Non avea isperienza di cose di stato per non averle mai pratticate se non ultimamente: onde nei travagli che portan seco i maneggi di questa corte et nelle difficoltà che sempre accompagnan la novità dei negotii, un che fosse grato a S. Santità et in che ella havesse fede era facilmente atto a guidarla a suo modo, ma altri in chi non havea fede non potea essere atto, et le ragioni regolate per prudenza humana non basta-

vano a persuaderla, et se alcun pensava di vincere con autorità o con spaventi, ella rompeva in un subito et metteva in disordine ogni cosa o per lo manco gli dava nel viso con dir che non temeva il martirio et che come Dio l'ha messo in quel luogo così poteva anco conservarlo contra ogni auttorità et podestà humana. Queste conditioni et qualità di S. Santità, se ben son verissime, però son difficili da credere a chi non ha auto la sua pratica et molto più a chi ha auto pratica d'altri papi; perche pare impossibile che un huomo nato et nutrito in bassa fortuna si tenesse tanto sincero: che resistesse così arditamente a i maggior prencipi et più potenti: che fosse tanto difficile nei favori et nelle gratie et nelle dispense et in quell' altre cose che gl'altri pontefici concedean sempre facilmente: che pensasse più all' inquisitione che ad altro, et chi secondava S. Santità in quella, potesse con lei ogni cosa: che nelle cose di stato non credesse alla forza delle ragioni nè all' auttorità de i prencipi esperti, ma solamente alle persuasioni di quei in chi havea fede: che non si sia mai mostrato interessato nè in ambitione nè in avaritia, nè per se nè per niun de suoi: che credesse poco ai cardenali et gl'avesse tutti per interessati et o quasi tutti, et chi si valea di loro con S. Santità, se nol facea con gran temperamento et con gran giudicio, si rendea sospetto et perdea il credito insieme con loro. Et chi non sa queste cose et si ricorda delle debolezze, della facilità, de i rispetti, delle passioni et degl' affetti de gl'altri papi, accusava et strapazzava gl'ambasciatori, credendo non che non potesser ma che non volessero o non sapessero ottener quelle cose che s'ottenevano facilmente in altri tempi." [It is clearly to be seen that during his pontificate his holiness never addicted himself to the luxuries and pleasures of life as others that went before him did; that he made no change in his habits of living, and did not neglect the exercise of that office of Inquisition which he had held while in a private station; nay, that he was disposed to give up other occupations rather than that, esteeming all others to be of less account and importance: thus, although his dignity and fortune were changed by his elevation to the papacy, yet he was himself not changed either in his character or purposes. His holiness was of a grave presence, very spare and meagre, in person rather below the middle height, but strong and healthy; his eyes were small, but the sight was extremely acute; he had an

aquiline nose, which denotes a generous spirit and one fitted to command; his complexion was bright, and he had venerable grey hair; he walked with a quick, firm, vigorous step, did not fear the open air, ate but little, drank still less, and went to bed at a very early hour: he suffered occasionally from strangury, as a remedy for which he used cassia, and sometimes asses' milk, living besides with great regularity and moderation. His holiness was of a choleric and hasty temperament, and his face would kindle and redden in a moment when any thing occurred that displeased him; he was nevertheless very affable in giving audience, listened to all who came, spoke little and slowly, and often seemed to find difficulty in selecting the proper words, or such as would express the matter after his own liking. He was of exemplary life and irreproachable morals; with a most earnest zeal for religion, which he would fain have seen all others partaking. He corrected his clergy accordingly, by reservations and bulls; while he punished the laity by decrees and admonitions. He made profession openly of sincerity and good faith, of avoiding all deceit, of never divulging matters confided to him in secret, and of rigorously keeping his word, all things which were the reverse of his predecessor's practice. He held all evil-doers in abhorrence, and could by no means tolerate the profligate. He loved the good, or such persons as he believed to be good; but as no worthless man could ever hope to gain his favour, because he considered it impossible that an evil man could ever become good, so a worthy man was not beyond the danger of losing his good-will, if ever he fell into any fault. He loved truth above all things, and if any one were ever discovered by his holiness, though but one sole time, in a falsehood, he lost his favour for ever: this was exemplified in the case of Signor Paolo Ghisilieri, his nephew, whom he drove from his presence because he had detected him in a falsehood, as his holiness told me himself, and would never again receive him to his favour, notwithstanding that many efforts were made to prevail on him to do so. He did not possess a very lively genius, but was of a hard and suspicious nature; there was no persuasion, nor reasoning, nor consideration of courtesy or policy that could avail to move him from the impression that he had once taken. He had no experience in state affairs, because he had never

practised them till his latter days; whence it happened, that when involved in the perplexities constantly resulting from the intrigues of this court, and amidst the difficulties that always attend one who is new to these affairs, any person who was acceptable to his holiness, and in whom he had faith, found it easy to lead him at his pleasure; but others, in whom he had no confidence, could do nothing with him, nor could any reasonings, regulated by mere human prudence, suffice to persuade him; and if any one attempted to prevail with him by force of authority and influence, or by seeking to alarm him, he would cut the whole matter short and throw all into confusion, or at the least he would burst forth in the face of the adviser, telling him he did not fear martyrdom, and that since God had placed him in that office, so he could also preserve him there, in despite of all human authority and power. These qualities and dispositions of his holiness, although they are entirely true, are yet hard to be believed by any one who has not had opportunity for closely observing him, still more so for those who have been in personal contact with other popes, for to such it will appear impossible that a man born and brought up in lowly fortune should have preserved so pure a truthfulness and sincerity; that he should resist the greatest and most potent monarchs with so much boldness; that he should be so reserved in the granting of favours, graces, dispensations, and other things, which the pontiffs for the most part conceded with so much readiness; that he should think more of the Inquisition than of any other thing,—and whoever would second his holiness in that might do any thing with him; that in matters of state he would yield nothing to the force of argument, or to the authority of princes experienced in government, but would be guided solely by those in whom he had faith; that he never manifested an interested feeling, nor was to be moved by ambition or avarice, either for himself or for any one connected with him; that he put little trust in the cardinals, believing them all, or nearly all, to be led by self-interest, and that whoever sought to avail himself of their mediation with his holiness, unless he did it with great moderation and judgment, became an object of suspicion to the pontiff, and lost credit, together with the intermediaries he had placed his hopes in. And those who did not know these things, but remembered the weaknesses, the

facility, the bending to expediency, the passions and the capricious partialities of other popes, accused, contemned, and reproached the ambassadors, believing, not that they could not, but that they would not obtain, or did not possess the skill to obtain, those things which were so easily to be secured in other times.]

There is no difficulty in believing that the ambassadors really occupied a trying position with a pope of these dispositions. When Pius became aware, for example, that the Venetians would not publish the bull "In Cœnâ Domini," he fell into a violent rage: "si perturbò estremamente, et acceso in collera disse molte cose gravi et fastidiose" [he became excessively agitated, and kindling in anger, uttered many severe and reproachful things]. These were circumstances by which affairs were rendered doubly difficult of control. Suriano lost, in fact, the favour of his republic. He was recalled, and a large portion of this report is written for the purpose of justifying his conduct; but through this part we cannot follow him.

No. 43.

Informatione di Pio V. Inform. politt. Bibl. Ambros. F. D. 181. [Notice respecting Pius V. Inform. Politt. Ambrosian Library.]

This, it is true, is anonymous, but was written by some one who was accurately informed, and is corroborative of other descriptions. One of the facts we learn from this document, is the singular one that, notwithstanding all the rigour of this pious pope, yet factions prevailed in his household; the older servants were opposed to the younger, who attached themselves more particularly to the grand chamberlain, M^re^ Cirillo: the latter was generally accessible to all. "Con le carezze e col mostrar di conoscere il suo valore facilmente s'acquistarebbe: ha l'animo elevatissimo, grande intelligenza con Gambara e Correggio, e si stringe con Morone." [He would be easily won by those who would shew a sense of his value and paid court to him. He has considerable elevation of mind, is on the most intimate terms with Gambara and Correggio, and is attaching himself to Morone.]

No. 44.

Relatione della Corte di Roma nel tempo di Gregorio XIII *Bibl. Cors. No.* 714. [Report of the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. Corsini Library, No. 714.] Dated Feb. 20, 1574.

Anonymous, but nevertheless very instructive, and bearing the stamp of authenticity. The author considers it difficult to judge of courts and princes. "Dirò come si giudica nella corte e come la intendo." [I will shew how they judge in the court, and will say what I think of it myself.]

"Assonto che è stato al pontificato in età di 71 anni, ha parso c'habbi voluto mutare natura: et il rigore che era solito biasimare in altri, massimamente nel particulare del vivere con qualche licenza con donne, n'è stato più rigoroso dell' antecessore e fattone maggiori esecutioni: e parimente nella materia del giuoco si è mostrato rigorosissimo, perche havendo certi illustrissimi principiato a trattenersi nel principio del pontificato con giuocare qualche scudo, li riprese acremente, ancorche alcuni dubitarono che sotto il pretesto del giuoco si facessero nuove pratiche di pontificato per un poco di male c'hebbe S. S^ta^ in quel principio: e da questo cominciò a calare quella riputatione o oppinione che si voleva far credere dall' illustrissimo de' Medici, d'haver lui fatto il papa e doverlo governare, la qual cosa fece chiaro il mondo quanto S. S^ta^ abhorrisce che alcuno si voglia arrogare di governarlo o c'habbi bisogno d'essere governato, perche non vuole essere in questa oppinione di lasciarsi governare a persona. Perche in effetto nelle cose della giustitia n'è capacissimo e la intende e non bisogna pensare di darli parole. Ne' maneggi di stati S. S^ta^ ne potria saper più, perche non vi ha fatto molto studio, e sta sopra di se alle volte irresoluto, ma considerato che v'habbi sopra, n'è benissime capace e nell' udire le oppinioni discerne benissimo il meglio. E patientissimo e laboriosissimo e non sta mai in otio e piglia ancora poca ricreatione. Da continuamente audientia e vede scritture. Dorme poco, si leva per tempo, e fa volontieri esercitio, e li piace l'aria, quale non teme, per cattiva che sia. Mangia sobriamente e beve pochissimo, ed è sano senza sorte alcuna di schinelle. E grato in dimostrationi esteriori a chi gli ha fatto piacere.

Non è prodigo nè quasi si può dire liberale, secondo l'oppinione del volgo, il quale non considera o discerne la differentia che sia da un principe che si astenghi dall' estorsioni e rapacità a quello che conserva quello che ha con tenacità: questo non brama la roba d'altri e gli insidia per haverla. Non è crudele nè sanguinolento, ma temendo di continuo delle guerre sì del Turco come degli heretici, li piace d'haver somma di denarì nell' erario e conservarli senza dispensarli fuori di proposito, e n'ha intorno a un millione e mezzo d'oro: è però magnifico e gli piacciono le grandezze, e sopra tutto è desideroso di gloria, il qual desiderio il fa forse trascorrere in quello che non piace alla corte: perche questi reverendi padri Chiettini, che l'hanno conosciuto, se li sono fatti a cavaliere sopra, con dimostrarli che il credito et autorità che haveva Pio V. non era se non per riputatione della bontà, e con questo il tengono quasiche in filo et il necessitano a far cose contra la sua natura e la sua volontà, perche S. S^tà è sempre stato di natura piacevole e dolce, e lo restringono a una vita non consueta: et è oppinione che per far questo si siano valsi di far venire lettere da loro padri medesimi di Spagna et d'altri luoghi, dove sempre fanno mentione quanto sia commendata la vita santa del papa passato, quale ha acquistata tanta gloria con la riputatione della bontà e delle riforme, e con questo modo perseverano loro in dominare et havere autorità con S. Beat^ne: e dicesi che sono ajutati ancora dal vescovo di Padova, nuntio in Spagna, creatura di Pio V. e di loro. Brama tanto la gloria che si ritiene, e sforza la natura di fare di quelle dimostrationi ancora verso la persona del figliuolo quali sariano riputate ragionevoli et honeste da ogn' uno per li scrupoli che li propongono costoro: et in tanta felicità che ha havuto S. S^tà di essere asceso a questa dignità da basso stato, è contraposato da questo oggetto e dall' havere parenti quali non li sodisfanno e che a S. S^tà non pare che siano atti o capaci de' negotii importanti e da commetterli le facende di stato."

[Having attained to the pontificate at the age of 71, he seemed desirous of changing his very nature, so that the rigour which he had always blamed in others was now apparent in himself, more particularly as regarded any freedom of intercourse with women, in relation to which he was more severe than his predecessor, enforcing all rules and regulations with a still more rigorous exactitude He displayed equal severity

in the matter of gambling, for certain persons of the most distinguished rank, having begun to amuse themselves in the commencement of his pontificate, by playing for a few scudi, he reproved them with acrimony. It is true that some thought this playing was discovered to be a mere pretext to conceal intrigues that were set on foot respecting a new pontiff, in consequence of a slight indisposition which his holiness had in the commencement of his reign. From that time, the opinion that his holiness had been made pope by the most illustrious cardinal de' Medici, and would be governed by him, began to lose ground, and it was made clearly apparent that his holiness abhorred the thought of any one pretending to arrogate an influence over him, or to intimate that he had need of being guided, nor will he have it supposed that he is governed by any but himself. It is indeed certain that in all judicial matters he is highly competent to act, understanding them perfectly, and requiring no advice on the subject. In affairs of state, on the contrary, his holiness might advantageously be better informed than he is, because he has never studied them profoundly. Thus he is sometimes irresolute; but when he has well considered the matter before him, he obtains a very clear perception of its different bearings, and after listening to various opinions, readily discerns the best and soundest. He is most patient and laborious, is never unoccupied, and takes very little recreation. He is constantly giving audience, or examining papers. He sleeps but little, rises very early, is fond of exercise and of the open air, which he does not fear, however unfavourable may be the weather. In eating he is most temperate, and drinks very little, preserving himself in perfect health without quackeries or nostrums of any kind: he is gracious in outward demeanour to those who have done any thing to please him. He is not profuse, nor even what would be called liberal, according to the opinion of the unthinking, who do not consider or discern the difference there is between a sovereign who abstains from extortion and rapacity, and one who tenaciously keeps what he has. This pontiff does not covet the property of others; nor does he lay plots against them to make himself master of it. He is not cruel nor sanguinary, but being continually in fear of war, either with the Turk or with heretics, he is anxious to have a good amount of money in the treasury, and to preserve it there,

without spending it on things useless. He is said to have about a million and a half of gold. Yet he is much disposed to magnificence, loves splendour, and is above all things desirous of glory; by which desire it is, perhaps, that he is sometimes led to do things that are not pleasing to the court. For these reverend "padri Chiettini," who know his character well, have gained the upper hand of him, by persuading him that the influence and authority which Pius V. possessed were to be attributed solely to his reputation for piety and goodness. With this they hold his holiness, as it were, in leading-strings, and compel him to do things contrary to his character and inclinations, for he has always been of a kindly and gentle disposition, and they restrict him to modes of life to which he is not accustomed, and that are uncongenial to him. It is believed that to effect this, they have employed the expedient of causing letters to be addressed to them by the fathers of their order resident in Spain and other places, which letters are filled with repetitions of the praises everywhere bestowed on the holy life of the late pontiff, and continually insist on the great glory he acquired by his reputation for piety, and by his reforms; and in this manner they are said to maintain their authority, and to persevere in governing his holiness. It is rumoured, besides, that they are also assisted by the bishop of Padua, nuncio in Spain, a creature of Pius V. and of themselves. And so powerful is the pontiff's desire of glory, that he denies himself and puts restraint on his own nature, even to the extent of refraining from those proofs of affection towards his son, which would be accounted reasonable and honourable by every one, because he is influenced by the scruples inspired by the aforesaid fathers. Thus the great fortune of his holiness in having attained his high dignity from so poor a condition, is counterbalanced by this state of things, and by his having kindred from whom he can derive no satisfaction, and who do not appear to his holiness possessed of capacity or ability for important affairs, nor proper to be entrusted with the business of the state.]

He proceeds to describe the cardinals in a similar manner. Of Granvella, he remarks, that he did not maintain his credit, he was too earnestly intent on his own gratifications, and was considered avaricious. In the affairs of the League he had nearly occasioned an open rupture between the king and the

pope. Commendone, on the contrary, is highly extolled. "Ha la virtù, la bontà, l'esperienza, con infinito giudicio." [He possesses virtue, goodness, and experience, with infinite soundness of judgment.]

No. 45.

Seconda relatione dell'ambasciatore di Roma, clar^mo M. Paolo Tiepolo K^r; 3 Maggio, 1576. [Second report of the most illustrious Paolo Tiepolo, ambassador to Rome; 3 May, 1576.]

The anonymous report mentioned above speaks of Tiepolo also, and in the highest terms; he is described as a man of clear head and great worth.

"E modesto e contra il costume de' Venetiani; è corteggiano e liberale, e riesce eccellentemente, e sodisfa molto, e mostra prudenza grande in questi travagli e frangenti a sapersi regere." [He is modest, and, unlike the usual habit of the Venetians, is courteous and liberal. He is extremely well received, gives general satisfaction, and shews great prudence in the government of his course through these toils and difficulties.]

When the Venetians separated themselves from the league formed against the Turks, for example, he had to maintain a difficult position. It was believed that the pope would propose in the consistory that the Venetians should be excommunicated, and certain of the cardinals were preparing to oppose any such purpose. "Levato Cornaro (a Venetian), nessuno fo che in quei primi giorni mi vedesse o mi mandasse a veder, non che mi consigliasse, consolasse o sollevasse." [With the exception of Cornaro (a Venetian), there was not one who would come to see me or send for me, much less would any of them advise, console, or assist me.] The true cause of the separate peace, Tiepolo asserts to have been that the Spaniards, after promising to be prepared and armed, in April, 1573, declared, in that month, that their armament would not be complete until June. It tended greatly to mitigate the anger of the pope, that Venice finally determined to create his son a Venetian "nobile." The manner in which

Tiepolo expresses himself with regard to this son of the pope is sufficiently remarkable.

"Il s^r Giacomo è figliuolo del papa: è giovane anchor esso di circa 29 anni, di belle lettere, gratiose maniere, di grando et liberal animo et d'un ingegno attissimo a tutte le cose dove egli l'applicasse. Non bisogna negar che'l primo et si può dir solo affetto del papa non sia verso di lui, come è anco ragionevole che sia, perciocche nel principio del pontificato, quando egli operava più secondo il suo senso, lo creò prima castellano et dapoi governator di s. chiesa con assegnarli per questo conto provisioni di cerca X m. ducati all' anno et con pagarli un locotenente, colonnelli et capitani, acciochè egli tanto più honoratamente potesse comparer: ma dapoi, come che si fosse pentito di esser passato tanto oltre verso un suo figliuolo naturale, mosso per avvertimenti, come si affermava, di persone spirituali, che li mettevanó questa cosa a conscientia et a punto d'honore, incominciò a ritirarsi con negarli i favori et le gratie che li erano da lui domandate et con far in tutte le cose manco stima di lui di quello che prima avea fatto: anzi come che dopo averlo palesato volesse nasconderlo al mondo, separandolo da lui lo fece partir da Roma et andar in Ancona, dove sotto specie di fortificar quella città per un tempo lo intertenne, senza mai provederlo d'una entrata stabile et sicura colla quale egli dopo la morte sua avesse possuto con qualche dignità vivere et sostenersi: onde il povero signore dolendosi della sua fortuna che lo havesse voluto innalzar per doverlo poi abbandonare si messe più volte in tanta desperatione che fuggendo la pratica et conversatione di ciascuno si retirava a viver in casa solitario, continuando in questo per molti giorni, con far venir anchora all' orecchie dell' padre come egli era assalito da fieri et pericolosi accidenti, per vedere se con questo havesse possuto muover la sua tenerezza verso di lui. In fine troppo può l'amor naturale paterne per spingere o dissimulare il quale indarno l'uomo s'adopera. Vinto finalmente et commosso il papa dapoi passato l'anno santo volse l'animo a provederli et a darli satisfattione, et prima si resolse da maritarlo." [Signor Giacomo is son of the pope; he is still young,—about twenty-nine, that is; he is well versed in letters, graceful in manner, of a noble and liberal mind, with ability and judgment for any thing to which he might apply his powers. There is little use in denying that the first, or it

may even be said, the sole affection of the pope is fixed on him, as indeed it is reasonable that it should be; wherefore, in the beginning of his pontificate, and when his holiness acted more in accordance with his natural inclinations, he first made his son castellan, and afterwards governor of the holy church, assigning him from that office an income of about 10,000 scudi yearly, and allowing him pay, besides, for a lieutenant-governor, colonels, and captains, to the end that he might make a more honourable appearance; but afterwards, as if he had repented of proceeding so far in behalf of a natural son, and moved, as was affirmed, by the admonitions of certain ecclesiastics, who appealed to his conscience, and made the matter a point touching his honour, he began to retract, by refusing Signor Giacomo those favours and privileges that he asked from him, and by shewing in all ways less regard for him than he had previously suffered to appear. Nay, further, as though, after having allowed him to be known to the world, he desired to conceal him, separating himself from his society, he sent him to Ancona, where he detained him for a considerable time, under pretence of fortifying that city, without ever providing him with a fixed income, or one so secured, that on his (the pontiff's) death his son might be able to live and maintain his state with suitable dignity. For which cause, the poor gentleman, grieving over his hard fortune, which had raised him at one time only to abandon him at another, fell oftentimes into such despondency, that, shunning all converse and the society of every man, he would retire alone to a house, where he would shut himself up for many days. Then he would cause reports of perilous accidents that had befallen him to reach the ears of his father, to try whether he might thereby move the tenderness of his holiness towards him. And in the end the natural love of the father prevailed, for vainly will a man set himself to expel or conceal it. Thus, conquered at last, the pope, after the year of jubilee had passed, turned his thoughts towards his son, and applied himself to provide for him and give him satisfaction; then, first of all, he resolved to marry him.]

Respecting the civil administration of Gregory XIII. also, and more particularly in regard to the cardinal di Como, Tiepolo communicates many remarkable facts.

"Partisce il governo delle cose in questo modo, che di

quelle che appartengono al stato ecclesiastico, ne da la cura alli d^mi cardinali sui nepoti, et di quelle che hanno relatione alli altri principi, al cardinal di Como. Ma dove in quello del stato ecclesiastico, che sono senza comparation di manco importanza, perche non comprendono arme o fortezze, al governatore generale reservate, nè danari, de' quali la camera apostolica et il tesorier generale ne tien cura particolare, ma solamente cose ordinarie pertinenti al governo delle città et delle provincie, non si contentando delli d^mi nepoti ha aggiunta loro una congregatione di quattro principali prelati, tra' quali vi è monsignor di Nicastro, stato nuntio presso la Serenità V^ra, colli quali tutte le cose si consigliano per doverle poi referir a lui; in quelle di stato per negotii colli altri principi, che tanto rilevano et importano non solo per la buona intelligentia con lor ma ancora per beneficio et quiete di tutta la christianità, si rimette in tutto nel solo cardinal di Como, col quale si redrecciano li ambasciatori dei principi che sono a Roma et li nuntii apostolici et altri ministri del papa che sono alle corti, perche a lui solo scrivono et da lui aspettano li ordini di quello che hanno da fare. Egli è quello che solo consiglia il papa, et che, come universalmente si tiene, fa tutte le resolutioni più importanti, et che da li ordini et li fa eseguire. Sogliono ben alcuni cardinali di maggior pratica et autorità et qualcun' altro ancora da se stesso raccordare al papa quello che giudica a proposito, et suole ancora alle volte il papa domandar sopra alcune cose l'opinione di qualcuno et di tutto il collegio di cardinali ancora, massimamente quando li torna bene che si sappia che la determination sia fatta di conseglio di molti, come principalmente quando si vuol dare qualche negativa, et sopra certe particolari occorrentie ancora suole deputar una congregatione di cardinali, come già fo fatto nelle cose della lega et al presente si fa in quelle di Germania, del concilio, et di altre: ma nel restretto alle conclusioni et nelle cose più importanti il cardinal di Como è quello che fa et vale. Ha usato il cardinal, seben cognosce saver et intender a sofficientia, alle volte in alcune cose andarsi a consigliare col cardinal Morone et cardinal Commendon, per non si fidar tanto del suo giudicio che non tolesse ancor il parer d'huomini più intelligenti et savii: ma in fatto da lui poi il tutto dipende. Mette grandissima diligentia et accuratezza nelle cose, et s'industria di levar la fatica et *i* pensieri al papa et di darli

consigli che lo liberino da travagli presenti et dalla spesa, poiche nessuna cosa pare esser più dal papa desiderata che'l sparagno et la quiete. Si stima universalmente ch'esso abbia grande inclinatione al re cattolico, non tanto per esser suo vassallo et per haver la maggior parte delli sui beneficii nei sui paesi, quanto per molti comodi et utilità che in cose di molto momento estraordinariamente riceve da lui, per recognition de' quali all' incontro con destri modi, come ben sa usar senza molto scoprirsi, se ne dimostri nelle occasioni grato. Verso la Serenità Vostra posso affermar ch'egli sottosopra si sia portato assai bene, massimamente se si ha rispetto che ne i ministri d'altri principi non si può ritrovar tutto quello che si vorria, et che ben spesso bisogna contentarsi di manco che di mediocre buona volontà." [He divided the arrangement of state affairs in such sort, that of those belonging to ecclesiastical matters, the cardinals his nephew received the care; while those relating to foreign princes were committed to the Cardinal di Como. Now as regards ecclesiastical affairs, they are, without comparison, of much less consequence, because they do not comprise either arms or fortresses, which are reserved to the general government; nor yet the finances, of which the apostolic camera and treasurer-general have the special charge; but relate merely to things of ordinary character, pertaining to the government of cities or provinces. Yet, not contenting himself with his nephews, the pontiff has joined in authority with them a congregation, consisting of four influential prelates, among whom is Monsignor di Nicastro, who was formerly nuncio to your Serenity, with whom all matters are first discussed, and to whom they must finally be reported. As regards affairs of state and negotiations with other princes, which have so much weight and importance, not only for the maintenance of a good understanding with those sovereigns, but also for the welfare and repose of all Christendom, he confides entirely and solely in Cardinal di Como, to whom the foreign ambassadors in Rome address themselves, together with the apostolic nuncios and other ministers of the pope at the respective courts, for they write to him alone, and it is from him that they await their orders and directions. He is the pope's sole counsellor, and it is he, as is universally believed, who suggests all the more important resolutions, gives

all orders, and looks to the execution of them. It is true that some of the cardinals, those of experience and authority, and sometimes others also, will occasionally point out to the pope what they judge fit to be done; and his holiness is accustomed to ask the opinion of some of the cardinals on certain occasions, or even of the whole college of cardinals. This is most commonly done when it is likely to prove advantageous to him that the determination taken should be known to have resulted from the advice of large numbers, and more particularly when some request is to be refused. On certain special occasions, also, he is accustomed to depute a congregation of cardinals, as was done for the affairs of the League, and is done at this present time for those of Germany, of the council, and some others; but for all final determinations, and in all questions of paramount importance, it is the Cardinal di Como whose advice prevails, and who ultimately acts in all matters of weight. Sometimes the cardinal, although well convinced of his own sufficiency and judgment, will go to take counsel with Cardinal Morone or Cardinal Commendone, that he may not so absolutely rely on his own opinion as not also to avail himself of that of men so well-informed and wise; but it is, nevertheless, true that all things finally depend on himself. He displays the utmost diligence and exactitude in business, and takes pains to relieve the pope from all fatigues and anxieties, giving him such counsels as may best liberate him from daily toils and from expense, for there is nothing of which the pope seems more desirous than of economy and repose. It is universally believed that the cardinal is strongly disposed towards the Catholic king, not so much because he is the vassal of his majesty, and has the greater part of his benefices in his dominions, as on account of the many favours and advantages he has received from him in many things of great moment, and out of the usual course; in acknowledgment of which, he contrives on his part to shew his gratitude on various occasions, and by certain ingenious methods which he knows how to put in practice without attracting much attention to himself. Towards your Serenity I may also affirm, that he has, upon the whole, conducted himself tolerably well, more especially when it is considered that from the ministers of other powers we cannot always secure what we desire; but that, on the contrary, we are

often compelled to be content with a small amount of goodwill.]

Although this report has not been so extensively circulated as the previous one, yet it is in fact no less important and instructive as regards the times of Gregory XIII. than the former is with respect to those of Pius IV. and Paul V.

No. 46.

Commentariorum de rebus Gregorii XIII.; lib. i. *et* ii. *Bibl. Alb.* [Commentaries on the affairs of Gregory XIII.; books i. and ii. Albani Library.]

Unfortunately incomplete. The author, Cardinal Vercelli, when after certain preliminary observations, he proceeds to speak of Gregory's pontificate, promises to treat of three things: the war with the Turks, the war of the Protestants against the kings of France and Spain, and the disputes respecting the jurisdiction of the church.

But unluckily we find in the second book that the war against the Turks is given no farther than to the treaty of peace with the Venetians.

With the relations subsisting between eastern affairs and those of religion we are acquainted. Our author's explanation of the perplexities involving the affairs of the year 1572, is by no means a bad one. Intelligence had been received to the effect that Charles IX. was abetting the movements of the Protestants in the Netherlands. "Quod cum Gregorius moleste ferret, dat ad Gallorum regem litteras quibus ab eo vehementer petit ne suos in hoc se admiscere bellum patiatur: alioquin se existimaturum omnia hæc illius voluntate nutuque fieri. Rex de suis continendis magnæ sibi curæ fore pollicetur, id quod quantum in se est præstat: verum ejusmodi litteris, quæ paulo minacius scriptæ videbantur, nonnihil tactus, nonnullis etiam conjecturis eo adductus ut se irritari propeque ad bellum provocari putaret, ne imparatum adorirentur, urbes quas in finibus regni habebat diligenter communit, duces suos admonet operam dent ne quid detrimenti capiat, simulque Emanuelem Allobrogum ducem, utriusque regis propinquum et amicum, de his rebus omnibus certiorem facit

Emanuel, qui pro singulari prudentia sua, quam horum regum dissensio suis totique reipublicæ christianæ calamitosa futura esset, probe intelligebat, ad pontificem hæc omnia perscribit, eumque obsecrat et obtestatur nascenti malo occurrat, ne longius serpat atque inveteratum robustius fiat. Pontifex, quam gereret personam minimum oblitus, cum regem Gallorum adolescentem et gloriæ cupiditate incensum non difficillime a catholicæ fidei hostibus, quorum tunc in aula maxima erat auctoritas, ad hujusmodi bellum impelli posse animadverteret, reginam tamen ejus matrem longe ab eo abhorrere dignitatisque et utilitatis suæ rationem habituram putaret, mittit eo Antonium Mariam Salviatum, reginæ affinem eique pergratum, qui eam in officio contineat, ipsiusque opera facilius regi, ne reip. christianæ accessionem imperii et gloriam quæ ex orientali expeditione merito expectanda esset invideat funestumque in illius visceribus moveat bellum, persuadeat." [Whereby Gregory being offended, sent letters to the king of France, urgently requiring from him that he should not suffer his subjects to take part in that war, otherwise the pontiff would consider all these things to be done according to his wish, and at his instigation. The king promised to restrain his people with his utmost care, which he did to the best of his power; but yet, being somewhat moved by such a letter, which seemed rather menacing in its manner, being led also by certain conjectures to esteem himself almost insulted and provoked to war, he diligently placed his frontier towns in a state of defence, lest he should be attacked when unprepared; admonished his generals to take the measures needful to their safeguard, and at the same time made known all these things to Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the relation and friend of both monarchs. Then Emanuel, who, by his singular prudence, well perceived how calamitous the dissension of these kings would be to his own people, as well as to the whole Christian commonwealth, declared all these matters to the pope, whom he prays and beseeches to destroy this growing evil, nor suffer it to creep into strength and become inveterate. The pontiff, in nowise forgetful of what office he bore, considering that the king of France, a young man kindled with desire of glory, might, without great difficulty, be incited to this war by the enemies of the Catholic faith, whose influence was then very great in his court, yet thinking that by the queen, his mother,

it would be utterly abhorred, both on account of her dignity and interest, did send thither Antonio Maria Salviati, the near kinsman of the queen, and very acceptable to her, who might strengthen her in the duty of her position, and by her means the more readily persuade the king not to impede that accession of dominion and glory to the Christian commonwealth, which might be expected from the eastern expedition, nor to excite within it a deadly intestine war.]

In so far, then, the pope was certainly indirectly implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The interest of the pontiff, doubtless, was to prevent by all possible means the outbreak of the war between Spain and France. It were greatly to be desired that we possessed this work,—at least, so far as it relates to the religious dissensions.

I have been further induced to quote the above passage by the fact that the very first lines prove it to belong to the sources of which Maffei has availed himself in his "Annali di Gregorio XIII., Pontefice Massimo." Let the reader compare the passage with Maffei, i. p. 27. "Scrisse a Carlo risentitamente, che se egli comportava che i sudditi e ministri s'intromettessero in questa guerra per distornarla, egli tutto riconoscerebbe da lui e dalla mala sua intenzione. E per l'istesso fine operò che li signori Veneziani gli mandassero un' ambasciadore con diligenza. Rispose Carlo modestamente, ch'egli farebbe ogni possibile perchè i suoi nè a lui dovessero dar disgusto nè agli Spagnuoli sospetto di quello ch'egli non aveva in pensiero. Ma non restò però di dolersi con Emanuele duca di Savoja della risentita maniera con che gli aveva scritto il pontefice: parendogli che si fosse lasciato spingere dagli Spagnuoli che avessero voglia essi di romperla: et ad un tempo cominciò a presidiare le città delle frontiere." [He wrote angrily to Charles, that if he suffered his subjects and ministers to mingle themselves in that war, for the purpose of impeding it, he (the pope) should attribute all the mischief to him and his evil intentions. And the pontiff contrived that the Venetians should, with all diligence, despatch an ambassador to the French king for a similar purpose. Charles replied modestly, that he would do his best to prevent his subjects from causing displeasure to the pontiff, and from giving the Spaniards suspicion of his intending what he had never even thought of. But he did not fail to complain to

Emanuel, duke of Savoy, of the angry manner in which the pontiff had written to him, saying it was his opinion that his holiness had suffered himself to be urged on by the Spaniards, who had themselves wished to interrupt the peace; and at the same time he began to garrison the cities of the frontiers.]

I find, besides, that in various parts the work of Maffei is no other than an amplified transcript of the document we are examining. Yet I do not, in the least, desire to detract from the merit of Maffei's work by this remark; I am indebted to it for very valuable information, and though not entirely impartial, it is moderate, rich in matter, and upon the whole is worthy of confidence.

No. 47.

Relatione di mons^r rev^mo Gio. P. Ghisilieri a papa Gregorio XIII., tornando egli dal presidentato della Romagna, S. i. p. 389. [Report of Ghisilieri to Pope Gregory, on his return from the presidency of Romagna.] See vol. i. p. 296.

No. 48.

Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di mons^r ill^mo Commendone all' ill^mo s^r Hier. Savorgnano. Bibl. Vindob. codd. Rangon. No. XVIII., fol. 278—395. [A discourse, or sketch, relating to the court of Rome, presented by the most illustrious Monsignore Commendone to the most illustrious Geronimo Savorgnano. Library of Vienna; Rangone manuscripts. No. XVIII., fol. 278—395.]

To all appearance, this work belongs to the time of Gregory XIII. I would not answer for the name of Commendone; but from whomever it may proceed, the writer was a man of talent, and deeply initiated into all the more secret relations of Roman life.

He describes the court as follows: "Questa republica è un principato di somma autorità in una aristocratia universa di tutti i christiani collocato in Roma. Il suo principio è la religione. Conciosia (he further continues), che la religione sia il fine e che questa si mantenga con la virtù e con la dottrina,

è impossibile che alterandosi le conditioni degli uomini non si rivolga insieme sotto sopra tutta la republica." [This commonwealth is a principality of the highest authority in a universal aristocracy of all Christians, having its seat in Rome. Its principle is religion. But if it be true (he further proceeds to say) that religion is the end, and that this is to be maintained by virtue and sound doctrine, it is impossible but that an alteration in the condition of men's minds shall involve the danger of confusion to the whole commonwealth.]

He then treats principally of this conflict between the spiritual and secular efforts and interests; and above all things inculcates the necessity of a cautious foresight: "Molto riguardo di tutti i movimenti e gesti della persona: casa, servitori, cavalcature convenienti, amicitie e honorate e virtuose, non affermando cosa che non si sappia di certo." [Close attention to every movement, and to all personal acts and proceedings. House, servants, equipages, should all be suitable; honourable and virtuous acquaintance only should be formed, nor should any thing ever be affirmed that is not certainly known.] The court requires "bontà, grandezza dell' animo, prudentia, eloquentia, theologia" [goodness, elevation of mind, prudence, eloquence, theology]. But all is still uncertain: "Deve si pensar che questo sia un viaggio di mare, nel quale benche la prudentia possa molto e ci renda favorevole la maggior parte de' venti, nondimeno non gli si possa prescriver tempo determinato o certezza alcuna d'arrivar. Alcuni di mezza estate in gagliarda e ben fornita nave affondano o tardano assai, altri d'inverno in debole e disarmato legno vanno presto." [This should be regarded as a voyage at sea, in which, although prudence may do much, and render most winds favourable to us, yet it cannot secure fair weather, or prescribe any determined time of arrival, neither will it give us certainty of reaching the port. Some there are who in the summer season, with a noble and well-furnished bark, will go down, or make but slow way; while others make good speed, though the season be winter and they have but a frail or dismantled ship.]

SECTION IV.

SIXTUS V.—CRITICAL REMARKS ON LETI AND TEMPESTI, THE BIOGRAPHERS OF THIS PONTIFF.

Vita di Sisto V., pontefice Romano, scritta dal Signor Geltio Rogeri all' instanza di Gregorio Leti. Losanna, 1669. [Life of Sixtus V., Roman pontiff, written by Signor Geltio Rogeri at the suggestion of Gregorio Leti. Lausanne, 1669], 2 vols.; afterwards published under less singular titles, in 3 vols.

THE reputation of an individual, or the mode of view taken of an event, is far more frequently determined by popular writings which have succeeded in obtaining extensive currency, than by more important historical works, which often require too long a time in preparation The public does not make minute inquiry as to whether all the relations presented to it be really founded in truth; it is content when the recollections presented in print are equally abundant and varied with those which are furnished by the general conversation, provided they are expressed with somewhat more of concision, and, by consequence, with a more piquant effect.

The biography of Sixtus V., by Leti, is a book of this kind; the most effective, perhaps, of all the works published by that voluminous writer. It has determined the position which the memory of Pope Sixtus was to assume, and given the idea which has ever since prevailed in the universal opinion with respect to that pontiff.

The reader invariably finds himself in the utmost embarrassment on his first attempt to study such books: he cannot deny to them a certain degree of truth, and they are not to be wholly disregarded; yet it instantly becomes obvious that they cannot be trusted far, although it may generally be impossible to determine where the line should be drawn.

We do not obtain the power of forming a sound judgment on this question until we have discovered the sources of the author, and carefully examined the manner in which he has employed them.

By progressive and continued research we come upon the sources whence Leti drew his materials, nor can we excuse ourselves from the labour or avoid the necessity of comparing the accounts he has given with these authorities.

1. In the whole history of Sixtus V. there is nothing more talked of than the manner in which he is reported to have attained the papacy, and his conduct in the conclave. Who is there that does not know how the decrepit cardinal, tottering along, bent and leaning on his staff, had no sooner been made pope than he suddenly raised himself, a vigorous man, threw away the crutch, and threatened with the exercise of his power those very men from whom he had won it by deception? This narration of Leti's has been received and obtained credence throughout the world. We ask whence he derived it?

There exist documents in regard to every papal election, adducing the motives, or rather describing the intrigues preceding it; and with regard to the election of Sixtus V., we find a so-called "Conclave," written as these papers usually were at the time, and evincing an accurate knowledge of the persons taking part in the election. "Conclave nel quale fu creato il Cl Montalto che fu Sisto V." [The Conclave by which Cardinal Montalto was created Sixtus V.]

We perceive on the first comparison that Leti had this document in particular before him. It will be seen, indeed, that he has done little more than paraphrase it.

Concl. MS.:—"Il lunedì mattina per tempo si ridussero nella capella Paulina, dove il cardinal Farnese come decano celebrò messa, e di mano sua communicò li cardinali: dipoi si venne secondo il solito allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albani hebbe 13 voti, che fu il maggior numero che alcun cardinale havesse. Ritornati i cardinali alle celle, si attese alle pratiche, et Altemps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda la pratica di Sirleto, ajutato da Medici e delle creature di Pio IV., per la confidenza che havevano di poter di qualsivoglia di loro disponere: ma subito fu trovata l'esclusione, scoprendosi contra di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza." [On Monday morning early they proceeded to the Pauline Chapel, where Cardinal Farnese, as deacon, read mass, and the cardinals received the communion from his hand: afterwards they proceeded as usual to the scrutiny, in which Cardinal Albani had thirteen

votes, which was the greatest number that any cardinal had. The cardinals having returned to their cells, they set themselves to the canvassing, and Altemps began with great eagerness to conduct the canvass for Sirleto, assisted by Medici and by the creatures of Pius IV., having the utmost confidence in their own power to control the matter; but suddenly they were met by the exclusion of Sirleto; Este, Farnese, and Sforza having declared themselves against him.] Leti:—"Lunedì mattina di buon' hora si adunarono tutti nella capella Paolina, ed il cardinal Farnese in qualità di decano celebrò la messa, e communicò tutti i cardinali: e poi si diede principio allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albano hebbe 13 voti, che fu il numero maggiore. Doppo questo li cardinali se ne ritornarono alle lor celle per pransare, e doppo il pranso si attese alle pratiche di molti: ma particolarmente Altemps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda la pratiche di Guglielmo Sirleto Calabrese, ajutato dal cardinal Medici e dalle creature di Pio IV., per la confidenza che haveva ogni uno di loro di poterne disporre: ma in breve se gli fece innanzi l'esclusione, scoprendosi contro di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza." [At an early hour on Monday morning they all assembled in the Pauline Chapel, and Cardinal Farnese, in his office of deacon, celebrated mass and administered the communion to all the cardinals; then they commenced the scrutiny, in which Cardinal Albano had thirteen votes, which was the greatest number. After this the cardinals returned to their cells to dine, and after dinner, many set themselves to negotiate, but particularly Altemps, who began eagerly to conduct the negotiations for Gugliemo Sirleto, a Calabrian, aided by Cardinal Medici and by the creatures of Pius IV., for all of them felt confident of being able to decide the election; but in a short time the exclusion of Sirleto was made manifest, Este, Farnese, and Sforza declaring against him.]

And as with the principal facts, so with the accessories; for example, the MS. has:—"Farnese incapricciato et acceso di incredibile voglia di essere papa, comincia a detestare publicamente la pratica et il soggetto, dicendo: Io non so come costoro lo intendono di volere far Sirleto papa." [Farnese, inflamed and possessed by an incredible anxiety to become pope, began openly to avow his detestation of the canvass and its object, saying, "I do not understand what those persons

can mean who propose to make Sirleto pope."] Leti:—"Il primo che se gli oppose fu Farnese, incapricciato ancor lui ed acceso d'incredibile voglia d'esser papa: onde parendo a lui d'esserne più meritevole, come in fatti era, cominciò publicamente a detestare la pratica ed il soggetto, dicendo per tutti gli angoli del conclave: Io non so come costoro l'intendono di voler far papa Sirleto." [The first who opposed him was Farnese, who was possessed and inflamed by an incredible desire to be pope, because it appeared to him that he was more deserving of that office, as in fact he was; wherefore he began publicly to express detestation of that canvass and its object, saying in all the corners of the conclave, "I do not know what they mean by desiring to make Sirleto pope."]

It is the same with regard to occasional observations; for example, the manuscript describes the effect produced on Cardinal Alessandrino by the disguise of Sixtus, and the offence it gave him. "Ma Dio, che haveva eletto Montalto papa, non permesse che si avertisse a quello che principalmente avertire si dovea, nè lasciò che Farnese nè suoi si svegliassero a impedire la pratica, credendo che non fosse per venire ad effetto dell' adoratione, ma solo per honorare Montalto nello scrutinio." [But God, who has elected Montalto pope, did not permit those who were most in need of warning to receive any intimation, nor did he suffer either Farnese or his adherents to be awakened to opposition of the canvass, they believing that matters would never be carried to the extent of the adoration, but that there was merely a purpose of doing honour to Montalto in the scrutiny.] Although so pious a mode of expression is foreign to the manner of Leti, he has yet found it convenient to copy this passage, and to insert it in his book; with some few slight changes he has transcribed it literally.

Now is this not rather an encomium on the often disputed fidelity of Leti, than an accusation against him?

But let us proceed to the one thing by which doubt is here excited—the conduct of the cardinal. It is remarkable that as regards this one point, Leti no longer agrees with his original.

Leti says, "Montalto se ne stava in sua camera e non già nel conclave, fingendosi tutto lasso et abandonato d'ogni ajuto humano. Non usciva che raramente et se pure andava in

qualche parte, come a celebrare messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava con certe maniere spensierate."

[Montalto remained apart in his chamber, and did not go into the conclave, pretending to be quite worn out and past all human aid. He went out very rarely, and when he did go to any place, as, for example, to perform mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he would depart again with a certain semblance of being wholly indifferent to what was going forward.]

The original, on the contrary, says, "Sebene non mostrava una scoperta ambitione, non pretermetteva di far poi tutti quelli officii che il tempo et il luogo richiedevano, humiliandosi a cardinali, visitandoli et offerendosi, ricevendo all' incontro i favori e l'offerte degli altri."

[Although he did not evince any open ambition, yet neither did he neglect the performance of those offices which the time and the place demanded, humbling himself to the cardinals, paying them visits, and making them offers, while on his part he received the visits and offers of the others.]

The original says, that he had taken these steps even before the conclave, with regard to Cardinal Farnese, and had afterwards visited Cardinal Medici and Cardinal Este. It relates further, that on the evening before his election, he had paid a visit to Cardinal Madruzzi, and on the morning of the day had also visited Cardinal Altemps, receiving from both the assurance that he should be elected. In a word, Montalto is described in the original as a man in good health, active, and full of life; nay, that he was still so vigorous, and in the force of his years, is adduced as one of the motives for his election. The whole relation of his pretended debility and seclusion, and which has acquired so wide a currency, is an addition of Leti's; but the source whence he took this, whether he merely followed the popular rumour, a mere unfounded report, or found the story in some previous writer,—these are questions to which we shall return.

2. A second material feature in the generally received opinion and reputation of Sixtus, is formed by the impression produced by his financial arrangements. This also is founded in part on the statements of Leti. In the second division of his book, p. 289, there is a summary of the papal revenue and expenditure, to which a certain degree of credit

has been accorded, even by the most reasonable and well-informed observers: "Rendite ordinarie c'havea la sede apostolica nel tempo che Sisto entrava nel pontificato." [The ordinary revenues possessed by the Apostolic See at the time when Sixtus entered on the pontificate.] We ought at least to be able to give a general belief to his figures.

But even on this point, it is immediately manifest that affairs are not as Leti represents them. At the accession of Sixtus, in April, 1585, the contracts which Gregory XIII. had made with the farmers of the revenue in August, 1576, for nine years, were still in force. Of these we have an authentic statement, under the title, "Entrata della reverenda camera apostolica sotto il pontificato di N. Sig^re^ Gregorio XIII., fatto nell' anno 1576." [Revenues of the apostolic treasury under Gregory XIII., prepared in the year 1576.] This document is very exact in its details, presenting, first, the sum contracted for; next, an account of such portions as were alienated; and, finally, the sums remaining,—each separately stated. Now with this account, the details presented by Leti are far from agreeing. He has given the proceeds of the Roman customs and excise (Dogana), at 182,450 scudi, while the true amount was 133,000 only. Of all the sums that he has enumerated, there is not one correct. But where did he find the materials for this account? It is not possible that it should be altogether imaginary. There is in our possession another statement for the year 1592, two years after the death of Sixtus V. With this document the summary of Leti agrees in almost every item, and even in the order of their arrangement: in both, for example, we find the following articles in succession:—"Dogana di CivitaVecchia, 1,977 scudi; di Narni, 400; di Rieti, 100; gabella del studio di Roma, 26,560; gabella del quadrino a libra di carne di Roma 20,335," &c. &c. But what a confusion is this! In these items all the changes effected by Sixtus were already commenced, and should have been here particularized. Neither does the confusion end here. Leti had apparently trusted to some very incorrect manuscript. If, indeed, he did not himself introduce intentional changes, it is at least certain that he has made the most extraordinary deviations from the authorities. The Salara di Roma produced 27,654 scudi; he makes it 17,654: the treasury and salara of Romagna brought in

71,395 scudi; he gives 11,395. But it will suffice to say, that his statement is never correct for any one year; it is false and useless in all its parts.

3. We already perceive that he compiled without judgment or critical accuracy; he transcribed original documents, without doubt, but he did this too hastily. How, indeed, was it possible that in the restless and fugitive life he constantly led, he could have produced so many books, had he bestowed on them the due amount of labour? From what source, then, did he derive his materials on this occasion?

In the Corsini library in Rome, there is a MS., "Detti e fatti di Papa Sisto V.," which supplies us with sufficient information as to the life and proceedings of that pontiff.

It is manifest at the first glance that in this work are all the essentials of Leti. We have only to compare the first passages that present themselves.

The manuscript of the Corsini says, for example, "Il genitore di Sisto V. si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu costretto non so per qual accidente partire, onde s'incaminò per trovare la sua fortuna altrove: et essendo povero e miserabile, non aveva da poter vivere, essendo solito sostentarsi di quello alla giornata guadagnava grandemente faticando, e con la propria industria viveva. Partitosi dunque da Farnese, se ne andò a trovare un suo zio." [The parent of Sixtus V. was called Francesco Peretti; he was born in the castle of Farnese, whence he was compelled, I know not by what accident, to depart. He set forth accordingly to seek his fortune elsewhere, and being poor and destitute, he had not wherewith to live, being wont to sustain himself with what he gained at day-work, and labouring greatly, and he lived by his own industry. Departing then from Farnese, he went to seek an uncle of his.]

Leti has, in like manner, in his first edition, "Il padre di Sisto si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu constretto non so per qual' accidente occorsoli di partirsi, ciò che fece volentieri per cercar fortuna altrove, mentre per la povertà della sua casa non haveva di che vivere se non di quello che lavorava con le proprie mani alla giornata. Partito di Farnese la matina, giunse la sera nelle grotte per consigliarsi con un suo zio." [The father of Sixtus was called Francesco Peretti; he was born in the castle of Farnese,

whence he was compelled, I know not by what accident that happened to him, to depart, which he did voluntarily, to seek his fortune elsewhere; while from the poverty of his family he had not wherewith to live, except by what he gained by his own hands at daily labour. Having set off from Farnese in the morning, he arrived in the evening at the caves to take counsel with an uncle of his.]

This is obviously entirely the same account, with a few slight changes of expression.

Occasionally we find short interpolations in Leti, but immediately afterwards, the manuscript and his printed work correspond again.

When we further inquire, whence proceed those additions with which Leti has been pleased to endow the narrative of the conclave, we shall find that these also are taken from this Corsini manuscript. The passage which we have given above from Leti appears in the manuscript as follows:—"Montalto se ne stava tutto lasso con la corona in mano et in una piccolissima cella abandonato da ogn' uno, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrar messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava, &c." [Montalto remained quite exhausted, with his rosary in his hand, and in a very small cell, abandoned by every one; or if he did go anywhere, as for example, to read mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he went, &c.] It is clear that Leti uses this text with only very slight modifications of style.

I will add one more passage on account of the importance of the subject. The MS. says, "Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresso al card^{l} di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orecchie queste parole: Faccia instanza V. S^{ria} ill^{ma} che lo scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: e questo fu il primo atto d'ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il card^{l} di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principiò ad alzare la voce due o tre volte così: Senza pregiudicio della seguita adoratione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali: perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser eletto per adoratione. Il card^{l} Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di fintioni che avevano tenuto nascosto per la spatio di anni 14 l'ambitione grande che li regnava in seno: onde impatiente di

vedersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, tosto allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capello gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncello che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più longo del solito. E quello che fu più maraviglioso, &c." [Before beginning, Montalto, who stood near Cardinal San Sisto, that he might not lose sight of him, and might prevent him from being suborned by other prelates, said these words in his ear: "Your most illustrious lordship would do well to demand that the scrutiny should proceed without the prejudice of the adoration:" and this was the first evidence of ambition outwardly displayed by Montalto. The cardinal of San Sisto did not fail to do this, and together with Bonelli, he exclaimed two or three times, "Without prejudice of the adoration." These words confounded the cardinals, because it was supposed by all that the candidate was to be elected by adoration. Cardinal Montalto already began to throw off those clouds of dissimulation, whereby he had kept concealed, for the space of fourteen years, the ardent ambition which reigned in his breast; so that, impatient to see himself on the papal throne, when he heard that more than half the votes were in his favour, he instantly raised his head and stood on his feet, without waiting to the end of the scrutiny, and walking forward into the midst of the chapel, he threw towards the door of it a little cane which he carried to support himself with, raising himself entirely upright, so that he looked a good foot (two palms) taller than usual. And what was more extraordinary, &c.]

Let us compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, i. p. 412. (Augsburg, 1669.)

"Prima di cominciarsi Montalto si calò nell' orecchia di San Sisto, e gli disse: Fate instanza che lo scrutinio si faccia senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: che fu appunto il primo atto d'ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Nè San Sisto mancò di farlo, perche insieme con Alessandrino cominciò a gridare due o tre volte: Senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione. Già cominciava Montalto a levar quelle nebbie di fintioni che havevano tenuto nascosto per più di quindeci anni l'ambitione grande che li regnava nel cuore: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono ponteficale, non si tosto intese legger più della metà

de' voti in suo favore che assicuratosi del ponteficato si levo in piedi e senza aspettare il fino dello scrutinio gettò nel mezo di quella sala un certo bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva quasi un piede più longo di quel ch'era prima: ma quello che fu più miraviglioso," &c. Here it is again obvious that, with the exception of a few unimportant literal changes, the passages are absolutely identical.

On one occasion Leti brings forward an authority for his narration: "Io ho parlato con un Marchiano, ch'è morto venti (in later editions, thirty) anni sono, et assai caduco, il quale non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V., e ne raccontava tutte le particolarità." [I have conversed with a native of the March, who has been dead these twenty years, and was then very old, whose sole pleasure consisted in talking of Sixtus V., and who used to relate all sorts of particulars concerning him.] Now, it seems in itself improbable that Leti, who arrived in Rome in the year 1644, at the age of fourteen, should have had intercourse with persons intimately acquainted with Sixtus V., or should have derived much assistance for his book from their conversation. But this is again another passage adopted from the above-mentioned manuscript: "Et un giorno parlando con un certo uomo dalla Marcha, che è morto, che non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V." [And one day, speaking with a certain man from the March, who is dead, and who had no other pleasure than that of talking of Sixtus V.] The twenty or thirty years are added by Leti, for the purpose of giving increased credibility to his relation.

Here, also, Leti appears to me to have used a defective copy. The MS. tells us, in the very beginning, that the boy was often compelled to watch the cattle at night in the open fields,—"in campagna aperta." Instead of this, Leti has, "in compagnia d'un' altro," which has all the appearance of an ill-corrected error in transcribing. The M. A. Selleri of Leti, also, must have been, according to the MS., M. A Siliaci.

In a word, Leti's Vita di Sisto V. is certainly not an original work. It is merely a new version of an Italian MS. that had fallen into his hands, with certain additions and alterations of style.

The whole question, therefore, is, what degree of credit this manuscript deserves. It is a collection of anecdotes, made after a considerable lapse of years, and apocryphal in its character throughout. His narration, in respect to the conclave in particular, is altogether unworthy of belief. Sixtus V. was not the person of whom this story was first related; the same thing had already been said of Paul III. In the preface to the "Acta Concilii Tridentini, 1546," an extract from which will be found in Strobel's Neue Beiträgen, v. 233, there occurs the following passage in relation to Paul III.: "Mortuo Clemente valde callide primum simulabat .... vix præ senio posse suis pedibus consistere: arridebat omnibus, lædebat neminem, suamque prorsus voluntatem ad nutum reliquorum accommodabat: .... ubi se jam pontificem declaratum sensit, qui antea tarditatem, morbum, senium et quasi formidolosum leporem simulabat, extemplo tunc est factus agilis, validus, imperiosus, suamque inauditam ferociam .... cœpit ostendere." [On the death of Clement, he at first dissembled very cunningly .... that because of his age, he could scarcely stand on his feet. He smiled on all, offended no one, and, indeed, submitted his own will to the wish of the rest. .... When now he heard himself declared pope, he who had before pretended incapacity, disease, old age, and an almost timid complaisance, was then at once made active, vigorous, and haughty, and began to exhibit his unheard of ferocity.] We perceive clearly that this is the narrative given in the Corsini manuscript, and related by Leti.

Leti did not think of first examining the truth of his manuscript, or of rectifying its errors. On the contrary, he has done his best to distort what he found in it still further from the truth.

He was, nevertheless, received with decided approbation; his work passed through edition after edition, and has appeared in many translations.

It is a remarkable fact, that history, as it passes into the memory of man, always touches on the confines of mythology. Personal qualities stand forth in bolder relief, they become more sharply defined, and in one mode or another approach to a comprehensible ideal; events receive a more distinct and positive character of delineation, accessory circumstances and co-operative causes are forgotten and neglected.

It is in this manner only that the demands of the imagination appear capable of receiving entire satisfaction.

At a later period comes the learned inquirer, who is amazed that men should ever have adopted opinions so erroneous: he does his best for the dissipation of these phantasies and falsehoods, but eventually becomes aware that his purpose is by no means easy of attainment. The understanding is convinced, but the imagination remains unsubdued.

Storia della vita e geste di Papa Sisto V., sommo pontefice, scritta dal P^re^ M^ro^ Casimiro Tempesti. Roma, 1755. [Life and measures of Pope Sixtus V., &c., by Casimir Tempesti. Rome, 1755.]

We have already spoken of the moderate, cheerful, and well-intentioned pontiff Lambertini, Benedict XIV. His pontificate is further distinguished by the fact that almost all works of any utility, in respect to the internal history of the papacy, belong to that period. It was at that time that the Annals of Maffei were printed, that Bromato prepared his work in relation to Paul IV., and that biographies of Marcellus II. and Benedict XIII. appeared. Then also it was that Casimiro Tempesti, a Franciscan,—as was Sixtus V. himself,—undertook to refute the errors of Leti in respect to that pontiff.

For this purpose all desirable facilities were accorded to him. He was permitted to make unrestricted search through the Roman libraries, where he found the most valuable materials in the richest abundance,—biographies, correspondences, memorials, of all kinds; and these he proceeded to incorporate in his work. Perhaps the most important of all this mass of documents is the correspondence of Morosini, the nuncio in France, which fills a large part of his book; for he has generally adopted his materials into his text, with but very slight modifications.

On this point we have but two remarks to make.

In the first place, he assumes a peculiar position in regard to the authorities he uses. He believes them and transcribes them, but he is persuaded that the pope must have been on bad terms with these writers—that he must have offended them; so that they no sooner begin to find fault with the

pontiff, than Tempesti renounces them, and labours to affix some different explanation to such actions of his hero as they call in question.

But he sometimes departs altogether from his authorities, either because they are not sufficiently zealous for the church, or because he has not attained to a clear comprehension of the matter treated. An example of this will be found in the affair of Mühlhausen, in the year 1587. The manuscript that Tempesti designates as the "Anonimo Capitolino," and which he has in very many places directly transcribed, relates this occurrence with much perspicuity. Let us observe the mode in which he uses it.

In remarking the disputes that broke out at Mühlhausen, "about a little wood that was barely worth twelve crowns," as Laufer expresses himself, "Helv. Geschichte, xii. 10," the Anonimo very properly observes, "in non so che causa," [I know not for what cause]. Of this Tempesti makes, "in urgente lor emergenza" [in their pressing emergency]. The people of Mühlhausen put some of their senators in prison: "carcerarano parecchi del suo senato" [they imprisoned several of their councillors]. Tempesti says, "carcerati alcuni" [some were imprisoned], without remarking that they were members of the council. Fears were entertained lest the inhabitants of Mühlhausen should give themselves up to the protection of the Catholic districts, and separate themselves from the Protestants: "Che volesse mutar religione e protettori, passando all' eretica fede con raccomandarsi alli cantoni cattolici, siccome allora era raccomandata alli eretici." This is in allusion to the fact that Mühlhausen, on its first entrance into the Swiss confederation, was not acknowledged by Uri, Schwytz, Lucerne, and Unterwalden, as these cantons afterwards refused it their protection on joining the reformed church. (Glutz Blotzheim, continuation of Müller's Schweizergeschichte, p. 373.) Tempesti has not an idea of this peculiar position of things. He says very drily: "Riputarono che i Milausini volessero dichiararsi cattolici." [They believed that the people of Mühlhausen desired to declare themselves Catholics.] Tempesti proceeds in like manner, even where the author shews by his typographical signs that he is using the words of others The "Anonimo Capitolino" says that Pope Sixtus V. was about to send 100,000

scud into Switzerland for the promotion of this secession, when he received intelligence that all the dissensions were appeased. Tempesti, nevertheless, declares that the pope did send the money; for he is resolved to make his hero, above all things, magnificent and liberal, although it is certain that liberality was by no means the quality for which he was most remarkable.

I will not further accumulate examples. These are his modes of proceeding in all cases wherein I have compared him with his authorities. He is diligent, careful, and possessed of good information, but limited, dry, monotonous, and destitute of any true insight into affairs; his collections do not enable the reader to dispense with an examination of the originals. This work of Tempesti's was not calculated to counteract, by an equal impression, the effect of that produced by the book of Leti.

II.—MANUSCRIPTS.

Let us now return to our manuscripts; for precise and positive information, we are, after all, constantly thrown back on them.

And first we meet with a MS. by Pope Sixtus himself,—memoranda written with his own hand, and made while he was still in his convent.

No. 49.

Memorie autografe di Papa Sisto V. Bibl. Chigi, No. III. 70. 158 leaves.

This document was found in a garret by a certain Salvetti, who made a present of it to Pope Alexander VII. There is no doubt whatever of its authenticity.

"Questo libro sarà per memoria di mie poche facenducce, scritto di mia propria mano, dove cio che sarà scritto a laude di Dio sarà la ignuda verità, e così priego creda ogn' uno che legge." [This book shall be for a memorial of my few small proceedings, written with my own hand, wherein that which shall be written to the praise of God shall be the naked truth; and so I pray every one who reads it to believe.]

The book first contains accounts, of which, however, at least one leaf is missing, if not more.

"E qui sarà scritti," he continues, "tutti crediti, debiti et ogn' altra mia attione di momento. E così sarà la verità come qui si troverà scritto." [And here shall be written all that is owing to me, and all that I owe, with every thing of moment that is done by me; and the truth will be such as shall here be found written.]

To what I have already narrated in the text, I will here add one example more: "Andrea del Apiro, frate di San Francesco conventuale, venne a Venetia, e nel partirse per pagar robe comprate per suo fratello, qual mi disse far botega in Apiro, me domandò in prestito denari, e li prestai, presente fra Girolamo da Lunano e fra Cornelio da Bologna, fiorini 30, e mi promise renderli a Montalto in mano di fra Salvatore per tutto il mese presente d'Augusto, come appar in un scritto da sua propria mano il dì 9 Agosto 1557, quale è nella mia casetta." [Andrea of Apiro, "friar conventual" of St. Francis, came to Venice, and when departing, desired from me a loan of money to pay for goods which he had bought for his brother, who he told me keeps a shop in Apiro, and I lent him thirty florins, there being present brother Girolamo of Lunano, and brother Cornelio of Bologna, and he promised to restore them to me at Montalto, paying them into the hands of brother Salvatore, first taking all the present month of August, as appears in a writing under his own hand, of the ninth day of August, 1557, which writing is in my little chest.]

We here gain an insight into these little monastic proceedings; how one lends money to another, the borrower assisting the little trade of his brother, while others serve as witnesses to the transaction. Fra Salvatore also makes his appearance.

Then follows an inventory of books. "Inventarium omnium librorum tam seorsum quam simul ligatorum quos ego Fr. Felix Perettus de Monte alto emi et de licentia superiorum possideo. Qui seorsum fuerit ligatus, faciat numerum; qui non cum aliis, minime." [Inventory of all the books, whether bound separately or together with others, that I, brother Felix Peretto of Montalto, have bought and possess, with the permission of my superiors. Those that are bound by them-

selves make separate numbers, but not those bound together with others.] I am now sorry that I did not take notes from this catalogue; but it seemed to me to be very insignificant.

At length we find at page 144.

"Memoria degli anni che andai a studio, di officii, prediche e commissioni avute." [Memoranda concerning the years that I passed as a student, the offices I have held, my engagements as a preacher, and the commissions I have received.]

These I will give at full length, although Tempesti has made extracts in various places of his work. It is important, as being the only diary of a pope that we possess.

"Col nome di Dio 1540 il dì 1 settembre di mercoldì intrai a studio in Ferrara, e vi finii il triennio sotto il rd° m^ro Bart^o dalla Pergola. Nel 43 fatto il capitolo in Ancona andai a studio in Bologna sotto il r^do maestro Giovanni da Correggio: intrai in Bologna il dì S. Jacobo maggior di Luglio, e vi stetti fino al settembre del 44, quando il costacciaro mi mandò baccellier di convento in Rimini col rev^mo regente m^r Antonio du città di Penna, e vi finii il tempo sino al capitolo di Venezia del 46. Fatto il capitolo andai baccellier di convento in Siena con m^ro Alexandro da Montefalco, e qui finii il triennio fino al capitolo d'Assisi del 49. Ma il costacciaro mi die' la licentia del magisterio nel 48 a 22 Luglio, e quattro dì dopo me addottorai a Fermo. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi fui fatto regente di Siena 1549 e vi finii il triennio, fu generale mons^re Gia Jacobo da Montefalco. A Napoli: nel capitolo generale di Genova fui fatto regente di Napoli 1553 dal rev^mo generale m^r Giulio da Piacenza e vi finii il triennio. A Venezia: nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui fatto regente di Venezia, e vi finii il triennio, e l'anno primo della mia regeria fui eletto inquisitor in tutto l'ill^mo dominio 1557 dì 17 di Gennaro. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi 1559 eletto generale m^re Giovan Antonio da Cervia, fui confirmato regente et inquisitore in Venezia come di sopra. Per la morte di papa Paolo IIII. l'anno detto d'Agosto partii da Venezia per visitare li mici a Montalto, inquisitore apostolico: mosso da gran tumulti; il 22 di Febbraro 1560 tornai in ufficio col brieve di Pio IIII. papa, et vi stetti tutto 'l Giugno, e me chiamò a Roma. il dì 18 Luglio 1560 fui fatto teologo assis

tente alla inquisitione di Roma e giurai l'officio in mano del card[l] Alessandrino.

"(Prediche.) L'anno 1540 predicai, nè bavevo anchor cantato messa, in Montepagano, terra di Abruzzo. L'anno 1541 predicai a Voghiera, villa Ferrarese, mentre ero studente in Ferrara. L'anno 1542 predicai in Grignano, villa del Polesine di Rovigo, e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1543 predicai alla fratta di Badenara (viveva il Diedo e'l Manfrone) e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1544 predicai alla Canda, villa della Badia, e studiavo in Bologna. L'anno 1545 predicai le feste in Rimini in convento nostro, perche il m[ro] di studio di Bologna ne preoccupò la predica di Monte Scutulo, et ero bacc[o] di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1546 predicai a Macerata di Montefeltro et ero bacc[o] di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1547 predicai a S. Geminiano in Toscana et ero bacc[o] di convento a Siena. L'anno 1548 predicai a S. Miniato al Tedesco in Toscana, et ero bacc[o] di Siena. L'anno 1549 predicai in Ascoli della Marca, partito da Siena per l'ingresso de Spagnoli introdutti da Don Diego Mendozza. L'anno 1550 predicai a Fano et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1551 predicai nel domo di Camerino condotto dal r[mo] vescovo et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1552 predicai a Roma in S. Apostoli, e tre ill[mi] cardinali me intrattennero in Roma, e lessi tutto l'anno tre dì della settimana la pistola a Romani di S. Paolo. L'anno 1553 predicai a Genova, e vi se fece il capitolo generale, et andai regente a Napoli. L'anno 1554 predicai a Napoli in S. Lorenzo, e vi ero regente, e lessi tutto l'anno in chiesa l'evangelio di S. Giovanni. L'anno 1555 predicai nel duomo di Perugia ad instanza dell' ill[mo] cardinale della Corgna. L'anno 1556 fu chiamato a Roma al concilio generale, che già principiò la santità di papa Paulo IIII., però non predicai. L'anno 1557 fu eletto inquisitor di Venezia e del dominio, e bisognandome tre dì della settimana seder al tribunale non predicai ordinariamente, ma 3 (?) dì della settimana a S. Caterina in Venezia. L'anno 1558 predicai a S. Apostoli di Venezia e 4 giorni della settimana a S. Caterina, ancorche exequisse l'officio della s[ta] inquis[ne]. L'anno 1559 non predicai salvo tre dì dalla settimana a S. Caterina per le molte occupationi del s. officio. L'anno 1560 tornando col brieve di S. Santità a Venezia ir quisitore tardi predicai solo a S. Caterina come di sopra.

" (Commissioni.) L'anno 1548 ebbi da rev^mo m^re Bartolommeo da Macerata, ministro della Marca, una commissione a Fermo per liberar di prigione del S^r vicelegato fra Leonardo della Ripa : lo liberai e lo condussi in Macerata. L'anno 1549 ebbi dal sud^o R. P^re commissioni in tutta la custodia di Ascoli da Febbraro fino a pasqua. L'anno istesso dall' istesso ebbi una commissione nel convento di Fabriano e vi remisi frate Evangelista dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1550 ebbi dall' istesso padre commissione in Senegaglia : rimisi fra Nicolò in casa e veddi i suoi conti. L'anno 1551 ebbi commissione dal r^mo p^re generale m^re Gia Jacobo da Montefalco a visitar tutta la parte de Montefeltro, Cagli et Urbino. L'anno 1552 ebbi dall' ill^mo cardinale protettor commissione sopra una lite esistente tra il guardiano fra Tommaso di Piacenza et un fra Francesco da Osimo, che aveva fatto la cocchina in Sante Apostolo. L'istesso anno ebbi commission dal rev^mo padre generale m^re Giulio da Piacenza nel convento di Fermo, e privai di guardianato m^ro Domenico da Montesanto, e viddi i conti del procuratore fra Ludovico Pontano, e bandii della provincia fra Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo per aver dato delle ferite a fra Tommaso dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1555 ebbi dal sudetto r^mo generale commissione di andar in Calabria a far il ministro, perche avea inteso quello esser morto, ma chiarito quello esser vivo non andai. L'anno 1557 ebbi commissione sopra il Gattolino di Capodistria, sopra il Garzoneo da Veglia et altre assai commissioni di fra Giulio di Capodistria. L'anno 1559 fui fatto commissario nella provincia di S. Antonio, tenni il capitolo a Bassano, e fu eletto ministro m^ro Cornelio Veneso. L'anno 1560 fui fatto inquisitore apostolico in tutto il dominio Veneto, e dell' istesso anno fui fatto teologo assistente all inquisitione di Roma il dì 16 Luglio 1560

" Nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui eletto promotor a magisterii con l'Andria e con m^ro Giovanni da Bergamo, et otto baccalaurei da noi promossi furon dottorati dal rev^mo generale m^ro Giulio da Piacenza, cioè Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, Martiale Calabrese. Otto altri promossi ma non adottorati da s. p. r^ma : Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolò da Montefalco, Jacopo

Appugliese, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese et il Sicolino. In però con l'autorita di un cavalier di S. Pietro da Brescia addottorai Antonio da Urbino, il Piemontese e Constantino da Crema. Di Maggio 1558 con l'autorità del cavalier Centani adottorai in Venezia fra Paolo da S. Leo, frate Andrea d'Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro e fra Tironino da Lunano, tutti mici discepoli."

[In the name of God, on Wednesday, September the 1st, 1540, I entered on my studies in Ferrara, and finished the triennium there under the reverend Master Bartolomeo della Pergola. In 1543, after the chapter had been held in Ancona, I went to study in Bologna under the reverend Master Giovanni da Correggio; I arrived at Bologna in the month of July, on the day of St. James the Elder, and remained there until September, 1544, when the examiner sent me as convent-bachelor to Rimini, with the most reverend regent, Master Antonio, of the city of Penna, where I completed my time till the chapter of Venice in the year 1546. At the conclusion of the chapter I went as convent-bachelor to Siena with Master Alessandro da Montefalco, and there finished the triennium till the chapter of Assisi in 1549. But the examiner gave me a master's license on the 22nd of July in 1548, and four days after, I took the degree of doctor at Fermo. At the chapter-general of Assisi, I was made regent of Siena in 1549, and there I finished the triennium—Monsignore Gia Jacopo da Montefalco being general. At Naples, in the chapter-general of Genoa, I was made regent of Naples in 1553, by the most reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza, and there I finished the triennium. At Venice, in the general chapter of Brescia, in 1556, I was made regent of Venice, and there finished the triennium, and in the first year of my regency I was elected inquisitor for the whole of the most illustrious dominion on the 17th of January, 1557. In the chapter-general of Assisi, 1559, Master Giovan Antonio da Cervia being elected general. I was confirmed regent and inquisitor in Venice as aforesaid. On the death of Pope Paul IV., in August of the same year, I went to visit my relations at Montalto, apostolic inquisitor. Induced by the great tumults prevailing, I returned to office on the 22nd of February, 1560, with a brief from Pope Pius IV., and remained there until the end of June, when I was called to Rome.

On the 18th of July, 1560, I was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome, and was sworn into office by Cardinal Alessandrino.

[(Preachings.) In the year 1540 I preached—as yet I had never chanted mass—in Montepagano, a place in Abruzzo. In the year 1544 I preached at Voghiera, a town of Ferrara, while I was a student at Ferrara. In the year 1542 I preached at Grignano, a town of the Polesine di Rovigo, and was studying at Ferrara. In the year 1543 I preached to the brotherhood of Badenara (Diedo and Manfrone were then living), and was studying in Ferrara. In the year 1544 I preached at Canda, a town of Badia, and was studying in Bologna. In the year 1545 I preached the festival sermons at Rimini in our own convent, because the pulpit of Monte Scutulo was already occupied by the master of the college in Bologna, and I was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1546 I preached at Macerata di Montefeltro, and was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1547 I preached at St. Geminiano in Tuscany, and was bachelor of the convent of Siena. In the year 1548 I preached at St. Miniato al Tedesco in Tuscany, and was bachelor of Siena. In the year 1549 I preached in Ascoli della Marca, having left Siena on account of the entrance of the Spaniards, who were introduced by Don Diego Mendozza. In the year 1550 I preached at Fano, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1551 I preached in the cathedral, being appointed by the most reverend bishop, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1552 I preached in the church of the Holy Apostles in Rome, and three most illustrious cardinals entertained me in Rome, and throughout that year I read the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans three days in every week. In the year 1553 I preached at Genoa, and the chapter-general was held there, when I was sent regent to Naples. In the year 1554 I preached at Naples in the church of St. Lorenzo, and was regent there, and throughout that year I read the gospel of St. John in that church. In the year 1555 I preached in the cathedral at Perugia at the request of the most illustrious Cardinal della Corgna. In the year 1556 I was called to Rome to the general council, which was now commenced by his holiness Pope Paul IV., but I did not preach. In the year 1557 I was

elected inquisitor of Venice and of its entire territory; and having to sit in court three days of every week, I did not usually preach, excepting three (?) days of the week at St. Catherine's of Venice. In the year 1558 I preached at the Holy Apostles in Venice, and four days of the week at St. Catherine, although I still performed the office entrusted to me by the Holy Inquisition. In the year 1559 I did not preach more than three days in the week at St. Catherine's of Venice, because of the multitude of cases before the Holy Office. In the year 1560, returning to Venice as inquisitor, with the brief of his holiness, I preached in the afternoons only at St. Catherine's as aforesaid.

[(Commissions.) In the year 1548 I received from the very reverend Master Bartolomeo da Macerata, minister of the March of Ancona, a commission to Fermo, for the purpose of liberating brother Leonardo della Ripa from the prison of the vice-legate. I liberated him accordingly, and conducted him to Macerata. In the year 1549 I had commissions from the same reverend father for the whole district of Ascoli, from February to Easter. In the second year, and from the same person, I had a commission to the convent of Fabriano, and I there reinstated brother Evangelista, of the same place. In the year 1550 I had from the same father a commission in Senegaglia, where I restored brother Nicolo to his house, and examined his accounts. In the year 1551 I had a commission from the very reverend father-general, M^re Gia Jacobo da Montefalco, to visit all that district of Montefeltro, Cagli, and Urbino. In the year 1552 I received from the most illustrious cardinal-protector a commission with respect to a lawsuit pending between the guardian brother Tommaso da Piacenza, and a certain brother Francesco da Osimo, who had superintended the kitchen department in Santo Apostolo. The same year I had a commission from the most reverend father-general, M^re Giulio da Piacenza, to the convent of Fermo, when I deprived Master Dominico da Montesanto of the guardianship, and examined the accounts of the procurator brother Ludovico Pontano; and I banished brother Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo from the province, for having inflicted certain wounds on brother Tommaso, of the same place. In the year 1555 I had a commission from the aforesaid most reverend general to go into Calabria, and act as

minister, because he had heard that the minister was dead; but being informed he was alive, I did not go. In the year 1557 I had a commission respecting Gattolino di Capo d'Istria, and respecting Garzoneo da Veglia, with several commissions besides, of brother Giulio of Capo d'Istria. In the year 1559 I was made commissioner of the province of St. Antonio; I held the chapter at Bassano, and Master Cornelio Veneto was elected minister. In the year 1560 I was appointed inquisitor apostolic for all the dominions of Venice, and on the 16th of July, in the same year, was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome.

[At the chapter-general held in Brescia in the year 1556, I was elected promoter to masterships, together with Andrea and Master Giovanni da Bergamo; and at that time eight bachelors, promoted by us, were admitted to doctors' degrees by the very reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza; namely, Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, and Martiale, a Calabrian. Eight others were also promoted, but were not admitted to doctors' degrees by the most reverend father: Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolo da Montefalco, Jacobo, an Apulian, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese, and il Sicolino. But with the authority of a knight of St. Pietro da Brescia, I did myself confer the degree of doctor on Antonio da Urbino, the Piemontese, and Constantino da Crema. In May, 1558, with the authority of the Cavalier Centani, I also admitted, in Venice, brother Paolo da St. Leo, brother Andrea d'Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro, and brother Tirouino da Lunano, who were all my disciples, to be electors.

No. 50

De Vita Sixti V., ipsius manu emendata. Bibl. Altieri. 57 leaves. [The Life of Sixtus V., corrected by his own hand. Altieri Library.]

This, it is true, is only a copy, but one in which the errors of the first writer, and the corrections made by the pope, are faithfully transcribed. The corrections are seen written over the words that have been erased by a stroke of the pen.

It begins by describing the poverty of this pope's parents, who earned their maintenance "alieni parvique agri cultura" [by the culture of a narrow field, and that belonging to others]. Above all other members of the family, he praises the Signora Camilla, who at the time he wrote had certainly but very moderate claims to notice. "Quæ ita se intra modestiæ atque humilitatis suæ fines continuit semper, ut ex summa et celsissima fortuna fratris, præter innocentiæ atque frugalitatis famam et in relictis sibi a familia nepotibus pie ac liberaliter educandis diligentiæ laudem, nihil magnopere cepisse dici possit." [Who so restrained herself within the bounds of her modesty and humility, that she cannot be said to have gained any thing by the most high and exalted fortune of her brother, beyond the fame of innocence and frugality, and the praise acquired by her diligence in piously and liberally educating the grandchildren left by the family to her care.] He enlarges on the education, advance, and early administration of the pontiff, and is particularly remarkable for the zeal with which he insists on the Christian principle obvious in the architecture of Rome, and the eulogies he bestows on that tendency.

This little work must have been composed about the year 1587. It was the intention of the author to depict the succeeding periods also. "Tum dicentur nobis plenius, cum acta ejus (Sixti) majori parata ordine prodere memoriæ experiemur. Quod et facturi pro viribus nostris, si vita suppetet, omni conatu sumus; et ipse ingentia animo complexus, nec ulla mediocri contentus gloria, uberem ingeniis materiam præbiturus egregie de se condendi volumina videtur." [We shall speak more fully when we shall attempt to relate his acts in a more extended order, which we will do, if life be permitted us, with our most earnest efforts: and from the magnitude of his conceptions, and his disdain of all mediocrity of glory, it seems probable that he will supply rich materials for writing many volumes of no ordinary character.]

Now the most important question arising with respect to the document before us is, whether it really was revived by the pontiff.

Tempesti, who was not acquainted with the copy in the Altieri library, was also in possession of a little work that had been recommended to him as having been composed by Graziani, and revised by Pope Sixtus. He makes certain

objections against it, and may possibly be correct in these remarks. But that work was not identical with this of ours. Tempesti draws attention, among other points (p. 30), to the fact, that Graziani makes the pope begin his first procession from the church of the Holy Apostles, whereas, this procession, in fact, set forth from that of the Ara Cœli. But this is a mistake much more likely to escape the observation of a man who had become pope, and had the affairs of the whole world on his hands, than that of the father Maestro Tempesti. In our "Vita," however, this error is not to be found: the fact is there stated quite correctly. "Verum ut acceptum divinitus honorem ab ipso Deo exordiretur, ante omnia supplicationes decrevit, quas ipse cum patribus et frequente populo pedibus eximia cum religione obivit a templo Franciscanorum ad S. Mariam Majorem." [But that he might begin by doing honour to God, from whom he had received his dignity, he decreed before all things that supplication should be offered, to which end he most piously proceeded on foot with the fathers and a vast crowd of people, from the church of the Franciscans to that of Santa Maria Maggiore.]

We have still further testimony to the authenticity of our little work. Another biography, the next which we shall examine, relates that Sixtus had made a note on the margin of certain commentaries, to the effect that, "sororum alteram tenera ætate decessisse" [another sister had died in her childhood]; and we find that this very thing has been done on the manuscript before us. The first author had written, "Quarum altera nupsit, ex cujus filia Silvestrii profluxisse dicuntur, quos adnumerat suis pontifex, &c." [Of whom one was married, and from a daughter of hers the Silvestri family is said to be descended, whom the pontiff numbers among his kindred.] These and some other words Sixtus struck out, and wrote in addition "Quarum altera ætate adhuc tenera decessit."

This second biography further says: "In illis commentariis ab ipso Sixto, qui ea recognovit, adscriptum reperi Sixti matrem Marianam non quidem ante conceptum sed paulo ante editum filium de futura ejus magnitudine divinitus fuisse monitam." [In those commentaries, revised by Sixtus himself, I find written by him, that Mariana, the mother of Sixtus, not indeed before the conception of her son, but before

his birth, was divinely premonished of his future greatness.] This also we find in our manuscript. The author had said that Peretto had received the prediction in a dream, "nasciturum sibi filium qui aliquando ad summas esset dignitates perventurus" [that a son should be born to him, who would one day attain to the highest dignities]. The word father is marked out, and "ejus uxor partui vicina" [his wife near to her delivery] inserted.

By these corroborations our little work acquires a great authenticity: it proves itself to be immediately connected with that autograph of the pope, and well deserves to be separately printed.

No. 51.

Sixtus V., Pontifex Maximus. Bibl. Altieri. 30 *leaves.*

This is precisely the work by which we have been enabled to establish the authenticity of the preceding. I do not perceive that it was known either to Tempesti or any other writer.

The author wrote after the death of Sixtus. He already complains that the pontiff's memory was injured and misrepresented by many fabulous inventions. "Sixtus V.," he begins, "memoriæ quibusdam gratæ, aliquibus invisæ, omnibus magnæ, cum cura nobis et sine ambitu dicetur: curam expectatio multorum acuit (obwohl die Schrift niemals gedruckt worden), ambitum senectus nobis imminens præcidit." [Sixtus V., of memory dear to some, abhorred by others, but great in the opinion of all, shall be described by us carefully, and without false motives: our care is stimulated by the expectation of numbers (although the manuscript was never printed), and impending age precludes all selfish motives.]

He considers his subject to be very important. "Vix aut rerum moles major aut majoris animi pontifex ullo unquam tempore concurrerunt." [There have scarcely ever concurred events of greater magnitude with a pope of higher mind.]

In the first part of his little work the author relates the life of Sixtus V. to the period of his elevation to the papal

throne. For this purpose he derives his materials from the above-named biography, the various correspondences of Sixtus, which he frequently cites, and oral communications from Cardinal Paleotto, or from a confidential member of the pope's household, called Capeletto. From these sources he obtained many remarkable particulars.

Chap. 1. "Sixti genus, parentes, patria."—We here find the strange story that Sixtus had desired in his youth to be called Crinitus [the long-haired]; nay, that he even was so called in his monastery for a certain time. By this word he meant to signify a comet, and chose the name as expressing his hopes in his own future fortunes ("propter speratam semper ab se ob ea quæ mox exsequar portenta nominis et loci claritatem") [by reason of the illustrious name and station ever hoped by him, in consequence of the portents which I shall hereafter set forth]. There is supposed to be allusion to this in the star of his armorial bearings; but that is certainly not a comet. The pontiff himself told Paleotto that the pears in his arms were meant to signify his father (Peretti), and that the mountains designated his native land; the lion bearing the pears was meant to imply at once magnanimity and beneficence.

2. "Ortus Sixti divinitus ejusque futura magnitudo prænunciatur." [The birth of Sixtus and his future greatness is divinely foretold.]—Sixtus himself relates that his father once heard a voice calling to him in the night, "Vade, age, Perette, uxori jungere; paritura enim tibi filium est, cui Felicis nomen impones: is enim mortalium olim maximus est futurus." [Rise, Peretti, and go seek thy wife, for a son is about to be born to thee, to whom thou shalt give the name of Felix, since he is one day to be the greatest among mortals.] He was a strange fellow, without doubt, this Peretti. His wife was at that time in the service of the above-named Diana, in the town. Following the intimation of this prophetic encouragement, he stole away to the town through the night and the fogs, for he dared not shew himself in the day, from fear of his creditors. An extraordinary origin this! At a later period Peretti formally assured his creditors of their safety on the strength of his son's good fortune. When he had the child in his arms, he would declare that he was

carrying a pope, and would hold out the little foot for his neighbours to kiss.

3. "Nomen."—Peretto declared, when objections were made to him against the name of Felix: "Baptismo potius quam Felicis nomine carebit." [Rather shall he be without baptism than without the name of Felix.] The bed once took fire from a light left burning near it; the mother rushed to save her child, and found it unhurt and laughing; very much as it happened to Servius Tullius, the child of the slave-girl, whose predestined greatness was announced by the flame that played around his head while asleep. After so many centuries had passed, the prodigy was repeated, or at least, the belief in it was revived.

4. "Studia."—That the pontiff had tended swine was a fact that he was not fond of having repeated; and finding it inserted in the above-mentioned commentaries, he forbade their continuance. The narration in this chapter describes the rapidity of his early progress, and how he occupied his master too much for his five bajocchi. "Vix mensem alterum operam magistro dederat, cum ille Perettum adit, stare se conventis posse negans: tam enim multa Felicem supra reliquorum captum et morem discere, ut sibi, multo plus in uno illo quam in ceteris instituendis omnibus laboranti, non expediat maximam operam minima omnium mercede consumere." [He had scarcely passed another month with the master when the latter sent to Peretto, refusing to abide by the agreement; for that Felix took so many lessons out of the usual course, and beyond what the rest could comprehend, that he, the teacher, found it not expedient to labour so much more in teaching him than he did all the others, thus doing more work where he had least pay.] The future pontiff was rather severely treated by Fra Salvatore. He got many a blow for not placing his food before him in proper order. The poor child raised himself on tiptoe, but was so little that he could still scarcely reach the level of the table.

5. "His conventual life."—This is what we have related in the text when describing his mode of study, and the disputation at Assisi. The first fame of his preaching. When on a journey, the people of Belforte stopped him, and would not permit him to leave them until he had thrice preached to an immense concourse of the inhabitants.

6. "Montalti cum Ghislerio Alexandrino jungendæ familiaritatis occasio." [The occasion of Montalto's forming an acquaintance with Ghislieri Cardinal Alexandrino.]

7. "Per magnam multorum invidiam ad magnos multosque honores evadit." [To the great envy of many, he arrives at great and numerous honours.]—In Venice particularly, where he carried through the printing of the Index, he had much to endure. He was on one occasion compelled to leave the city, and hesitated to return. Cardinal Carpi, who had been his protector from the time of the often-cited dispensation, gave the Franciscans of Venice to understand that unless Montalto were suffered to remain there, no one of their order should continue in the city. Yet he could not maintain his ground there. The brethren of his own order accused him before the Council of Ten, charging him with occasioning disorders in the republic, by refusing absolution, namely to those who were in possession of forbidden books ("qui damnatos libros domi retineant"). He was compelled to return to Rome, where he became consultor to the Inquisition.

8. "Romanæ inquisitionis consultor, sui ordinis procurator, inter theologos congregationis Tridentini concilii adscribitur." [Consultor of the Roman Inquisition, procurator of his order, he is inscribed among the theologians of the congregation of the council of Trent.]—By the Franciscans of Rome also, Montalto was received only on the express recommendation of Cardinal Carpi, and the latter sent him his meals; he supported him in every position, and recommended him on his death-bed to Cardinal Ghislieri.

9. "Iter in Hispaniam." [Journey into Spain.]—He accompanied Buoncompagno, afterwards Gregory XIII. Even at that time there was by no means a good understanding between them. Montalto was sometimes obliged to travel in the baggage-waggon. "Accidit nonnunquam ut quasi per injuriam aut necessitatem jumento destitutus vehiculis quibus impedimenta comportabantur deferri necesse fuerit." [It happened occasionally, whether by way of affronting him or from necessity, that having no animal provided for his riding, he was compelled to take a place on the vehicle which bore the baggage.] Many other slights followed.

10. "Post honorifice delatum episcopatum per iniquorum hominum calumnias cardinalatus Montalto matu atur." [After

an honourable fulfilment of the duties of his bishopric, Montalto's advance to the cardinalate was hastened by the calumnies of evil-minded men.]—The nephew of Pius V. was also opposed to him: "alium veterem contubernalem evehendi cupidus" [being anxious to advance some old boon companion of his own]. The pope was told, amongst other things, that four carefully-closed chests had been taken into the apartments of Montalto, who had lodged himself with exceeding splendour and luxury. Pius hereupon went himself unexpectedly to the monastery. He found bare walls, and asked what were the contents of the chests, which were still in the room: "Books, holy father," said Montalto, "that I propose to take with me to St. Agatha" (St. Agatha was his bishopric), and he opened one of the chests. Pius was highly pleased, and soon afterwards made him cardinal.

11. "Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita et mores." [The life and habits of Montalto while in his cardinalate.]—Gregory deprived him of his pension, which many thought to be significant of his future pontificate:—"Levis enim aulicorum quorundam superstitio diu credidit, pontificum animis occultam quandam in futuros successores obtrectationem insidere." [For there has long been a weak superstition held about the court, that a certain secret aversion steals into the minds of the pontiffs against those who are to be their successors.]

12. "Francisci Peretti cædes incredibili animi æquitate tolerata." [The slaying of Francesco Peretti is endured with incredible equanimity.]

13. "Pontifex M. magna patrum consensione declaratur." [Is declared supreme pontiff with the full consent of the fathers.]

Then follows the second part.

"Hactenus Sixti vitam per tempora digessimus: jam hinc per species rerum et capita, ut justa hominis æstimatio cuique in promptu sit, exequar." [To this point we have related the life of Sixtus in the order of time: his actions shall henceforth be arranged under their several heads, that all may readily form a just estimate of the man.]

But of this part only three chapters are to be found:—"Gratia in benemeritos;—pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem;—

publica securitas." [His favour to the deserving, his attachment to the Franciscans, and the public security.]

The last is by far the most important, on account of the description it furnishes of the times of Gregory XIII. I did not make a complete transcript of the whole, but will at least give an extract:—" Initio quidem nonnisi qui ob cædes et latrocinia proscripti erant, ut vim magistratuum effugerent, genus hoc vitæ instituerant ut aqua et igne prohibiti latebris silvarum conditi aviisque montium ferarum ritu vagantes miseram anxiamque vitam furtis propemodum necessariis sustentarent. Verum ubi rapinæ dulcedo et impunitæ nequitiæ spes alios atque alios extremæ improbitatis homines eodem expulit, cœpit quasi legitimum aliquod vel mercimonii vel artificii genus latrocinium frequentari. Itaque certis sub ducibus, quos facinora et sævitia nobilitassent, societates proscriptorum et sicariorum ad vim, cædes, latrocinia coibant. Eorum duces ex audacia vel scelere singulos æstimabant: facinorosissimi et sævissima ausi maxime extollebantur ac decurionum centurionumque nominibus militari prope more donabantur. Hi agros et itinera non jam vago maleficio sed justo pene imperio infesta habebant . . . . Denique operam ad cædem inimicorum, stupra virginum et alia a quibus mens refugit, factiosis hominibus et scelere alieno ad suam exaturandam libidinem egentibus presente pretio locare: eoque res jam devenerat ut nemo se impune peccare posse crederet nisi cui proscriptorum aliquis et exulum periculum præstaret. Iis fiebat rebus ut non modo improbi ad scelera, verum etiam minime mali homines ad incolumitatem ejusmodi feras bestias sibi necessarias putarent. . . . Id proceribus et principibus viris perpetuo palam usurpari. . . . Et vero graves Jacobo Boncompagno susceptæ cum primariis viris inimicitiæ ob violatam suarum ædium immunitatem diu fortunam concussere. Procerum plerique, sive quos æs alienum exhauserat, sive quorum ambitio et luxus supra opes erat, sive quos odia et ulciscendi libido ad cruenta consilia rejecerant, non modo patrocinium latronum suscipere, sed fœdus cum illis certis conditionibus sancire ut operam illi ad cædem locarent mercede impunitatis et perfugii. Quum quo quisque sicariorum patrono uteretur notum esset, si cui quid surreptum aut per vim ablatum foret, ad patronum deprecatorem confugiebatur,

qui sequestrum simulans, utrinque raptor, tum prædæ partem a sicariis tum operæ mercedem a supplicibus, aliquando recusantis specie, quod sævissimum est rapinæ genus, extorquebat. Nec defuere qui ultro adversus mercatores atque pecuniosos eorumque filios, agros etiam et bona ex destinato immitterent, iisque deinde redimendis ad seque confugientibus operam venderent, casum adeo miserantes ut ex animo misereri credi possent. . . . Lites sicariorum arbitrio privatis intendebantur, summittebantur vi adacti testes, metu alii a testimonio dicendo deterrebantur. . . . Per urbes factiones exoriri, distinctæ coma et capillitio, ut hi in lævam, illi in dexteram partem vel villos alerent comarum vel comam a fronte demitterent. Multi, ut fidem partium alicui addictam firmarent, uxores necabant, ut filias, sorores, affines eorum inter quos censeri vellent ducerent, alii consanguinearum viros clam seu palam trucidabant, ut illas iis quos in suas partes adlegerant collocarent. Vulgare ea tempestate fuit ut cuique sive forma seu opes mulieris cujuscunque placuissent, eam procerum aliquo interprete vel invitis cognatis uxorem duceret: neque raro accidit ut prædivites nobilesque homines exulum abjectissimis et rapto viventibus grandi cum dote filias collocare vel eorum indotatas filias ipsi sibi jusso matrimonio jungere cogerentur. . . . Sceleratissimi homines tribunalia constituere, forum indicere, judicia exercere, sontes apud se accusare, testibus urgere, tormentis veritatem extorquere, denique solemni formula damnare: alios vero a legitimis magistratibus in vincula conjectos, causa per prörem (procuratorem) apud se dicta, absolvere, eorum accusatores ac judices pœna talionis condemnare. Coram damnatos præsens pœna sequebatur: si quid statutum in absentes foret, tantisper mora erat dum sceleris ministri interdum cum mandatis perscriptis riteque obsignatis circummitterentur, qui per veram vim agerent quod legum ludibrio agebatur. . . . Dominos et reges se cujus collibuisset provinciæ, ne solennibus quidem inaugurationum parcentes, dixere multi et scripsere. . . . Non semel sacra supellectile e templis direpta, augustissimam et sacratissimam eucharistiam in silvas ac latibula asportarunt, qua ad magica flagitia et execramenta abuterentur. . . . Mollitudo Gregoriani imperii malum in pejus convertit. Sicariorum multitudo infinita, quæ facile ex rapto cupiditatibus conniventium vel in speciem tantum irascentium ministrorum largitiones sufficeret.

Publica fide securitas vel petentibus concessa vel spontè ablata: arcibus, oppidis, militibus præficiebantur. Eos, velut ab egregio facinore reduces, multitudo, quocunque irent, spectando effusa mirabatur, laudabat. . . . " [It is true that, at the first, those only who were outlawed for murder and robbery had commenced this kind of life, to escape from the hold of the magistrates. Debarred the use of fire and water, concealed in the coverts of the woods, and lurking like wild beasts among the pathless wilds of the mountains, they led an anxious and miserable existence, sustained by almost necessary thefts. But when, by the love of rapine and the hope of impunity, numbers of most depraved men were afterwards allured to the same course, robbery began to be followed as though it were a permitted kind of trade or commerce. Companies of outlaws and assassins were accordingly associated for violence, murder, and robbery, under certain chiefs, distinguished for their crimes and cruelties. These chiefs esteemed their followers in proportion to their audacity and guilt; the most atrocious criminals, and those who had dared the most savage outrages, were most extolled and held in highest honour, being endowed with titles, almost in the manner of soldiers, and made decurions or centurions. These now infested the open fields and the roads, not as mere wandering marauders, but as men who had the just right to the rule of them. . . . Then, finally, they lent out their services for money, slaughtering the enemies of those who hired them, deflowering virgins, and committing other iniquities from which the soul recoils, being ever ready to perform villanies for those who needed and would pay for the aid of desperate hands. And things had proceeded so far that he whom these outlaws agreed to protect from the consequences of crime believed himself able to commit evil with impunity, so that reckless and savage men of this sort began to be thought needful, not by the wicked only, who required their help, but even by those who were not depraved, but who considered them useful as protectors from danger. . . . These things were openly tolerated and practised by the great and nobles; . . . and Giacopo Buoncompagno was long involved in deadly feuds with the great men, because he had violated the immunities of their houses. For numbers of the nobles, either overwhelmed by debts, induced by ambition and love of

pleasure to exceed their means, or led on to deeds of cruelty and violence by quarrels and revenge, afforded their patronage to robbers, and even entered into leagues with them, hiring their services to do murder in return for impunity and shelter. Then, when it became known who was the patron of the several assassins, he who had suffered robbery or violence addressed his plaint to this patron, when he, pretending to mediate, became the plunderer of both, extorting a part of their prey from the brigands, and taking reward for his pains from those who sought his help, though making a show of refunding it,—the most cruel and iniquitous of all modes of plunder. Nor were there wanting men who even contrived attacks on merchants and rich persons, on their sons, their estates, or other possessions, and then sold their services to the aggrieved for the redemption or ransom of that which had been taken, pretending to so much compassion for that disaster, that they might have been believed to pity those sufferers from their hearts. . . . Lawsuits were instituted against certain others at the instance of bandits, some witnesses being compelled to swear by fear, while others by fear were prevented from bearing testimony. . . . Throughout the cities factions were established, each distinguished by head-dress or manner of wearing the hair, which some turned to the right side, and some to the left, while others raised it in knots, or brought it low on their foreheads. There were many who, to confirm their hold on the party they had adopted, killed their wives that they might marry the daughters, sisters, or other kinswomen of those with whom they desired to be leagued. Others slew the husbands of their kinswomen, either secretly or openly, that they might give the widows in marriage to those of their league. It was at that time a common thing for a man to obtain any woman to wife whose beauty or riches had pleased him, by the mediation of some noble, even though her kindred were unwilling; nor did it rarely happen that highly-born and very rich men were compelled to give their daughters in marriage with large dowries, to most abject outlaws, and men living by rapine, or to join themselves in marriage with the undowered daughters of those brigands. The most abandoned men constituted tribunals, announced their courts, arrogated judicial power, called the accused before them, urged witnesses to testify against them, extorted

evidence by tortures, and finally passed sentence in regular form: or they would try those who had been thrown into prison by the lawful magistrate, have the cause of such pleaded before themselves by attorney, then acquitting them, would condemn their accusers and judges in the penalties of the *lex talionis*. If the accused were present, immediate execution followed the sentence; if the decree were against the absent, no other delay was permitted than that needful for despatching the ministers of crime with orders written and formally sealed, who inflicted with grievous reality what had been determined in mockery of law. There were many who called themselves lords and kings of such provinces as they chose, not even dispensing with the solemnities of inauguration. . . . More than once, when they had plundered the churches of their sacred furniture, they bore the most revered and most holy eucharist into the woods and haunts of robbers, there to desecrate it for the most execrable uses of wicked magic. The indulgent government of Gregory made bad worse. The great multitude of the outlaws easily furnished a large amount of bribes from their plunder to the servants of government, who connived at their proceedings, or only made a show of disapproving them. Then, those who would petition for an amnesty received that security; others took it of their own authority; nay, there were many of them appointed to command fortresses, towns, and soldiers. These, like men returning from some great action, were lauded wherever they went by the multitude who poured forth to behold them.]

No. 52.

Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V. Altieri XIV. a. iv. *fol.* 480 *leaves.* [Memoirs of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Altieri Library, &c.]

This circumstantial work is not entirely new and unknown. Tespesti had a copy taken from the archives of the Capitol, and he describes the author of it as the Anonimo Capitolino.

But Tempesti is extremely unjust towards this work. He has copied it in numberless passages, yet in the general estimate at the commencement of his history, he declares it to be unworthy of credit.

It is yet without doubt the best work that has been written in relation to Sixtus V.

The author had the most important documents at his command. This is perfectly obvious from his narrative, and he has himself assured us of it; as regarded German affairs, for example, he says, "Mi risolvo di narrar minutamente quanto ne trovo in lettere e relationi autentiche." [I have resolved to relate minutely whatever I find concerning them in authentic letters or relations.]

With regard to the financial arrangements of Sixtus V. he has the most exact information, and follows them step by step throughout. Yet he proceeds to this part of his task with infinite discretion. "Gli venivano," says he, "proposte inventioni stravagantissime ed horrende, ma tutte sotto faccia molto humana di raccor danari, le quali per esser tali non ardisco di metter in carta tutte, ma sole alcune poche vedute da me nelle lettere originali degl' inventori." [The most extravagant and startling proposals were made to him for the raising of money, but all wearing a very plausible appearance: their character being such, I do not venture to commit them all to paper, and will but adduce some few, which I have seen set forth in the original letters of the inventors.]

Our author had written a life of Gregory XIII., and therefore it is, perhaps, that he has been supposed to be Maffei; but I can find no other reason whatever for identifying him with that Jesuit.

It is to be regretted that this work also is only a fragment. Even from the beginning the earlier events are wanting. They were written, but the work—our manuscript, at least—breaks off in the midst of a sentence. The measures taken in the first years of the pope are then examined, but the writer comes down only to the year 1587.

We might the better console ourselves for the loss of the first part, because we are elsewhere so well provided with good information as relates to that period; but the absence of the latter portion is exceedingly to be regretted. It is a kind of European history, which the author communicates from really authentic and credible authorities. With respect to the year 1588, the "Annus climactericus" of the world, we should, without doubt, have found most valuable information from this writer.

Let us observe the reasonable manner in which he expresses himself at the beginning of his work. "Non ho lasciata via per cui potessi trar lume di vero che non abbia con molta diligenza et arte apertami et indefessamente camminata, come si vedrà nel racconto che faccio delle scritture e relationi delle quali mi son servito nella tessitura di questa istoria. Prego Dio, autore e padre d'ogni verità, sicome mi ha dato ferma volontà di non dir mai bugia per ingannare, così mi conceda lume di non dir mai il falso con essere ingannato." [I have left no path untried by which I could arrive at the light of truth, but have diligently opened out all I could find, and walked therein with unwearied assiduity, as will be seen by the account I render of the writings and reports to which I have had recourse in the composition and texture of this history. I pray God, the author and father of all truth, that as he has given me the fixed determination to utter no falsehood with the view to deceive others, so he will grant me such light as that I shall never say what is false from having been myself deceived.]

This is a prayer that is altogether worthy of an historian.

At the election of cardinals in 1587, he concludes with these words: "E le speranze spesso contrarie alle proprie apparenze." [Hopes are often contrary to what they seem.]

I have adopted a great part of his statements, after having compared them with those of other authentic sources: what remains could not be added here without exceeding the compass of this work.

No. 53

Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi vita a Guido Gualterio Sangenesino descripta. [Life of the Supreme Pontiff Sixtus V., by Guido Gualterio Sangenesino.] MS. of the Altieri Library, viii., f. 1. 54 *leaves.*

Tempesti alludes to a diary kept in the times of Sixtus V. by an author of this name. It is the same author who wrote the biography now before us, and in this work he refers to the earlier one. His labours had been especially rewarded by Sixtus V.

The copy in the Altieri palace is entirely authentic and

perhaps unique: it contains remarks in the author's handwriting. "Me puero cum in patria mea Sangeno, &c." [When I was a boy in my native place, Sangeno, &c.], he observes in these notes, so that there can be no doubt.

He wrote his work soon after the death of Sixtus V., in the early part of the pontificate of Clement VIII., of whom he often speaks. He mentions that the intelligence of the conversion of Henry IV. had just arrived, so that we may with certainty assume the year 1593 as that in which he composed his book.

The author is also particularly worthy of credit. He was closely connected with the family of Peretti. Maria Felice, daughter of the Signora Camilla, was brought up in Sangeno; the wife of the author was her intimate friend. He was himself familiarly acquainted with Antonio Bosio, the secretary of Montalto's first protector, Cardinal Carpi. "Summa mihi cum eo necessitudo intercedebat." Thus he was particularly well informed in regard to the earlier circumstances of the pope's life.

He devotes to them the first part of his work.

He informs us how Fra Felice first became acquainted with Pope Paul IV. A Minorite church in the March had been burnt, but the host remained uninjured. There must have been some particular circumstance connected with this fact; suffice it to say, that a great consultation was held in relation to it. Cardinals of the Inquisition, generals of orders, and many other prelates, were assembled. Cardinal Carpi brought Montalto with him, and insisted that this favourite of his should also be allowed to give his opinion. Montalto gave it accordingly; all agreed that it was the best, and Carpi departed in great good humour. "In ejus sententiam ab omnibus itum est. Surgens cardinalis Carpensis dixit: Probe noram quem virum huc adduxissem." [His opinion was accepted by all. Then Cardinal Carpi rising said: "I knew well what kind of man I had brought hither."]

The description of the future pontiff's Aristotelian labours is remarkable.

The edition of Posius, who was in fact a disciple of Montalto, is directly ascribed by Gualterius to Montalto himself. "Aristotelis Averroisque opera ex pluribus antiquis biblio-

thecis exemplaria nactus emendavit, expurgavit, aptoque ordine in tomos, ut vocant, undecim digessit. Mediam et magnam Averrois in libros posteriorem expositionem apta distributione Aristotelis textui accommodavit: mediam Averrois expositionem in 7 metaphysicorum libros invenit, exposuit, ejusdem Averrois epitomata quæsita et epistolas suis restituit locis, solutionibus contradictionum a doctissimo Zunara editis (wherein the contradictions between Aristotle and Averroes were reconciled) centum addidit." [Having procured copies of the works of Aristotle and Averroes from many ancient libraries, he amended their text, and collected their works, arranged in due order, into eleven volumes, as they are called. He adapted the greater commentary of Averroes to the text of Aristotle, forming all into books, with a fitting distribution and final exposition. He discovered the medium commentary of Averroes in seven books of metaphysics, expounded them, and restored the "epitomata quæsita" of the said Averroes, and his epistles to their places. He further added one hundred solutions of contradictions to those published by the most learned Zunara.]

He next delineates the character of his hero: "Magnanimus dignoscebatur, ad iram tamen pronus. Somni potens: cibi parcissimus: in otio nunquam visus nisi aut de studiis aut de negotiis meditans." [He merited the praise of magnanimity, but yet was prone to anger. Most sparing of food, and very temperate in sleep: never seen idle, but even when at leisure ever meditating either of study or business.]

Thus he arrives at the conclave. Whereupon he begins to describe the acts of Sixtus V., classed under his different virtues: "Religio, Pietas, Justitia, Fortitudo, Magnificentia, Providentia."

Singular as this classification is, we are, nevertheless, made acquainted with many beautiful things in proceeding through it.

Earnestly has Gualterius laboured to defend the pope against the complaints made of him on account of his imposts. But let us observe how he has done this. "Imprimis ignorare videntur, pontificem Romanum non in nostras solum facultates sed in nos etiam ipsos imperium habere." [First they appear not to know that the Roman pontiff has command, not of our

possessions only, but also of our very persons.] What would the present times say to such a right on the part of the state?

He has devoted particular attention to the architectural works of Sixtus V., and his remarks on this subject are very interesting.

He describes the condition of the old Lateran. "Erat aula permagna quam concilii aulam vocabant (without doubt on account of the Lateran councils held down to the time of Leo X.); erant porticus tractusque cum sacellis nonnullis et cubiculis ab aula usque ad S. Sabæ quam S. Salvatoris capellam vocant. Erant s. scalarum gradus et porticus vetustissima e qua veteres pontifices, qui Lateranum incolebant, populo benedicebant. Ædes illæ veteres maxima populi veneratione celebrari solebant, cum in illis non pauca monumenta esse crederentur Hierosolymis usque deportata. Sed fortasse res in superstitionem abierat: itaque Sixtus, justis de causis ut credere par est, servatis quibusdam probatioribus monumentis, sanctis scalis alio translatis, omnia demolitus est." [There was a very large hall called the hall of the council; there were also porticoes and galleries, with chapels, and cells from the hall to the chapel of St. Saba, which was called St. Salvatore; there were the steps of a holy staircase, with a most ancient portico, from which the elder pontiffs, who had inhabited the Lateran, were wont to bless the people. These ancient buildings were held in the highest veneration by the people, because there were in them no few monuments believed to have been brought even from Jerusalem. But perhaps this credence had degenerated into superstition: wherefore Sixtus, for just reasons as it is fair to believe, preserving the more assured and authentic monuments, and transferring the holy stairs to another place, demolished all the rest.]

We perceive that the author submits, but he is sensible to the wrong done. No less remarkable is the description of St. Peter's as it was at that time (1593).

"In Vaticano tholum maximum tholosque minores atque adeo sacellum majus quod majorem capellam vocant aliaque minora sacella et ædificationem totam novi templi Petro Apostolo dicati penitus absolvit. At plumbeis tegere laminis, ornamentaque quæ animo destinarat adhibere, templique pavimenta sternere non potuit, morte sublatus. At quæ super-

sunt Clemens VIII. persecuturus perfecturusque creditur, qui tholum ipsum plumbeis jam contexit laminis, sanctissimæ crucis vexillum æneum inauratum imposuit, templi illius pavimentum jam implevit, æquavit, stravit pulcherrime, totique templo aptando et exornando diligentissimam dat operam: cum vero ex Michaelis Angeli forma erit absolutum, antiquitatem omnem cito superabit." [In the Vatican he completely finished the great dome and the smaller domes, and also the enclosure which they call the greater chapel, together with other smaller chapels, and the whole building of the new church dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle. But, prevented by death, he could not cover the roof with lead, nor add the ornaments, nor lay the pavement of the church, as he had intended. But such things as remain to be completed, it is believed that Clement VIII. will continue and perfect: he has already covered the roof with plates of lead, has raised the banner of the blessed cross in gilded brass, has made level, and beautifully laid the pavement of the church, and is giving diligent labour to the completion, and fitting ornaments to the whole; which, when it shall have been fully executed after the form proposed by Michael Angelo, will assuredly surpass all antiquity.]

We learn from this that there was still nothing else contemplated but the completion of Michael Angelo's plan, and it even appears as though the whole had been really completed (penitus absolvit).

We have already seen one remarkable notice of the colossal statues. I will here add another.

The author is speaking of the open space on the Quirinal. Of its adornment under Sixtus V. he says: "Ornavit perenni fonte et marmoreis Praxitelis et Phidiæ equis, quos vetustate cum eorum rectoribus deformatos una cum basi marmorea in pristinam formam concinnavit et e vetere sede ante Constantini thermas in alteram areæ partem prope S. Pauli monachorum ædes transtulit." [He adorned it with a perennial fountain, and with the marble horses of Praxiteles and Phidias, which being injured by age as well as the men restraining them, he restored them, with their marble pedestal, to their pristine form, and from their ancient place before the baths of Constantine he transferred them to another part of the area, near the monastery of St. Paul.] In old plates also,

one of which is copied in Mier (see his Geschichte der Kunst, ii. 299, and the plates belonging to that part, Table xv.), the colossal statues appear in a greatly mutilated form, very much as the Venetian ambassadors describe them to be (see *antè*, p. 26). It is obvious that they were put into their present condition under Sixtus V.

No. 54.

Galesini Vita Sixti V. Vatic. 5438. 122 *leaves.*

A manuscript without any particular title; on the first leaf is the following dedication:—

"Sanctissimo patri Sixto V., pontifici maximo, vigilantissimo ecclesiæ Dei pastori, providissimo principi, sapientissimo universæ reipublicæ christianæ moderatori et rectori, commentarium hoc de vita rebusque ab eo in singulos annos diesque publice et pontificie actis gestisque distributum ac luculenter scriptum Petrus Galesinus magno et summo benignissimoque patrono singularis in illum pietatis atque observantiæ ergo in perpetuum dicavit." [To the most holy father Sixtus V., supreme pontiff, most prudent prince, most wise moderator and governor of the universal Christian republic,—this commentary on his life and actions, publicly and as pontiff performed from year to year, and from day to day, being arranged and clearly written, Pietro Galesino has dedicated to his great, supreme, and most benignant patron, in perpetual evidence of his singular duty and respect.]

These words suffice to shew that we have in this instance rather a panegyric than a biography before us.

The author considers it remarkable that Sixtus should have been the fourth child born to his parents: "sol enim quarto die creatus est" [for the sun was created on the fourth day], and that he was elected pope on the day of the foundation of Rome.

Our author's narrative of the pontiff's early years is of very fragmentary character. But here, also, we find another proof that a young man of talent attains to the best development of his faculties under poverty and severity of discipline. In the Peretti family, the rule of the mother appears to have been a rigid one: "Matris metu, cum aliquid mali se com-

meruisse videret, in omnes partes corporis se excitavit." [When he discovered himself to have committed any fault, he trembled in every limb for fear of his mother.]

His labours at his villa are thus alluded to: "Opus manu facicbat, ita ut vel hortos coleret vel arbores sereret, aut aliqua ratione, instar diligentissimi agricolæ, egregiæ insitionis opera consereret, interlocaret." [He wrought with his hands in the culture of his garden, and the planting of trees, changing their places, grafting them, and practising the most careful processes, after the manner of the most diligent husbandman.]

In the various acts of his pontificate, the strict religious tendency to which Sixtus devoted himself comes very prominently forward, in regard to his buildings, for example: "Ut urbis opera et idolatriæ simulacra, inanis et falsæ gloriolæ insanarumque superstitionum monumenta, adhuc in urbe jam diu nimis inveterata quadam rerum olim Romanarum a christiano cultu abhorrentium curiositate, ... ad christianæ pietatis ornamentum pertraheret," [That the works of the city, and the images of idolatry, monuments of a vain and false glory, and of an insane superstition, preserved too long, and made inveterate by an idle admiration of Roman things of old time, but abhorrent to Christian worship, might be converted into ornaments of Christian piety.]

The origin of the Lateran palace.—"Pontifex cum vix cubiculum inveniret quo se reciperet, continuo jussit ædes pontificia majestate dignas in Laterano extrui: valde enim absurdum absonumque duxit basilicam Lateranensem, omnium ecclesiarum matrem, proprium pontificis Romani episcopatum, ædes non habere quæ cum tanta episcopatus dignitate convenirent." [The pontiff scarcely finding a chamber that might fitly lodge him, forthwith commanded buildings worthy of the pontifical majesty to be erected in the Lateran, for he thought it very absurd and inconsistent that the leading basilica of the Lateran, the mother of all the churches, the peculiar bishopric of the Roman pontiffs, should not have a dwelling suited to that high episcopal dignity.]

He considers that Rome was upon the whole very religious. "Dat magna pietatis et integritatis indicia. Clericorum disciplina fere est ad pristinos sanctissimos mores restituta, ratio divini cultus administratioque sacrarum ædium ad probatum

veterem morem plane perducta. . . . . Ubique in ipsis ecclesiis genuflexiones: ubique in omni fere urbis regione fideles qui sacra illa sexta feria (Good-Friday) infinitis verberibus miserandum in modum propria terga ita lacerabant ut sanguis in terram usque defluxerit." [It gives great proof of piety and integrity. The discipline of the clergy is nearly restored to the most holy standard of primitive manners. The mode of divine worship, and the administration of the sacred edifices, are brought back to the approved model of old times. Everywhere within the churches are seen genuflections; everywhere through nearly all the quarters of the city are found numbers of the faithful, who so miserably lacerate their own backs with stripes that the blood flows to the ground.]

No. 55.

Vita Sixti V. anonyma. Vatic., n. 5563.

A few leaves only relating to the early years of Sixtus V. His name Felix is here attributed to a dream of his father.

No. 56.

Relatione al Papa Sixto V. [Report to Sixtus V.]
41 leaves.

From a member of the Curia who did not frequent the palace, and who knew only just so much as was known to every one. It was originally addressed to a friend who desired to be informed respecting the acts of Sixtus V., and afterwards to the pope himself.

In works like that now before us, written by people of ordinary capacity, who do but come forth accidentally from the general crowd, we have an interesting subject of observation in remarking the general effect produced by a government on the great masses of the public.

In the little work before us, which is written throughout in the stricter religious spirit which began to prevail at the close of the sixteenth century, we perceive first of all the powerful impression produced by the conversion of pagan into Christian monuments. "Le croci santissime in cima

delle guglie e le statue delli prencipi apostolici sopra le colonne scancellauo la memoria delle antiche idolatrie, ... come anco che la croce posta in mano della statua sopra la torre di Campidoglio significante Roma ci mostra che hoggi Roma cioè il papa non opra la spada per soggiogare il mondo a guisa d'infideli Romani imperatori ma la croce per salutifero giorno dell' universo." [The holy crosses on the summits of the obelisks, and the statues of the principal apostles on the columns, obliterate the memory of the ancient idolatries. In like manner the cross placed in the hand of the statue signifying Rome, which stands on the tower of the Capitol, shews that nowadays, Rome, that is the pope, does not use the sword to subjugate the world, as did the infidel Roman emperors, but the cross to mark the day of salvation to all mankind.] It is a striking fact, that these ideas of spiritual domination should have been so popular even among people of inferior consideration. Further on, the author denies that the pope intended to procure himself higher importance among foreign princes by means of his treasure, in order, as some said, to appear very wise,—"per esser savione." He did not need this; his purpose rather was to reward obedient princes, and to punish the refractory. "Col tesoro castigherà i prencipi ribelli di santa chiesa, et ajuterà i prencipi obbedienti nelle imprese cattoliche." [By means of the treasure he will punish the princes who rebel against the holy church, and will aid obedient princes in their Catholic undertakings.] He applauds Sixtus for having excommunicated Henry IV. "Subito fatto papa ricorse a Dio per ajuto, e poi privò del regno di Navarra quello scellerato re eretico, ... e con queste armi spirituali principalmente i papi hanno disfatti e fatti imperatori e re." [Immediately on being made pope, he turned to God for aid, and then deprived the wicked heretical king of the kingdom of Navarre, and principally by these spiritual arms the popes have made and unmade emperors and kings.] That priests and monks are to be considered as a kind of papal soldiery, is here for once admitted even by the Roman side. "Il papa tiene grossi presidii in tutti regni, che sono frati, monaci e preti, in tanto numero e così bene stipendiati e provisti in tempo di pace e di guerra. . . . . Nelle cose della religione vuole esser patrone solo et assoluto, sicome Dio vuole: . . . .

beati quei populi che avranno prencipi obbedientissimi. . . . . Se i prencipi manterranno il pensiero di trattar le cose delli stati prima con li sacerdoti che con i lor consiglieri secolari, credami che manterranno i loro sudditi obbedienti e fedeli." [The pope has large garrisons in all kingdoms, which are the friars, monks, and priests; as numerous, well paid, and provided for in peace as in war. In affairs of religion, he is resolved to be sole and absolute master, as is the will of God; and blessed are those people who shall have the most obedient princes. If sovereigns would maintain the principle of discussing affairs of state rather with priests than with their secular counsellors, believe me, that they would keep their subjects obedient and faithful.] All the assertions of the politico-ecclesiastical doctrine are here brought forward in the popular comprehension of them. But what was this secular authority of the pope when compared with the power he possesses of exalting a poor servant of God to be a saint? This canonization which Sixtus V. had renewed, our author cannot sufficiently praise. "A maggior gloria di Dio, ha dedicato alcuni giorni festivi a santi che non erano nel calendario, sì per dare occasioni a' christiani di spendere tanto più tempo in honor di Dio per salute delle anime loro con l'intercessione de' santi astenendosi dell'opere servili, sì perche siano onorati gli amici di Dio." [For the greater glory of God, he has dedicated certain days as festivals to saints who were not in the calendar, partly to the end that Christians may have opportunity to spend so much the more time for the honour of God and the salvation of their souls through the intercession of saints, by abstaining from servile works, and partly that the friends of God may be duly honoured.] Among other motives he adduces the following:—"Per far vedere gli infedeli e falsi christiani che solo i veri servi di Christo salvatore fanno camminare i zoppi, parlare i muti, vedere i ciechi, e resuscitare i morti." [To prove to infidels and false Christians, that the true servants of Christ the Saviour are alone able to make the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the blind to see, or to raise the dead to life.]

No. 57.

Relatione presentata nell' ecc^mo collegio dal cl^mo Sig^r Lorenzo Priuli, ritornato di Roma. 1586, 2 *Luglio.* [Report presented to the College by Lorenzo Priuli on his return from Rome, 2nd July, 1586.]

From the Roman documents, we proceed to those of Venice. Lorenzo Priuli had witnessed the latter years of Gregory XIII., and the earlier ones of Sixtus V.; he is very diffuse in relation to the contrasts they present.

But we must not permit ourselves to be too much influenced by his opinions; the early years of a pope almost always produced a more favourable impression than his later life; whether because the powers required for governing a state necessarily decline with increasing years, or because there is gradually discovered in every man some attribute that one could wish absent.

But Priuli is not unjust. He considers that the administration of Gregory also became useful to the church. "Nella bontà della vita, nel procurare il culto ecclesiastico, l'osservanza del concilio, la residenza dei vescovi, nell' eccellenza della dottrina, l'uno legale l'altro teologicale, si possono dire assai simili." [In respect to purity of life, provision for public worship, observance of the council, and enforcing the residence of bishops; in excellency of learning,—the one legal, the other theological,—they may be said to be much alike.] He thanks God for having given to his church such excellent rulers.

We perceive that foreign ambassadors were also influenced by the modes of thought then prevailing at the papal court.

Priuli considers the election of Sixtus V. as almost miraculous,—the immediate interposition of the Holy Spirit. He reminds his native city that it had become eminent and prosperous by means of its good understanding with the pontiffs, and advises them above all things to maintain it.

No. 58.

Relatione del cl^mo Sig^r Gio. Gritti ritornato ambasciatore da Roma, anno 1588. [Report of the most illustrious Giovanni Gritti on returning from his embassy to Rome, 1588.]

In the Venetian archives there is only a defective copy.

It was with the utmost eagerness that I took up another, which I found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but this also contains just so much as the former, and not a word more.

This is all the more to be regretted, because the author proceeds most systematically to his work. He proposes first to treat of the papal states, and then of the person of the pope, whose great admirer he announces himself to be; thirdly, he means to propound the views of the pontiff; and finally, to discourse of the cardinals and the court.

But there is only a small part of the first division remaining. The manuscript breaks off precisely where the author is about to shew the manner in which the revenues increased under Sixtus V. Nevertheless, I cannot doubt that the work was completed. What we have is at least no sketch, but certainly part of an elaborate work.

Yet it is extraordinary that even in the archives there is only a defective copy to be found.

No. 59.

Relatione di Roma dell' ambasciatore Badoer K^r relata in senato anno 1589. [The ambassador Badoer's report from Rome, presented to the senate 1589.]

This report is not to be found in the Venetian archives. It is in the collection of the Quirini family, but only as a fragment.

There are eight leaves which contain nothing but a few notices relating to the rural districts.

Badoer remarks that Venice had estranged her adherents of the March by delivering them up so readily to the pope, or by causing them to be put to death at his request.

The increase of the commerce of Ancona had been talked of, but the ambassador does not fear that this would prove injurious to the Venetians.

"Essendo state imposte allora (at the time of his departure) da Sisto V. doi per cento sopra tutte le mercantie, le quali a querelle d'Anconitani furono poi levate, non era gionta in 14 mesi alcuna nave in quel porto." [Two per cent. having been imposed on all merchandise by Sixtus V., which was afterwards taken off on the complaints made by the people of Ancona. No ship had arrived in that port for the space of fourteen months.]

We perceive that the two imposts of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., although afterwards repealed, yet, from the uncertainty of gain to which the merchants suddenly found themselves exposed, contributed very largely to the decline of trade in Ancona. At that time the principal part of the business was in camlets and furs, but the Jews found no suitable opportunity for exchange in cloth or other wares. The customs were farmed for 14,000 scudi only, yet even this sum was never realized.

Badoer is moreover desirous that the example of Spain should be followed, and that such friends as Venice may have in the March should be pensioned. He breaks off just as he is preparing to name those friends.

No. 60.

Dispacci Veneti. 1573—1590. [Venetian Despatches.]

No one could suppose that with so rich a profusion of documents one could still feel in want of information. Yet this had nearly been the case in the present instance. We have seen what an evil star presided over the destiny of Venetian reports; the Roman records elucidate only the first part of this pontificate with any fulness of detail. I should have seen myself reduced to Tempesti for this latter part,—one of the most important points notwithstanding,—had not the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors come to my assistance.

In Vienna I had already copied the whole series of Venetian despatches preserved there, from 1573 to 1590, and which are found in the archives, partly in authentic copies, and partly in rubricaries prepared for the use of the government.

In making oneself master of the first, there is indeed a

certain difficulty; in their voyage by sea they have received injury from the sea-water; they crumble on being opened, and the breath is affected by an offensive dust. The rubricaries are more easily managed; they are protected by covers, and their abridged form facilitates the selection of matters that are really essential, from the thousand insignificant affairs which Italian states may have had to transact among themselves, but which do not merit historical reproduction.

We find here the reports of Paolo Tiepolo to 1576, of Antonio Tiepolo to 1578, of Zuanne Correr to 1581, Lunardo Donato to 1583, Lorenzo Priuli to 1586, Zuanne Gritti to 1589, and Alberto Badoer to 1591.

In addition to these regular ambassadors, there occasionally appear envoys extraordinary: Zuanne Soranzo, from October, 1581, to February, 1582, who was deputed on account of the dissensions concerning the patriarchate of Aquileja; the embassy of congratulation to Sixtus in 1585, which consisted of Marc Antonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini, Marino Grimani, and Lunardo Donato, who caused their common report to be drawn up by the secretary Padavino: finally, Lunardo Donato was again sent on account of the political complications of the year 1589. The despatches of this last are by far the most important. The relations existing at that time between the republic and the pope assumed importance, even for the general history of the world. They are fortunately to be found in all their extent, under the following title: "Registro delle lettere dell' ill^mo signor Lunardo Donato K^r ambasciatore straordinario al sommo pontefice; comincia a 13 Ottobre, 1589, e finisce a 19 Decembre, 1589."

But we have not even yet enumerated all the collected documents relating to the proceedings of the ambassadors. There was besides a special and private correspondence of the ambassador with the Council of Ten, and we find this very neatly written on parchment; the first volume has the title: "Libro primo da Roma; secreto del consiglio di X. sotto il serenissimo D. Aluise Mocenigo inclito duca di Venetia." The subsequent volumes have corresponding titles.

I am perfectly aware of the objections that may be made to the use of despatches from ambassadors. It is true that they are written under the impression of the moment, are seldom quite impartial; often bear upon particular circum-

stances only, and are by no means to be implicitly relied on, or directly adopted. But let any man name the memorials or writings that can be received altogether without hesitation. In all cases certain grains of allowance are indispensable. The ambassadors were at all events contemporary witnesses, present on the spot, and bound to observe what passed; they must therefore be wholly destitute of talent, if their reports, when read to some extent, do not give an impression of reality to the events which they describe, and make us feel almost as in the immediate presence of the occurrences.

Now our Venetians were men of great ability, and of much practical experience, and I consider these despatches highly instructive.

But whither should we be carried if I should proceed to give extracts in this place from this long series of volumes?

My readers will doubtless permit me to abide by the rule I have laid down, of avoiding extracts from despatches in this Appendix. A lengthened series of them would alone convey an adequate idea of their contents.

I will, on the other hand, yet touch upon two important missions, both falling within the times of Sixtus V.

No. 61.

Relazione all' ill^mo e rev^mo cardinale Rusticucci segr^io di N. Sig^re papa Sisto V. delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinale Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nuntio in quella provincia, divisa in due parti: nella prima si tratta de' danni che fanno le eresie in tutto quel regno, del termine in che si trova il misero stato ecclesiastico, e delle difficoltà e speranze che si possono avere intorno a rimedii: nella seconda si narrano li modi tenuti dal cardinale Bolognetto per superare quelle difficoltà, et il profitto che fece, et il suo negoziare in tutto il tempo della sua nuntiatura · di Horatio Spannocchj, già segr^io del detto sig^r card^le Bolognetto. [Report presented to the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal Rusticucci, secretary of our lord Pope Sixtus V., in relation to the religious affairs of Poland, and the proceedings of Cardinal Bolognetto during the four years that he was nuncio in that province: divided into two parts. The first treats of the injuries done by the heretics throughout that kingdom, of the extremity to which the unfortunate clerical body is reduced therein, and of the difficulties or hopes that exist respecting remedies. In the second part will be related the methods pursued by Cardinal Bolognetto for overcoming those difficulties, with the success that he obtained, and his government during the whole of his nunciatura: prepared by Horatio Spannocchi, formerly secretary to the said Cardinal Rusticucci.]

The secretary of Bolognetto, Spannocchi, who had been with him in Poland, employed the leisure of a winter's residence in Bologna for the preparation of this report, which is not only circumstantial, but also very instructive.

He first describes the extraordinary extension of Protestantism in Poland, "non lasciando pure una minima città o castello libero" [not leaving even the smallest town or castle untainted]. He attributes this phenomenon, as may be readily supposed, principally to secular considerations; he maintains that the nobles inflicted fines on their vassals if they did not attend the Protestant churches.

There was besides in Poland, as in the rest of Europe, a

state of indifference beginning to prevail: "La differenza d'esser cattolico o di altra setta si piglia in burla o in riso, come cosa di pochissima importanza." [The difference between being a Catholic or of a different sect, is treated with jesting or derision, as a matter without the least importance.]

The Germans, of whom some had settled and married, even in the smallest towns, had a large share in the diffusion of Protestant doctrines; but, still more dangerous, according to our author, were the Italians, who propagated the opinion that in Italy and under the cloak of Catholicism, doubts were entertained even of the immortality of the soul; that they were only waiting an opportunity to declare themselves openly against the pope.

He next describes the condition into which the clergy had fallen under these circumstances.

"Infiniti de' poveri ecclesiastici si trovano privi degli alimenti, sì perche i padroni delle ville, eretici per il più, se non tutti, hanno occupato le possessioni ed altri beni delle chiese o per ampliarne il proprio patrimonio o per gratificarne ministri delle lor sette ovvero per alienarne in varj modi a persone profane, sì ancora perche negano di pagar le decime, quantunque siano loro dovute, oltre alle leggi divine e canoniche, anco per constituzione particolare di quel regno. Onde i miseri preti in molti luoghi non avendo con che sostentarsi lasciavano le chiese in abbandono. La terza è rispetto alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica, la quale insieme con i privilegj del clero è andata mancando, che oggidì altro non si fa di differenza tra' beni sottoposti alle chiese o monasterj e gli altri di persone profane, le citazioni e sentenze per niente. . . . Io medesimo ho udito da principalissimi senatori che vogliono lasciarsi tagliare più presto a pezzi che acconsentire a legge alcuna per la quale si debbano pagar le decime a qualsivoglia cattolico come cosa debita. Fu costituito ne' comizj già sei anni sono per pubblico decreto che nessuno potesse esser gravato a pagar le medesime decime da qualsivoglia tribunale nè ecclesiastico nè secolare. Tuttavia perche ne' prossimi comizj per varj impedimente non si fece detta composizione, negano sempre di pagare, nè vogliono i capitani de' luoghi eseguire alcuna sentenza sopra dette decime." [Great numbers of the poor clergy are destitute even of food, partly because the rulers of the cities—for the most part, if not wholly, heretics—have

taken into possession the goods of the church, either to increase their own patrimony, to endow with them the ministers of their own sect, or to bestow them in different modes on profane persons; and partly, because they refuse to pay tithes, although due from them, not only by the divine law and that of the canon, but also more particularly by the especial constitution of that kingdom. Whence the unhappy priests in many places, not having wherewith to sustain themselves, abandon the churches. A third cause is, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction has fallen to decay, together with the privileges of the clergy, so that nowadays there is no difference made between the property of churches or monasteries and that of secular persons—citations and sentences are set at nought. . . . . I have myself heard the principal senators declare that they would rather suffer themselves to be cut to pieces than consent to any law by which they should be compelled to pay tithes as a due to any Catholic whatever. It was publicly decreed in the council six years since, that no one should be pursued for payment of these tithes by any court, whether ecclesiastical or laical; and since, from various impediments, the said composition was not made in the next council, they continue to refuse payment, nor will the different officers execute any sentence in reference to the said tithes.]

He considers it very difficult for a nuncio to effect anything. It would be impossible to introduce the Inquisition, or even more rigid laws respecting marriage; already the very name of the pope was abominated; the clergy considered it their duty to defend the interests of the country against Rome; and there was only the king on whom they could reckon.

The Palatine Radziwill of Wilna had communicated to the king an exhortation to war against the Turks, composed by a disciple of Zuinglius. The nation was herein recommended first of all to reform its proceedings, and above all to put away the images, the worship of which was considered by the author to be idolatry. The king would not suffer the discourse to pass in that form. He wrote the following words on the margin with his own hand: "Præstat hoc omittere quam falso imputare et orationem monitoriam religionis antiquissimæ suggillatione infamem reddere. O utinam faciant novæ sectæ nos tam diuturna pace florentes atque fecit sancta religio catholica veros secutores suos." [It were better to

omit this than to make false imputations, and render the admonitory discourse infamous by the slander of the most ancient religion. I would that the new sects could crown us with such lasting peace as the holy Catholic religion conferred on its true followers.] A declaration on which the writer of this report builds great hopes.

He next proceeds to an investigation of Bolognetto's undertakings, which he classes under seven heads:—

1. Restoration of the papal authority.
2. Persecution of heretics.
3. Reform of the clergy: "Modi per moderare la licentiosa vita di sacerdoti scandalosi." [Methods for restraining the licentious life of scandalous priests.]
4. Re-establishment of divine worship.
5. Union of the clergy.
6. Defence of their rights.
7. Measures with respect to the whole Christian community.

I have already described in general terms the efficiency of Bolognetto in carrying out these designs. By way of example, I add the following more minute account of his influence on the English negotiation.

"La reina d'Inghilterra domandava al re di Polonia un' indulto per i suoi mercanti Inglesi di poter portar le loro mercanzie e vendere per tutto il regno liberamente, dove ora non possono venderle se non i mercanti del regno in Danzica, domandando insieme che fosse loro concesso aprire un fondaco pubblico in Torogno, ch'è il più celebre porto della Prussia dopo quello di Danzica e di là poi portar le loro mercanzie eglino stessi a tutte le fiere che si fanno per la Polonia, dove non possono portarle ordinariamente se non mercanti del paese, che per il più sono o Tedeschi o Pruteni o Italiani. Domandava dunque con quest' occasione quella pretesa reina che nel decreto di tal concessione si esprimesse, che a questi suoi mercanti non potesse mai esser fatta molestia per conto di religione, ma che potessero esercitarla liberamente a modo loro ovunque andassero per il regno. Piaceva questo partito universalmente a tutta la nobiltà Polacca; solo i Danzicani ostavano gagliardamente, mostrando che da questo indulto saria seguito l'ultimo danno al porto loro, tanto celebre e tanto famoso per tutto il mondo, e che la speranza del minor prezzo era fallace

massimamente perche i mercanti forestieri quando fossero stati in possesso di poter vendere ad arbitrio loro e poter servar la mercanzia loro lungo tempo nelle mani, l'avrebbon venduta molto più cara di quello che la vendono oggi i mercanti del paese. Tutta via il contraccambio che offeriva la regina a' mercanti di Polonia, di póter fare lo stesso loro in Inghilterra pareva che già havesse persuaso il re a concedere tutto quello che domandava. Il che non prima venne agli orecchj del Bolognetto, che andò a trovare S. M^tà^, e con efficacissime ragioni le mostrò quanto esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d'importantissime conseguenze quella scellerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse così per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Anglicana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si permetta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con questa ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti." [The queen of England requested from the king of Poland a license for her English merchants, that they might introduce their merchandise, and sell it freely throughout his kingdom, where the merchants of the kingdom in Dantzic only were now permitted to sell, requiring at the same time that they should have permission to open a public warehouse in Torogno, which is the most celebrated port of Prussia, after that of Dantzic. Also that they might thence afterwards carry their wares themselves to all the fairs held in Poland, whither commonly none may carry merchandise except the merchants of the country, who are for the most part Germans, Prussians, or Italians. And on the same occasion this pretended queen further requested that in the decree for this concession, it should be declared that no molestation was to be offered to her merchants on account of their religion, but that they should be suffered to execute it freely after their own manner whithersoever they might go throughout the kingdom. This proposal gave universal satisfaction to all the Polish nobility. The people of Dantzic alone opposed it bravely, shewing that from this concession, the most extreme injury would result to their port, so renowned and so famous through all the world, and

that the hope of lower prices would prove fallacious, principally because the foreign merchants, when they should have the power of selling at their own good pleasure, and could hold their merchandise a long time in their hands, would only sell them for a much higher price than that now required by the merchants of the country. Nevertheless, the equal privileges which the queen of England offered to the merchants of Poland, of power to do the same thing in England, seemed already to have induced the king to grant all that was demanded; which had no sooner come to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to seek his majesty, and shewed him with the most effectual arguments, how monstrous a thing it would be to acknowledge so scandalous a sect by his public decree; and how it was not without some concealed hope or deceit of some kind that yonder pernicious woman desired to have the Anglican sect declared by public decree in possession of power to exercise its rites in that kingdom, where all the world knows but too well that every man is suffered to believe whatever he may please in matters of religion:—by these and other most sufficient reasonings, King Stephen became so fully convinced, that he promised to make no mention whatever of religion in any agreement that he should enter into with that queen or her merchants.]

It will be perceived, that this report contains notices of a purely political nature.

In conclusion, the autnor goes more particularly into this part of the subject.

He describes Poland as divided into a multitude of factions. Dissensions, in the first place, between the different provinces, and then between the clergy and the laity in each province; between the senators and the provincial deputies; between the more ancient and higher nobles and those of inferior degree.

The high-chancellor Zamoisky is represented as extremely powerful. The grant of all appointments was vested in him, more particularly since a vice-chancellor and a king's secretary had entered wholly into his interests: "Da che è stato fatto il Baranosky viceeancelliere et il Tolisky segretario del re, persone poco fa incognite." [Since Baranosky has been made vice-chancellor, and Tolisky secretary of the king, persons who but a short time before were unknown.]

Generally speaking, the appointments made by Stephen

Bathory had been far from securing universal approbation. Attention was already directed to his successor, Sigismund: "amatissimo di tutti i Polacchi" [greatly beloved by all the Poles].

No. 62.

Discorso del molto illustre e rev^mo Mons^r Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la religione cattolica in Alemagna. 1588. [Discourse of the very illustrious and most reverend Monsignor Minuccio Minucci on the means of restoring the Catholic religion in Germany.]

A very important document, of which I have made extensive use, more especially vol. i. p. 494, and following.

Minucci served long under Gregory in Germany, and makes very frequent appearance in Maffei. In the documents before us, he endeavours to explain the existing state of things, to the end, as he says, that Rome might learn to refuse the patient dangerous medicines.

He complains from the beginning, that so little pains were taken on the Catholic side to gain over the Protestant princes.

He then proceeds—for his mission was during the times of eager and still undecided conflicts—to examine the attacks of the Protestants on Catholicism: "Ho pensato di raccontare le pratiche che muovono gli eretici ogni dì per far seccare o svellere tutta la radice del cattolicismo." [I have determined to relate the contrivances which the heretics daily put in practice for the purpose of drying up or utterly destroying the very root of Catholicism.] Finally, he describes the manner in which they ought to be withstood.

He shews himself to be unusually well informed in German affairs, yet he cannot always repress a certain astonishment, when he compares the state of things as they then were with the tranquillity and order of Italy or Spain. We have ourselves alluded to the restless proceedings of Casimir of the Palatinate. Let us observe the amazement they occasioned to a foreigner.

"Il Casimiro dopo aver sprezzata l'autorità dell' imperatore in mille cose, ma principalmente in abbruciare le munitioni presso Spira, che si conducevano in Fiandra con salvocondotto

imperiale, dopo aver offeso il re di Spagna non solo con quell' atto, ma anco con tanti ajuti dati a ribelli suoi di Fiandra e con l'haver concesso spatio alli medesimi ribelli Fiamenghi per edificare una città (Franchendal) nelli stati suoi, con l'haver portate tante ruine in Francia, tante desolationi in Lorena hor in propria persona, hora mandando genti sue, con l'haver fatto affronto notabile all' arciduca Ferdinando impedendo il card[l] suo figliuolo con minaccie e con viva forza nel camino di Colonia, con l'istesso dichiarato nemico alla casa di Baviera, e passato in propria persona contra l'elettore di Colonia, pur se ne sta sicuro in un stato aperto nel mezzo di quelli c'hanno ricevute da lui tante ingiurie, nè ha fortezze o militia che li dia confidenza nè amici o parenti che siano per soccorrerlo e difenderlo, ma gode frutto della troppa pazienza de' cattolici, che li potriano d'improviso et a mano salva portare altro tante ruine quante egli ha tante volte causate nelli stati d'altri, purche si risolvessero et havessero cuor di farlo." [Casimir, after having set the authority of the emperor at naught in a thousand ways, but chiefly in burning near Spires the munitions that were on their way to Flanders, under the safe-conduct of the emperor; after having offended the king of Spain, not by that act only, but also by the frequent assistance afforded to his rebels in Flanders, and by having granted a site in his territories for the said rebellious Flemings to build a city (Franchendal); after having so frequently carried havoc into France, and so continually desolated Lorraine, sometimes in person, and sometimes by despatching his troops thither; after having put a decided affront upon the archduke Ferdinand, by impeding the cardinal his son on the road to Cologne, with threats and even with violence; after being the declared enemy of the house of Bavaria, and acted in person against the elector of Cologne,—is yet permitted to remain securely in an open territory, and in the midst of those who have received so many injuries at his hands: yet he has neither fortresses nor soldiers to inspire him with confidence; neither friends nor relations who could give him aid or defend him. But he profits by the too long-suffering patience of the Catholics, who could instantly and with safety inflict such ruin upon him as he has inflicted so frequently on the states of others, if they would only resolve on it, and had the courage to do it.]

SECTION V.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL RESTORATION.

No. 63.

Conclaves.

I DO not fear being called to account for not having registered in this place every fugitive writing, every unimportant treatise which I have met with in manuscript during the manifold researches demanded for my work. I have rather, perhaps, already done too much. Many a reader who has given me his attention thus far, might very probably be dissatisfied with an unfashioned medley of various languages. Yet it would not be advisable to give a translation only of the original documents. To do this would diminish their usefulness as well as their authenticity. Thus I could not venture to insert the whole mass of my collectanea without further ceremony in this appendix.

Of the conclaves, for example, with respect to which a vast number of manuscripts may be found, I will but present a summary notice.

After every election of a pope, more particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, there appeared a report of the proceedings; it was, indeed, only a written one, but was, nevertheless, so arranged as to obtain a very extensive circulation, so that it frequently called forth counter-statements. Occasionally these accounts were prepared by cardinals, but more commonly by their secretaries, who were present at the conclave under the name of "conclavisti," and who made it their business to watch the course of the different intrigues with a view to the interest of their masters, to whom respect for the deportment demanded by their dignity, would have made such observation no easy matter. But there were occasions when others also took up the pen. "Con quella maggior diligenza che ho potuto," says the author of the Conclave of Gregory XIII., "ho raccolto così dalli signori conclavisti come da cardinali che sono stati

partecipi del negotio, tutto l'ordine e la verità di questo conclave." [I have gathered with the utmost diligence, as well from the conclavisti as from the cardinals who took part in the negotiation, the whole arrangement of that conclave, and all the truth relating to it.] We perceive that he was not himself present. The accounts that fall into our hands are sometimes diaries, sometimes letters, but sometimes, also, they are elaborate narrations. Each little work is complete in itself; the universally-known formalities are, however, here and there repeated. Their value is extremely unequal, as may be supposed. In some instances the whole sense is frittered away in incomprehensible details, while in others—but these are rare—the compiler has attained to an effectual perception and reproduction of the ruling motives in action. From nearly all, however, the reader may derive instruction, provided only that he have patience and do not become weary.

The great mass of writings of this kind still extant may be learned from the Marsand catalogue in the Paris library, as well as from other sources. They have also found their way into Germany. The 33rd, 35th, and other volumes of our "Informations" (the Berlin Informationi), contain copies in great abundance. In Johann Gottfried Geissler's "Programm de Bibliotheca Milichiana," Görlitz, 1767, there is an account of the conclaves contained in the 32nd, 33rd, and 34th codex of the collection of that place. The most complete list with which I am acquainted is to be found in Novaes' "Introduzione alle Vite de' Sommi Pontefici," 1822, i. 272. He had access to the library of the Jesuits, in which there was preserved a tolerably complete collection of these writings.

It followed from the nature of the matter that these documents very soon reached the public in another way, at least in part. First they were incorporated into the histories of the popes. The conclave of Pius V., if not in its whole extent, yet in its commencement and at the close, was transferred into the history of Panvinius. Cicarella has translated the conclaves of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., at least in great part; the latter with all the comments and reflections that appear in the Italian. The passage that Schröckh, "N. Kirchengesch." iii. 288, brings forward as from Cicarella, is taken word for word from the conclave. Thuanus also has given a place to these notices; but, as we soon perceive on more minute

comparison, it is from Cicarella, and not from the originals, that he takes them (lib. lxxxii. p. 27). In the "Tesoro Politico" also this last "conclave" is adopted, but in a few hastily-made extracts only, and very imperfectly. And as with these, so also has it been with other conclaves.

But gradually, and first in the seventeenth century, the idea was entertained of making collections of these conclaves. The first printed collection has the title "Conclavi de' pontefici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno," 1667. It begins with Clement V., but has then a blank down to Urban VI., and a second chasm down to Nicholas V.; from this time they go regularly forward down to Alexander VII. The purpose of this publication, at least the ostensible one, was to shew by the examples to be there found, the little that human wisdom can avail against the guidance of heaven. "Si tocca con mano che le negotiationi più secrete, dissimulate et accorte.....per opra arcana del cielo svaniti sortiscono fini tanto difformi." [It is here rendered manifest that the most secret, disguised, and astute negotiations ..... by the secret operation of heaven, are made vain, and result in effects altogether different from those contemplated.] But this was not the view taken by the world at large, who were, on the contrary, principally eager to become possessed of the curious and sometimes discreditable matter to be found therein. A French edition appeared in Lyons, and as this was soon exhausted, a reprint, revised from the original, was brought out in Holland, dated Cologne, 1694, and by no means as Novaes gives it in 1594. This, enriched with further additions, has often been reprinted.

In this manner the original memoirs of the conclave have undergone various alterations. If we compare the French collection with the originals, we find it to be the same on the whole, but in particular passages there are considerable variations. Yet, so far as I can discover, these changes proceed rather from misapprehension than from evil intention.

But there are other collections also which have never been printed. I am myself in possession of one, which supplies the blank spaces that have been left in the printed editions, while it has at least an equal authenticity with any one of them. But for any detailed use of these documents, an examination of the originals will certainly be always desirable

No. 64.

Vita e successi del Card^l di Santaseverina. [Life and Fortunes of Cardinal Santaseverina.]

An autobiography of this influential cardinal, of whom we have frequently had occasion to speak.

It is somewhat diffuse, and often loses itself in trifling details; the judgments it pronounces on individuals as well as on events are strongly marked by the personal qualities of the man; yet we find the work to communicate many peculiar and characteristic notices.

There remains only, that we give here verbatim, some few of those to which reference has occasionally been made in the text.

I. *The Protestants in Naples.*

"Crescendo tuttavia la setta de' Lutherani nel regno di Napoli, mi armai contro di quella spina del zelo della religione cattolica: e con ogni mio potere e con l'autorità del officio, con le prediche publiche, scritte da me in un libro detto Quadragesimale, e con le dispute publiche e private in ogni occasione e con l'oratione cercai d'abbattere et esterminare peste sì crudele da i nostri paesi: onde patii acerbissima persecutione dagl' eretici, che per tutte le strade cercavano d'offendermi e d'ammazzarmi, come ne ho fatto un libretto, distintamente intitolato: Persecutione eccitata contro di me Giulio Antonio Santorio servo di Gesù Christo per la verità della cattolica fede. Era nel nostro giardino in un cantone una capelletta con l'immagine di Maria s^ma con il bambino in braccio, et ivi avanti era nata una pianta d'olivo, che assai presto con maraviglia d'ogn' uno crebbe in arbore grande, essendo in luogo chiuso et ombreggiato da alberi: mi ritiravo ivi a far oratione con disciplinarmi ogni volta che dovevo predicare e disputare contro Lutherani, e mi sentivo mirabilmente infiammare ed avvalorare senza tema di male alcuno e di pericolo, ancorche di sicuro mi fosse minacciato da quelli inimici della croce, e sentivo in me tanta gioja et allegrezza che bramavo d'essere ucciso per la fede cattolica. . . . Intanto vedendo crescere contro di me maggiormente la rabbia di quelli eretici quali io avevo processati, fui costretto nel 1563

al fine di Agosto o principio di Settembre passarmene in Napoli alli servitii d'Alfonso Caraffa card^le del titolo di S. Giovanni e Paolo arcivescovo di Napoli, ove servii per luogotenente sotto Luigi Campagna di Rossano vescovo di Montepeloso, che esercitava il vicariato in Napoli: e poiche egli partì per evitare il tumulto popolare concitato contro di noi per l'abrugiamento di Gio. Bernardo Gargano e di Gio. Francesco d'Aloys detto il Caserta, seguito alla quattro di Marzo di sabbato circa le 20 hore, rimasi solo nel governo di detta chiesa: ove doppo molti pericoli scorsi e doppo molte minacce, sassi et archibugiate tirate, mi si ordisce una congiura molto crudele et arrabbiata da Hortensio da Batticchio con fra Fiano (?) di Terra d'Otranto, heretico sacramentario e relapso che io insieme col card^l di Napoli e mons^r Campagna l'haveva (ssi?) richiesto, di distillare un veleno di tanta forza cho poteva infettare l'aria per estinguere papa Pio IV. come nemico de' Carafeschi: e non dubitava l'heretico di far intendere tutto cio al pontefice per mezzo del signor Pompeo Colonna." [The sect of the Lutherans still increasing in Naples, I armed myself against that thorn with the zeal of the Catholic religion, and with all my power, together with the authority of the Inquisition, by public preachings, written by me in a book called Quadragesimale; also by public and private disputations at every opportunity, as well as by prayer, I laboured to diminish that grievous pestilence, and to root it out of our bounds. For this cause I suffered most bitter persecutions at the hands of the heretics, who sought to insult me by every means, and waylaid me on all the roads, thinking to kill me; of which I have written a little book, specially entitled "Persecutions incited against me, Giulio Antonio Santorio, servant of Jesus Christ, for the truth of the Catholic faith." There was a shrine in a corner of our garden, with an image of the most holy Mary having the infant Jesus in her arms, and before it there sprang up an olive sapling, which, to the admiration of every one, grew very quickly to be a great tree, being in a close place, and shaded by trees. To this little chapel it was my wont to retire for prayer and discipline, whenever I had to preach or dispute against the Lutherans, and I felt myself wonderfully invigorated and emboldened, so that I was without any fear of evil or danger, although most certainly menaced with

such by those enemies of the cross; moreover I felt within me such joy and gladness that I desired to be slain for the Catholic faith. . . . Meanwhile as the rage of those heretics whom I had brought to justice increased against me ever more and more, I was constrained at the end of August or beginning of September, in 1563, to take refuge in Naples, in the service of Alfonso Caraffa, cardinal of the title of San Giovanni and Paolo, archbishop of Naples, where I served as deputy under Luigi Campagna di Rossano, bishop of Montepeloso, who exercised the office of vicar in Naples. And after he had departed, to avoid the popular tumult excited against us by the burning of Giovanni Bernardo Gargano and Giovanni Francesco d'Aloys, called il Caserta, which took place on the 4th of March, about the twentieth hour of the day, I remained alone in the government of that church; where, after many perils encountered, many threatenings endured, stones cast, and shots fired at me, a most cruel and venomous plot was contrived for my ruin by Hortensio da Batticchio, with fra Fiano (?) di Terra d'Otranto, a relapsed Utraquist heretic, pretending that I, together with the Cardinal di Napoli and Mons^r Campagna, had required him to distil a poison of so much potency, that it should infect the air, and so destroy Pope Pius IV., because of his enmity to the family of Caraffa; and the heretic had no doubt of making the pope understand as much by means of Signor Pompeo Colonna.]

II. *Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.*

" Appena egli credeva di morire non ostante la longa età, essendo sempre vissuto con molta moderatione e caminato per tutti i gradi della corte. Dopoche lasciò la lettura di Bologna, venne in Roma, fu fatto collaterale di Campidoglio, esercitò l'ufficio di luogotenente di mons^re auditore della camera, fu fatto referendario, e la prima volta che propose in segnatura, venne meno: onde tutto pieno di vergogna e di confusione voleva abbandonare la corte, ma fu ritenuto dal card^l Crescentio a non partire. Da Giulio III. nell' auditorato di rota li fu anteposto Palleotto: onde di nuovo confuso di doppio scorno determinò partirsi di Roma, ma dall' istesso card^l Crescentio fu rincorato e trattenuto. Fu da Paolo IV. fatto vescovo di Vieste, fu fatto consultore del sant' officio, fu al

concilio di Trento e da Pio IV. fu fatto card^le^ e mandato in Spagna per la causa Toletana: e dopo la morte della santa memoria di Pio V. con ammirabil consenso fu assunto al pontificato. Il quale visse con molta carità, liberalità e modestia, e saria stato ammirabile e senza pari, se in lui fossero concorsi valore e grandezza d'animo senza l'affetto del figlio, che oscurò in gran parte tutte le attioni dignissime di carità che egli usò verso li stranieri e verso tutte le nationi che veramente padre di tutti. Dalli signori cardinali nepoti S. Sisto e Guastavillano fu fatto subito intendere la sua morte al sacro collegio, e doppo celebrare l'esequie e tutte quelle funtioni che porta seco la sede vacante, s'entrò in conclave: ove fu eletto papa il sig^r^ card^le^ Montalto, già nostro collega e nella causa Toletana e nell' assuntione al cardinalato, per opera speciale del sig^r^ card^le^ Alessandrino e sig^r^ card^l^ Rusticucci, che tirarono in favore di lui il sig^r^ card^l^ d'Este e sig^r^ card^l^ Medici, con non poco disgusto del sig^r^ card^l^ Farnese, essendoli mancato di parola il sig^r^ card^l^ San Sisto, sul quale egli haveva fatto molto fondamento per ostare alli suoi emoli e nemici, essendosi adoprato contro di lui valorosamente il sig^r^ card^l^ Riario, ma con pentimento poi grande, non havendo trovato quella gratitudine che egli si haveva presupposta, sicome anco intervenne al sig^r^ card^le^ Alessandrino, che tutto festante si credeva di maneggiare il pontificato a modo suo: escendendo in San Pietro lo pregai che dovesse far officio con S. B^ne^ in favore di mons^r^ Carlo Broglia, rettore del collegio Greco, per un beneficio che egli dimandava: mi rispose tutto gratioso: 'Non diamo fastidio a questo povero vecchio, perche noi saremo infallibilmente li padroni:' al quale sorridendo io all' hora risposi segretamente all' orecchie: 'Faccia Dio che subito che sarà passata questa sera, ella non se ne penta:' come appunto in effetto fu, poiche non stette mai di cuore allegro in tutto quel pontificato, sentendo sempre rammarichi, angustie, travagli, affanni, pene et angoscii. E ben vero che esso medesimo se l'andava nella maggior parte procurando o per trascuraggine, inavertenza o altro o pure per la troppa superbia con esprobare sempre esso assiduamente li beneficii, servitii et honorevolezze che haveva fatti a S. B^ne^. Nelli primi ragionamenti che io potei havere con S. S^tà^ fu il rallegrarmi dell' assuntione sua al pontificato, con dirli che era stata volontà di Dio, poiche in quel tempo e punto che fu assunto erano finite le 40 hore:

quivi clla si dolse della malignità de tempi con molta humiltà e pianse: l'essortai che cominciasse il pontificato con un giubileo generale, che tenesse parimente cura del sant' officio e delle cose sue, sapendo bene che da quello haveva havuto origine la sua grandezza." [He scarcely thought that he should die, notwithstanding his great age, having always lived with exceeding moderation, and having passed through all the gradations of the court. When he had ceased to lecture at Bologna, he came to Rome, and was made assistant curator of the Capitol, held the office of deputy to the auditor of the treasury, and was appointed referendary, but the first time he brought a cause before the segnatura he utterly failed: thereupon, overwhelmed by shame and confusion, he was determined to abandon the court, but was dissuaded from doing so by Cardinal Crescentio. When he ought by the rotation to have been made auditor, Palleotto was preferred, and placed before him by Julius III., when, being again discouraged by this double disgrace, he once more resolved to leave Rome, but was again consoled, and withheld from departure by the same Cardinal Crescentio. He was made bishop of Vieste by Paul IV., was nominated consultor of the holy office, appeared at the council of Trent, was made cardinal by Pius IV., and was despatched into Spain about the affair of Toledo. Then after the death of Pius V. of sacred memory, with a wonderful unanimity, he was elected to the pontificate. Thus elevated, he lived with much charity, liberality, and modesty; he would indeed have been admirable, and even unequalled, if his worth and greatness of mind had not been mingled with that affection for his son, which in great measure obscured his most worthy actions and the Christian charity which he exercised towards both strangers and all others, so that he was truly the father of all. His death was instantly announced to the sacred college by the cardinal nephews, San Sisto and Guastavillano, when, after the performance of the obsequies, and of all other ceremonies usual on the occurrence of a vacancy in the see, the conclave was begun. And therein was Cardinal Montalto elected pope, formerly our colleague both in the affair of Toledo and in promotion to the cardinalate. This being done by the special exertions of Cardinal Alessandrino and Cardinal Rustieucci, who won over the cardinals d'Este and de Medici to his interest, greatly to the displeasure of

Cardinal Farnese; Cardinal San Sisto, on whom he had counted largely for and against his rivals and enemies, having broken his word with him, and Cardinal Riario having acted very earnestly against him; but afterwards this last repented bitterly of this, for he did not meet with the gratitude that he had expected; as it happened also to Cardinal Alessandrino, who greatly rejoicing, believed he should be able to manage the pontificate after his own manner. Coming down from St. Peter's, I begged him to intercede with his holiness for Mons^r Carlo Broglia, rector of the Greek College, that he might obtain a benefice for which he had applied. He answered me very graciously, "Do not let us trouble this poor old man, for we shall certainly be masters." At which, smiling, I then replied secretly in his ear, "God send that you have not cause to repent when this evening is over." As in effect he had, for he was never cheerful of heart through all that pontificate, being constantly beset with difficulties, vexatious troubles, and sorrows. It is very true that he was himself to blame for the greater part of them, for he fell into them by neglect, inadvertence, or otherwise; besides that, he was inordinately arrogant, and continually enumerating the benefits, services, and honours he had done to his holiness. In the first conversation that I found means to procure with his holiness, I congratulated him upon his accession to the pontificate, telling him that it had been by the will of God, since at that very moment when he was elected the forty hours were ended. His holiness thereupon bewailed the malignity of the times with much humility, and with tears. I exhorted him to commence his pontificate with a general jubilee, and that he should also give his utmost care to the Holy See and to its affairs, knowing well that it was thence his greatness had taken its origin.]

III. *Affairs of Ferrara.*

"Venuto il duca di Ferrara in Roma per l'investitura, della quale pretendeva che li fosse data buona intentione, vi furono di molti garbugli: et avendomi io opposto gagliardamente nelli publici e privati ragionamenti et in concistoro, mi persi affatto la gratia del papa con procurarmi il sdegno del card^l Sfondrato, quale andava parlando per Roma che io sentivo malamente dell' autorità del papa: come anco haveva imputato il

cardinale di Camerino, che si mostrava molto ardente in servitio della sede apostolica. Sentendomi pungere in cosa tanto lontana dalla mente mia, io che ero andato incontrando tutti li pericoli per la difensione dell' autorità del papa e della sede apostolica, non potei fare di non alterarmene gravemente, e come si conveniva: feci una apologia pro Cardinale Sancta Severina contra cardinalem Sfondratum, ove si tratta qual sia la carica e qual sia l'officio di cardinale: benche il papa, che si era mostrato in concistoro molto turbato e collerico in camera, poi nel palazzo di S. Marco mi domandò perdono con lagrime e con humiltà e con havermi anco ringratiato, pentendosi del decreto che egli haveva fatto in pregiudicio della bolla Pio V. de non alienandis feudis. Partendosi il duca da Roma senza haver fatto effetto alcuno, da quel tempo in poi mi si mostrò sempre nemico, dicendo che io ero stato cagione precipua che egli non havesse ottenuto l'investitura di Ferrara pro persona nominanda, et che io come antico suo amico doveva parlare più mitamente, senza intraprendere l'impresa con tanta ardenza, come che io fossi più obligato agli huomini che a Dio et alla santa chiesa." [The duke of Ferrara having come to Rome about the investiture, of which he pretended to have had hopes given to him, there was much confusion and many discussions. Then I, having vigorously opposed the grant, both in public and private, as also in the consistory, entirely lost the favour of the pope, at the same time bringing on myself the anger of Cardinal Sfondrato, who went about Rome saying that I held false opinions respecting the pope's authority, as he had also charged on Cardinal di Camerino, who shewed great eagerness in the service of the Apostolic See. Finding myself offended by an accusation so far from my thoughts,—I, who had gone to the encounter of so many perils in defence of the pope's authority and the Apostolic See,—I could not but be greatly indignant; and, as it was fitting that I should do, I composed an apology for Cardinal Santaseverina against Cardinal Sfondrato, wherein the office and duty of a cardinal are treated of. The pope, who had been greatly disturbed in consistory, and very angry in the camera, afterwards, in the palace of St. Marco, begged my forgiveness with tears and much humility; he also thanked me, repenting of the decree that he had issued to the prejudice of the bull of Pius V., against the alienation of fiefs.

The duke having left Rome without gaining any concession whatever, from that time forth shewed himself my enemy, saying, that I had been the chief cause of his not having obtained the investiture of Ferrara for the person he should thereafter name. And that I, as being his old friend, should have spoken more indulgently, and not have been so violent against the measure,—as if I had been more bound to men than to God and to the holy church.]

IV. *Conclave after the Death of Innocent IX.*

"Entrato l'anno 1592 si entrò in conclave, essendosi raddoppiata contro di me la malignità de miei nemici, mostrandosi il card[l] Sfondrato ardentissimo contro la persona mia, non solamente per tema delle cose sue, ma anco più irato delle parole del card[le] Acquaviva, che timoroso et invidioso per l'arcivescovo d'Otranto suo parente et altri signori regnicoli amici miei, moveva ogni pietra contro di me: e s'erano uniti insieme li card[li] Aragona, Colonna, Altemps e Sforza, capitali nemici tra essi, ma contro di me concordissimi; Aragona per la continua osservanza et ossequio che io havevo usati, ma pigliava pretesti dell' abbadia che havevo tolta all' abbate Simone Sellarolo; Colonna per li molti servitii che gli havevo fatti in ogni tempo, ma si raccordava del Talmud impedito da me contro li Giudei, repetendo la morte di Don Pompeo de Monti, con taccia anco di sua sorella; Altemps per li favori che gli havevo fatti appresso papa Sisto e mons' Pellicano senatore per conto del figliò rattore della Giulietta, onde ne venne quel galant' huomo in disgratia di Sisto, ma così voleva Galleotto Belard[o] suo padrone; Sforza per haverlo favorito nel caso del Massaino, quando papa Sisto fulminava contro di lui, havendomi ringratiato con baciarmi la mano in presenza del buon card[le] Farnese vecchio, a cui ancora si era mostrato ingrato havendo avuta da quel buon sig[r] l'abbadia di S. Lorenzo extra mœnia, ma egli diceva che non poteva mancare alli amici suoi, ma in effetto egli temeva sapendo bene la sua coscienza. Palleotto m'usò quell' ingratitudine che ogn' un sa. Venne la notte delli 20 Genmaro: quivi si rappresentò una tragedia de' fatti miei, mentre Madrucci, già mio caro amico e collega nel sant' officio consentì tacitamente cogli emoli miei in danno mio, oprando per questa via di conseguire il pontificato, ma egli

sentì di quelli bocconi amari che non potendo poscia digerire se ne morì miseramente. Lascio da parte gli andamenti fraudolenti del card[l] Gesualdo, che come Napoletano non poteva patire che io gli fossi anteposto, et anche mossa da invidia contro i suoi patriotti: poiche questo e gli altri sig[ri] card[li] Napoletani Aragona et Acquaviva havevano questo senso di non voler nessun compagno de' patriotti nel cardinalato. L'atto poi che fece il card[le] Colonna, fu il più brutto che s'havesse sentito già mai, et improbato etiam da suoi più cari, e malissimo inteso nella corte di Spagna. Cavano solea prima havermi in tanta riverenza che nullo più, e dovunque m'incontrava mi voleva baciar la mano: ma all' hora scordato d'ogni amicitia obbediva al suo duca di Ferrara; Borromeo, ajutato da me nella sua promotione per la memoria di quel santo cardinale di S. Prassede et havendo fatta professione di sempre mio caro amico, invischiato dall' interesse d'alcune abbadie che haveva rassegnato Altemps, furiava a guisa di forsennato quello che non professava altro che purità, devotione, spiritualità e coscienza. Alessandrino, autore di tutte le trame, non mancò di fare il suo solito in perseguitare i suoi più cari amici e creature con haversele tutte alienate, e massime doppo l'assuntione di Sisto sentì in conclave quel che non volse per bocca del sig[r] card[l] di Sens che esclamava publicamente contro di lui. Il fervore all' incontro de' miei amici e fautori non fu mediocre, essendosi mostrato ardente più d'ogni altro il sig[r] card[l] Giustiniano: quel suo spirito vivace e coraggiosa fu in quella notte et in quel giorno in gravi affanni, essendomi anche stata saccheggiata la cella. Ma la notte appresso mi fu dolorosissima sopra ogn' altra cosa funesta: onde per il grave affanno dell' animo e dell' intima angoscia sudai sangue, cosa incredibile a credere; e ricorrendo con molta humiltà e devotione al sig[re], mi sentii affatto liberato da ogni passione di animo da ogni senso delle cose mondane, venendo in me stesso e considerandole quanto sono fragili, quanto caduche e quanto miserabili, e che solo in Dio e nella contemplatione di lui sono le vere felicità e veri contenti e gaudii." [The conclave opened at the beginning of the year 1592, when the malignity of my enemies was redoubled. Cardinal Sfondrato evinced the utmost animosity against me, not only from fear of his own interests, but even still more because of the anger he felt at the words of Cardinal Acquaviva, who, fearful and jealous on account of

the archbishop of Otranto, his relation, and other Neapolitan nobles, friends of mine, left no stone unturned against me. The cardinals Aragona, Colonna, Altemps, and Sforza had united together against me, they were bitter enemies to each other, but were perfectly agreed in their opposition to myself. Aragona, in despite of the continual attentions and deference that I had shewn him, but using as a pretext the abbey that I had taken from the abbot Simone Sellarolo. Colonna, notwithstanding the many services that I had rendered him at all times, but he remembered that I had hindered the Talmud in opposition to the Jews, and he brought up again the death of Don Pompeo, with the discredit thrown on his sister. Altemps, as a return for the favours that I had done him, both with Pope Sixtus and the senator Pellicano, in respect to his son, the ravisher of Giulietta, for which that worthy personage fell into disgrace with Sixtus; . . . . but such were the commands of Galeotto Belardo, his master. Sforza, notwithstanding that I had favoured him in the affair of Massaino when Pope Sixtus was fulminating against him, for which he thanked me and kissed my hand in the presence of the good old Cardinal Farnese—to whom he had also proved himself ungrateful after having received from that good prelate the abbey of St. Lawrence without the walls (S. Lorenzo extra mœnia); but he said he could not desert his friends, though in fact he was full of fears, knowing what his conscience had to reproach him with. The ingratitude with which Pallcotto treated me is known to all. The night of the 20th of January arrived, when they made a tragedy of my affairs, even Madrucci, formerly my dear friend and colleague in the holy office, giving a silent assent to my rivals for my downfal,* labouring in this way too btain the pontificate for himself; but he had to swallow certain bitter morsels, which being unable to digest, he died miserably in consequence. I omit to mention the fraudulent proceedings of Cardinal Gesualdo, who as a Neapolitan, could not endure that I should be preferred before him, and who was even moved by envy against his own countrymen, for he had agreed with the other Neapolitan cardinals, Aragona and Acquaviva, all three having resolved to

* The Venetian ambassador Moro also remarks that Santa Severina was not chosen, "per il mancamento di Gesualdo decano e di Madrucci" [because Gesualdo the deacon and Madrucci had failed him].

have no fellow-countryman their colleague in the cardinalate. But the act which Cardinal Colonna committed at that time was the most unworthy one ever heard of, disapproved even by his most intimate friends, and taken very ill at the court of Spain. Canano had been wont to hold me in so much reverence, that nothing could surpass it, and ever before he would always kiss my hand wherever he met me, but now, forgetful of all friendship, he thought only of obedience to his duke of Ferrara. Borromeo, assisted by me in his promotion, from regard to the memory of that holy cardinal of St. Praxida, and who had always made profession of being my dear friend; yet, allured by the gain of certain abbeys resigned to him by Altemps, now raved like a madman; he who professed nothing but purity, devotion, spirituality, and conscientiousness. Alessandrino, the contriver of all the plots, did not fail to adopt his usual course, persecuting his best friends and creatures, to the alienation of them all, and above all, he was made to feel this after the elevation of Sixtus, for he heard what he did not like in full conclave from the mouth of the cardinal of Sens, who exclaimed publicly against him. On the other hand, the fervour of my friends and supporters was not inferior. Cardinal Giustiniano having proved himself more earnest than any other, that courageous and sensitive spirit was in grievous trials all that day and night,—my cell had even been already despoiled. But the night succeeding was to me the most painful of any, however sorrowful, that I had ever passed, so that from my heavy travail of soul and bitter anguish, I sweated blood—a thing incredible to relate; yet taking refuge with much humility and devotion in the Lord, I felt myself entirely liberated from all suffering of mind and from every sense of mundane things, returning to myself and considering how fragile, how transient, and how miserable they are, and that in God alone, and in the contemplation of him, are true happiness, contentment, and joy to be found.

No. 65.

Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII. Informatt. Politt. xxix. [Life and Acts of Clement VIII.]

Originally intended to be a continuation of Ciaconius, where, however, I do not find it.

A narration of the rise of the pope, and of his first measures. "Exulum turmas coercuit, quorum insolens furor non solum in continentem sed in ipsa litora et subvecta Tiberis alveo navigia hostiliter insultabat." [He repressed the troops of outlaws, whose insolent fury not only assailed the mainland, but who even attacked the coasts and insulted the ships in the channel of the Tiber itself.] So little had Sixtus put them down for ever. With respect to the absolution of Henry IV., the opposition of Clement to the king is particularly insisted on, with the difficulty of obtaining the absolution from him: finally the conquest of Ferrara is described. "A me jam latius cœpta scribi opportuniori tempore immortalitati nominis tui consecrabo." [What I have already begun to write at more length, I will consecrate at a more fitting opportunity to the immortality of thy name.] But neither can I find any thing of this. As the work appears, it is but of little consequence.

No. 66.

Instruttione al S^r Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M^tà del re di Polonia e Suetia. 1 *Aug.* 1593. *Signed, Cinthio Aldobrandini.* [Instructions to Signor Bartolommeo Powsinsky for his embassy to the king of Poland, &c.]

Ragguaglio della andata del re di Polonia in Suetia. 1594. [Report of the king of Poland's journey into Sweden, &c.]

I find nothing to add to the contents of these documents, which I have already used for the text, except perhaps the assertion in the second, that Duke Charles was in reality detested: "perche egli avea ridotto in se stesso quasi tutte l'incette e mercantie e tutte le cave di metalli e sopra tutto dell' oro e dell' argento" [because he had monopolized almost all rights of purchase and merchandise, with all the mines of metals, more especially those of gold and silver].

No. 67.

Relatione di Polonia. [Report from Poland.] 1598.

Drawn up by a nuncio, who complains bitterly of the unbridled love of freedom displayed by the Poles.

They desired a feeble king, not one of warlike disposition. They declared, "Che coloro che hanno spirito di gloria, gli hanno vehementi e non moderati e però non diuturni, e che la madre della diuturnità degli imperii è la moderatione." [That those who are led by the desire of glory are of vehement, and not moderate character, consequently are not for permanence; *but the mother of permanence in empires is moderation.*]

Nor did they desire any connection with foreigners, maintaining that it would never be difficult for them to defend their country. They could always bring 50,000 horse into the field, and, at the worst, could always recover in winter what they might have lost in the summer. They appealed to the example of their forefathers.

The nuncio bids them recal to mind, "Che gli antichi Poloni non sapevano che cosa fosse smaltire il grano nel mar Baltico in Danzig o in Elbing, nè erano intenti a tagliar selve per seminare, nè asciugavano paludi per il medesimo effetto." [That the ancient Poles knew not what it was to sell grain in the Baltic Sea, in Dantzic or Elbing, nor were they intent on cutting down forests to sow corn, nor on draining marshes for the same purpose.]

The nuncio further describes the progress of Catholicism, which was at that time in the most prosperous condition. I have adopted the most important notices in the text.

No. 68

Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Suezia. 1598. [Report of the religious and political state of the kingdom of Sweden. 1598.]

This relates to the enterprise of Sigismund against Sweden, immediately before his second journey. Its essential positions have, in like manner, been given in the text

But there still remain some few remarks of interest in relation to earlier events.

Erik is described in direct terms as a tyrant. "Per impresa faceva un asino carco di sale a piedi d'una montagna erta e senza via per salirvi sopra, et egli era dipinto con un bastone in mano, che batteva il detto asino." [A device was made of an ass laden with salt, at the foot of a very steep mountain, with no path for crossing it, and the king was depicted with a stick in his hand, beating the said ass.] The author explains this symbol, which was indeed sufficiently intelligible. The people were to be compelled by force to do what was impossible.

John is considered as a decided Catholic. "Perche era in secreto cattolico, siccome al nuntio ha affirmato il re suo figliuolo, usò ogni industria perche il figliuolo ritornasse mentre esso viveva in Suetia a fine di dichiararsi apertamente cattolico e ridurre il regno ab abbracciar essa fede." [He being secretly a Catholic, as the king his son affirmed to the nuncio, made every effort to procure his son's return while he was himself alive, to the end that he, declaring himself openly Catholic, might compel the kingdom to embrace the same faith.]

To these assertions I am, however, not disposed to subscribe. The worthy Sigismund probably imagined these things, that he might have the consolation of believing himself descended from a Catholic father.

On the other hand, the first enterprise of Sigismund is described with a manner bearing the full stamp of truth, and of a thorough knowledge on the part of the writer. The hopes connected with his second expedition are set forth in all the extent of their bearing on European interests in general.

INTERCALATION.

Remarks on Bentivoglio's Memoirs.

In his sixty-third year,—not, as the edition in the "Classici Italiani" affirms, in 1640, but in 1642, as Mazzuchelli also asserts,—Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (born 1579), having

composed many other works on political subjects, began to write personal memoirs.

His original purpose was to include his first residence at the Roman court, his nunciatures in France and the Netherlands, as also the period of his cardinalate. Had he completed his purpose, the history of the seventeenth century in its earlier half would have been enriched by one valuable work the more, and that replete with thought and discernment.

But he died before he had finished even the first part. His work, "Memorie del card^{l} Guido Bentivoglio," comes down only to the year 1600.

It conveys an impression of repose and comfort as enjoyed by the aged prelate, who, released from the weight of business, is passing life easily in the calm quiet of his palace. It is very agreeable reading, equally amusing and instructive; but the cardinal was naturally restrained by certain considerations proper to his position from speaking so freely and fully as he evidently would have done.

The description, for example, that he has given with tolerable minuteness of the cardinals by whom he found Clement VIII. surrounded, has but a very general resemblance to those given of the same persons by other writers.

The very first, Gesualdo, deacon of the college, is described by Bentivoglio as "a distinguished man of amiable manners, who does not seek to mingle in public affairs, although he does not shun them;" but of what we learn from others, and what doubtless Bentivoglio also perfectly knew, how Gesualdo impeded the election of Sanseverina from mere personal dislike; the pretensions he advanced of superior rank over the other cardinals, who endured them very reluctantly; how all his subsequent efforts were given to the acquirement of friends by whose aid he might attain to the pontificate, and how he more particularly attached himself to Spain,—of all these things we do not learn a word from Bentivoglio.

The second is Aragona. Of him Bentivoglio remarks: "He had led the cardinals in earlier conclaves, more particularly the younger: he governed Rome most admirably during the absence of the pope: he was fond of handsome furniture, had a most beautiful chapel, and was continually changing the altar-pieces." But this is no description of the

man. Aragona was, as we learn from Delfino, an old man tormented by the gout, and whose death might be expected soon to happen; but he only clung the more tenaciously to his hopes of obtaining the papacy. He was by no means so much respected by the Spanish court as he desired to be; neither had he succeeded in obtaining admission to the congregation for the affairs of France, and it was known that he took this very ill. Yet he laboured to maintain the closest intimacy with the Spanish ambassador, by way of promoting his views on the papacy.

That impression of repose and serenity which we have described this book to produce, proceeds from the fact that the lights are designedly subdued; that life is not really depicted in the truth of its phenomena.

No. 69.

Relatione fatta all' ill^mo sig^re Card^le d'Este al tempo della sua promotione che dovera andar in Roma. (*Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Foscar. N°* 169. 46 *leaves.*) [Report made to the most illustrious Cardinal d'Este, when he was about to proceed to Rome on his promotion. (Vienna Library, Foscarini Manuscripts, &c.)]

In consequence of the treaty entered into with the family of Este by Clement VIII. on his entrance into Ferrara, he included a prince of that house, Alessandro, in the promotion of the 3rd of March, 1599.

It was this prince who was to be prepared for his entrance into the Roman court by the instruction before us. Although it is without date, it must unquestionably be placed within the year 1599.

The purpose for which this report was written makes it at once entirely different from those of the Venetian ambassadors. It was intended to enable the prince to steer like a dexterous pilot,—"Per potere come prudente nocchiero prendere meglio l'aura propitia della corte." [That like a prudent pilot he might the better catch the favouring breezes of the court.] Of political relations it contains nothing. Even the misfortune that had just overtaken the house of Este is passed

over in silence. The sole purpose of the writer is to describe the peculiar characteristics of the most important persons.

The pope, his nephews, and the cardinals are depicted.

Clement VIII.—" Di vita incolpabile, di mente retta, di conditione universale. Si può dir ch'abbia in se stesso tutta la theorica e la pratica della politica e ragion di stato." [Of blameless life, upright intentions, and a most capacious mind. It may be affirmed that he possesses within himself the whole theory and practice of politics, and the philosophy of government.] We find here that Salvestro Aldobrandino had incited Paul IV. to the war against Naples; that attempts had, nevertheless, been afterwards made to reconcile that house at least with the Medici. " Dicesi che Pio V. volendo promovere il card^l Giovanni, fratello di questo pontefice, assicurò il G. D. Cosimo che tutta questa famiglia gli sarebbe fidelissima sempre, e che mandò l'istesso Ippolito Aldobrandino, hora papa, a render testimonio a S. Altezza, della quale fu molto ben visto." [It is said that Pius V., desiring to promote Cardinal Giovanni, brother of the present pontiff, assured the grand duke Cosmo that the whole of this family would ever be most faithful to him, and that he sent this same Ippolito Aldobrandino, now pope, to bear testimony to that fact to his highness, by whom he was very well received.] At that time Giovanni Bardi was in the greatest favour with the pope. " Fra i servitori di Clemente il più intimo e favorito è il sig^r Giov. Bardi dei conti di Vernio, luogotenente delle guardie, di molta bontà, virtù e nobiltà." [Among the servants of Clement, the nearest to his person, and the most favoured, is the Signor Giovanni Bardi of the counts of Vernio, lieutenant of the guard, a man of great goodness, virtue, and nobility.] The new cardinal was all the safer in connecting himself with Bardi, from the fact that he was attached to the house of Este.

The Nephews.—The pre-eminence of Pietro Aldobrandino over San Giorgio was decided. " San Giorgio, accommodato l'animo alla fortuna sua, mortificate le sue pretensioni, non gareggia, non contrasta più, ma o lo seconda o non s'impaccia seco, e si mostra sodisfatto dell' ottenuta segnatura di giustitia." [San Giorgio, having schooled his mind to his fortunes, and mortifying his pretensions, no longer struggles or contends with Aldobrandino, but either seconds his purposes,

or refrains from opposing him, and appears to be content with the segnatura of justice which he has obtained.]

The cardinals were divided into two factions,—the Spanish, to which Montalto was already attached, and that of Aldobrandino. The former had at that time twenty-five decided and firm adherents, the latter fourteen only. The author correctly points out as the most probable candidate for the papacy that one of them who really did afterwards attain to it,—Alessandro de' Medici, namely. The terms on which he stood with the grand duke of Tuscany were not known, but he was all the more in favour with Clement on that account,—"per patria e conformità di humore" [from community of country and disposition], as much, indeed, as if he had been the pope's own creature.

The historian of the church, Baronius, is not unfavourably depicted. "Molto amato per la dottrina, bontà e semplicità sua: si dimostra tutto spirito, tutto risegnato in Dio: si burla del mondo e della propria esaltatione di se stesso." [Much beloved for his learning, goodness, and simplicity: he seems to be all spirit, wholly resigned to God: he makes a jest of the world, and even of his own exaltation.]

No. 70.

Relatione di Roma dell' ill^mo Sig^r Gioan Delfino K^r e Pro^r ritornato ambasciatore sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII. [Delfino's report on returning from his embassy to Clement VIII., &c.]

This also is one of the reports that have been widely circulated; it is very circumstantial (my copy has ninety-four quarto leaves), and is very instructive.

1. Delfino begins with a description of the pope ("il nascimento, la natura e la vita del papa") and his nephews.

"Delli due cardinali (Aldobrandino e S. Giorgio) reputo quasi necessario parlarne unitamente. Questo di età d'anni 45, di gran spirito, altiero, vivace e di buona cognizione nelli affari del mondo; ma temo assai che sia di mala natura, overo che gli accidenti nel mondo occorsi, che l'hanno levato dalle gran speranze in che si è posto nel principio del pontificato, lo fanno esser tale, cioè demostrarsi con tutti non solo severo ma

quasi disperato. Questo era grandemente amato e grandemente stimato del papa avanti che fosse salito al pontificato, e doppo per gran pezzo ebbe la cura principale de' negotii, e si credeva da ogn' uno che egli avesse da esser il primo nipote, perche l'altro era più giovane, assai di poca prosperità e di pochissima cognizione: ma o sia stato la sua poca prudenza nel non essersi saputo governare come averebbe bisognato, sendosi rotto con l'ambasciatore di Spagna quando gittò la beretta, con l'ambasciator di Toscana quando li disse che il papa doveria cacciarlo di corte, oltre i disgusti che ha dato a tutti in mille occasioni, o pur la gran prudenza e destrezza dell' altro, o la forza natural del sangue, questo ha perduto ogni giorno tanto di autorità e di credito che non ha chi lo seguiti e non ottiene cosa alcuna che dimandi. Ha però il carico di tutti li negotii d'Italia e Germania, se bene li ministri publici trattino li medesimi con Aldobrandino, e nelle cose brusche tutti ricorrono a lui. Io con esso sig^r card^le di S. Giorgio nel principio ho passato qualche borasca, anzi nella prima audienza fui astretto a dolermi apertamente per dignità della republica, e doi o tre volte mi sono lasciato intendere liberamente, in modo tale che so che è stato frutto appresso di lui, et il papa l'ha avuto a carro, e particolarmente nell' ultima occasione di Ferrara: ma doppo sempre è passato tra noi ogni sorte di dimostratione d'amore, et io l'ho onorato sempre come si conveniva. Credo veramente che sia mal affetto alla Serenità Vostra per natura e per accidente: la sua natura l'ho descritta, ma dirò solo delli accidenti. Prima sappia che da un pezzo in qua s'è buttato affatto in braccio de' Spagnuoli, e si è dimostrato poco amico di quelli che sono uniti con Francesi: ha cresciuto ancora quel mal animo suo il vedere che il cardinal Aldobrandino habbi in tutte le occasioni protetto li affari dell' EE. VV., quasi che non sia possibile che concorrino ambidue in alcuna operatione, per giusta e raggionevole che sia. Da che si può conoscere la miseria de' poveri ambasciatori et rappresentanti publici." [Of the two cardinals (Aldobrandino and San Giorgio), I consider it in a manner necessary to speak collectively. The latter is forty-five years of age, a man of high spirit, proud, and well versed in general affairs; but I much fear that he is of a bad disposition, or that the course of events which have deprived him of those great hopes which he had cause to entertain at the commencement of

the pontificate cause him to be so, for he conducts himself towards every one, not only with severity, but even with reckless harshness. San Giorgio was greatly beloved, and held in high esteem by the pope before he had attained to the pontificate, and afterwards he had the principal management of affairs for a considerable time. It was even believed by every one that he must certainly be the first nephew, because the other was younger, of no great promise, and possessing few acquirements. But, whether from his want of prudence to govern himself, as was needful he should do,—having broken with the ambassador of Spain, when he threw down his cap, and with the Tuscan ambassador, when he told him that the pope ought to drive him from the court;—from his having given offence to all, on a thousand occasions, or from the great prudence and address of the other, or from the natural force of blood,—San Giorgio has daily declined in credit and authority, so that he has no one to follow him, and never obtains any thing that he asks. It is true that he has still charge of Italian and German affairs; but the public ministers discuss the same with Aldobrandino, and in all difficult points they have recourse to him. I had myself certain stormy interviews with this Cardinal San Giorgio at first; nay, even in the very first audience, I was compelled, by regard for the dignity of the republic, to remonstrate openly; and two or three times I have caused myself to be heard so freely, that I know my words have produced their fruit with him. And the pope took him to task, particularly on the last occasion, respecting Ferrara; but since that time there have constantly passed between us every possible demonstration of good-will, and I have always treated him with due honour. I believe certainly that he is ill-affected towards your serenity, both by nature and circumstances;—his nature, I have already described, and will therefore speak of the circumstances only. First, your serenity should know that for some time past he has thrown himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards, and has shewn himself little disposed to favour those who are united with the French; and this his evil disposition has been increased by his perceiving that Cardinal Aldobrandino has on all occasions protected the affairs of your excellencies, as if it were not possible that these two should concur in any measure, however just and reasonable it may

be. All which may serve to make known the miseries endured by poor ambassadors and public representatives.]

2. The second chapter—that, at least, which in our copies is formally designated as such—relates to the form of government, the finances, and the military force. Delfino is amazed, as well he might be, at certain portions of the financial administration: "Mentre l'entrate della chiesa sono impegnate all' ingrosso ordinariamente e straordinariamente; e quello ch'è peggio, si comprano castelli e giurisdittioni de' sudditi a $1\frac{1}{2}$ o 2 per cento (ich verstehe: die so viel abwerfen), e si pagano censi a 9 o 10 per cento, parendo strano agli uomini savj che in tante strettezze si fanno queste compre, e più è che se si vogliono far certe spese, non si facciano per via delli danari del castello, per non ci andar debitando e consumando del tutto." [While the revenues of the church are mortgaged to their whole extent, both the ordinary and the extraordinary, and, what is worse, castles and jurisdictions are purchased from the subjects at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 per cent. (I understand this to mean that they yield so much), and mortgages are paid 9 or 10 per cent., it seems strange to all thinking men, that in the midst of such embarrassment these purchases should be made, and what is more, when they desire to make a certain expenditure, they do not supply the funds from the moneys in the castle, lest they should presently spend and consume the whole.] We perceive that there were people, even in those times, who were startled at the hoarding of borrowed money. In respect to Ferrara, also, after the first short-lived satisfaction of the inhabitants, many discontents arose: "Nobili e popolo si darebbero volentieri a qual principe si voglia, per uscir dalle mani dove si trovano." [Nobles and people, all would willingly give themselves to any prince whatever, so they might but escape from the hands wherein they now are.]

3. "Inteiligenze."—These inform us of the doubtful terms in which the pope stood with the emperor and with Philip II. (he awaited the death of the king with a sort of anxiety); how unfriendly were his relations with Florence, for all remembered perfectly well that the house of Aldobrandini belonged to the exiled families: "Le cose passano peggio che con ogn' altro, ricordandosi d'esser andato il papa e la sua casa ramingo per il mondo." [Things went worse with them than

with any other, for they remembered that the pope and his family went wandering about the world.] How much more cordially he proceeded, on the contrary, with France and Poland, more especially with the latter, with which he had a community of interests and purposes. "Concorrendo e dall' una e dall' altra parte interessi nel presente e disegni nel tempo a venire." [Their interests for the present concurring, as well as their designs for the future.] But for no one was Clement more interested than for the prince of Transylvania: "Col prencipe di Transilvania ha trattato il papa con tanto amore e con tener un nuntio apostolico appresso di lui e con averli dato in mio tempo 60m. scudi in tre volte e con infiniti efficii fatti fare con l'imperatore per servitio che quasi poteva dirsi interessato et obligato alla continua sua protettione; e credo che'l povero prencipe la meritava, perche s'è risoluto alla guerra con fondamento principale del consiglio et delle promesse di S. S^ta^; quanto nel principio già tre anni e già due ancora esaltava la virtù e valor di questo prencipe fino al cielo, avendo detto a me più volte ch'egli solo faceva la guerra al Turco, tanto più ultimamente con la cessione che gli fece de' suoi stati restava molto chiarito, et il predicava un gran da poco: onde si vede che se bene aveva promesso all' imperatore di farlo cardinale et a lui ancora, non averebbe però osservato cosa alcuna, e perciò credo che essendo tornato al governo de' suoi stati abbia sentito S. S^ta^ gran consolatione." [The pope has conducted himself with so much affection towards the prince of Transylvania, keeping an apostolic nuncio at his court, giving him, during my stay, 60,000 scudi at three different times, and inducing the emperor to perform a multitude of good offices in his favour, that he might be almost said to have become pledged and interested to the continuance of such protection. And I believe that the poor prince deserved it, because he had resolved on the war, in consequence of his reliance on the counsels and promises of his holiness, which was clearly manifest from the manner in which at the commencement, now three years since, and even a year later also, his holiness extolled the virtue and excellence of the prince to the very skies, having told me many times that he alone had supported the war against the Turks. And, as is further evident from the cession that he recently made to him of his states, when he made a great talk about very little done,

for we see clearly, that though he promised both the emperor and prince to make the latter a cardinal, yet he would have done nothing at all of the sort, wherefore, I fully believe that his holiness has been much rejoiced by seeing him return to the government of his dominions.

4. Cardinals.—They are all discussed in turn, and more or less favourably pronounced upon.

5. "De' soggetti che cascano in maggior consideratione per lo pontificato." [Of the persons considered most likely to obtain the pontificate.]

6. "Interessi con Venetia." [Affairs connected with Venice.]—There were already a thousand disputes in progress. "Quando non si proveda alle pretensioni et ni disordini, un giorno si entrerà in qualche travaglio di gran momento, massime di questi novi acquisti (über die Schiffahrt auf dem Po) che sempre vi penso per cognitione che ho della natura de' preti e della chiesa mi fa temere." [If some provision be not made against these pretensions and disorders, there will arise some day embarrassments of great difficulty, principally through these new acquisitions (relating to the navigation of the Po); so that whenever I think of this matter, the knowledge I have of the nature of priests and of the church causes me great alarm.]

This fear was but too soon justified.

No. 71.

Venier: Relatione di Roma. [Venier: Report from Rome.]

The dissensions between the pope and Venice were already become tolerably earnest. The Venetians refused to send their patriarch to Rome for examination. Bitter contentions had arisen about the Goro mouth of the Po; it was in consequence of these disputes that Venier was sent to Rome.

He remained there but a short time: the description that he sketches of Clement VIII. is nevertheless exceedingly useful.

"Della natura et pensieri del pontefice, per quello che a me tocca di considerare nella presente congiuntura per li negotii che giornalmente tratta V. Serenità con S. Beatitudine, dirò che li papa in questa età sua di 65 anni è più sano e più gagliardo di quello che sia stato negli anni adietro, non havendo indis-

positione alcuna fuoriche quella della chiragra o gotta, che però li serve, come vogliono li medici, a tenerlo preservato da altre indispositioni, e questa molto più di rado e molto meno che per l'inanzi le da molestia al presente, per la bona regola particolarmente del viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva e con notabile astinenza nel bere: che le giova anco grandemente a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l'esercitio di camminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de negotii conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce, intanto che le resta comoda parte di tempo che dispensa admettendo persone private et altri che secondo il solito ricorrono a S. S^ta^. A negotii gravi si applica con ogni suo spirito, et persiste in essi senza mostrarne mai alcuna fiachezza, et quando li succede di vederli conclusi, gode et fruisce mirabilmente il contento che ne riceve. Nè di cosa maggiormente si compiace che di esser stimato, et che sia rispettata la sua reputatione, della quale è gelosissimo. Et quanto per la complessione sua molto sanguigna e colerica è facile ad accendersi, prorompendo con grandissimà vehementia in esagerationi piene di escandescenza et acerbità, tanto anco mentre vede che altri tace con la lingua seben s'attrista nel sembiante, si ravede per se stesso et procura con gran benignità di raddolcire ogni amaritudine: la qual cosa è così nota hormai a tutti li cardinali che ne danno cortese avvertimento agli amici loro, sicome lo diede anco a me nel primo congresso l'illustrissimo sig^r^ card^le^ di Verona per mia da lui stimata molto utile conformatione. Ha S. S^ta^ volti li pensieri suoi alla gloria, nè si può imaginare quanto acquisto facciano li principi della gratia sua, mentre secondano la sua inclinatione. Onde Spagnoli in particolare, che sempre mirano a conservarsi et ad aumentar la gran parte che hanno nella corte di Roma, non trascurano punto l'occasione; et però con tanto maggior prontezza hanno applicato l'animo a far qualche impresa contra Turchi, come hora si vede, et con andar sofferendo non mediocri durezze, che provano ancor loro nelli negotii importanti, particolarmente per causa di giurisditione, che vivono alla corte di Roma, si vanno sempre più avanzando nel riportare in molte cose non piccole soddisfattioni. E tenuto generalmente il pontefice persona di gran virtù, bontà et religione:

di che egli si compiace far che del continuo se ne veggano segni et importanti effetti. Et se ben li cardinali si vedono nel presente pontefice scemata molto quella autorità che ne' tempi passati sono stati soliti d'havere, restando quasiche del tutto esclusi dalla partecipatione de negotii più importanti, poiche ben spesso fino all' ultima conclusione di essi non hanno delle trattationi la già solita notitia, mostrano nondimeno di stimare il pontefice, lodano la S^ta^ S. con termini di somma riverenza, celebrando la prudenza et l'altre virtù sue con grand' esageratione, affirmando che se fosse occasione hora di elegere pontefice, non elegerebbono altro che questo medesimo, seben son molto reconditi et profondi i loro pensieri, et le parole et le apparenze sono volte ai proprj disegni for e a Roma più che altrove." [With respect to the character and designs of the pope, so far as it belongs to me to consider them for the present conjuncture of the affairs that your serenity is at this time transacting with his holiness, I have to remark that the pope, at his present age of sixty-five years, is stronger and more healthy than he was some years since, having no other indisposition than that of chiragra or gout; and this, according to the physicians, is serviceable, as keeping him free from other ailments: its attacks are, besides, much less frequent than formerly, as well as less violent, from the careful regimen he observes, and his extreme moderation in respect of drinking, with regard to which he has for a considerable time past practised remarkable abstinence. These habits are, besides, extremely useful to him in keeping down the corpulency to which his constitution disposes him, and to reduce which he makes a practice of taking very long walks, whenever he can do so without interruption to business; his great capacity enabling him easily to accomplish all, so that there still remains a portion of time at his own disposal, which he spends in giving audience to private persons and others, who are in constant waiting upon his holiness. He applies himself to all important affairs with the most earnest attention, persisting throughout, without ever shewing signs of weariness; and when he sees them happily completed, he rejoices wonderfully over the pleasure this affords him. Nor does any thing gratify him more than to see himself esteemed, and to know that his reputation, of which he is exceedingly jealous, is respected: and whereas, from his very

sanguine and choleric disposition, he is very easily exasperated, bursting forth with great vehemence into exaggerations full of heat and bitterness; yet when he perceives that the listener is silent with his tongue, although his countenance becomes saddened, he recovers himself by an immediate effort, and with the utmost kindness endeavours to do away with all bitterness: and this is now so well known among the cardinals, that they give courteous warning thereof to their friends, as was given to myself at the first conference by the most illustrious the cardinal of Verona, who thought he was giving me a very useful rule of conduct. The thoughts of his holiness are much turned to glory; nor can it be imagined how greatly sovereigns gain in his favour when they promote his inclination. Hence the Spaniards, in particular, who are ever on the watch to preserve and increase the great influence they possess in the court of Rome, by no means neglect the opportunity; thus they have applied themselves with the utmost promptitude to set forth that expedition against the Turks which we have seen, while they endure and put up with no small hardships, to which they are exposed in their most important affairs in common with all others who reside in and transact affairs with the Roman court, more especially in matters of jurisdiction: by these means the Spaniards are continually advancing their interests, and frequently obtain no small advantages. The pontiff is generally considered to be a person of great virtue, goodness, and piety, of which he is pleased to see the effects become manifest in great and important results. And though the cardinals perceive that in the present pontificate the authority they were accustomed to enjoy in times past is greatly diminished, although they find themselves almost entirely excluded from all participation in the most important affairs, since it often happens that they do not receive the notice, formerly usual, of negotiations until after their final conclusion; yet they appear to hold the pontiff in great esteem—they praise his holiness in terms of high reverence, exalting his prudence and other virtues in most expressive phrase, and affirming that if they had now to elect a pontiff, they would choose none other than this same. But their thoughts are very secret and deep, and words and appearances are turned to suit the purposes of the speakers, more frequently perhaps in Rome than in any other place.]

The ambassador succeeded in once more appeasing the contentions, although the pope had already begun to talk of excommunication. He considers Clement to be, nevertheless, well disposed to the republic on the whole. Venice submitted to send her patriarch to Rome.

No. 72.

Instruttione all' ill^mo et ecc^mo marchese di Viglienna, ambasciatore cattolico in Roma, 1603. (*Informatt. Politt.*, N° 26.) [Instruction to the most illustrious and most excellent Marquis Viglienna, Spanish ambassador to Rome, &c.]

Viglienna was the successor of Sessa. Our author very judiciously leaves it to the departing ambassador to give information respecting the pope and his immediate dependants. He has himself supplied us with notices of the cardinals. His object is to point out the faction to which each prelate belongs. We perceive from his account that the state of things had greatly altered since 1599. There are now but ten cardinals enumerated as decidedly Spanish. In earlier times there was but little said of those inclined to France; but our ambassador counts nine of them—the remainder belong to no party.

This author also is deeply impressed with the importance of the Curia. "Qui le differenze, le pretensioni, le paci, le guerre si maneggiano. . . . . Le conditioni invitano i più vivaci e cupidi di grandezza, di maniera che non è meraviglia che qui fioriscano i più acuti ingegni." [Here it is that differences and pretensions are arranged, that peace and wars are disposed of. . . . The character of the place invites the most active spirits, and those most covetous of greatness, so that it is no wonder to find the most acute minds flourishing there.]

No. 73.

Dialogo di Mons^r Malaspina sopra lo stato spirituale e politico dell' imperio e delle provincie infette d'heresie. (*Vallic. N°* 17. 142 *leaves.*) [Dialogue of Monsignore Malaspina on the spiritual and political state of the empire, and of the provinces infested by heresy.]

A dialogue between Monsignore Malaspina, the archbishop of Prague, and the bishops of Lyons and Cordova,—churchmen, that is to say, of the four principal nations,—about the year 1600. The occupation of Ferrara is discussed in it.

The special purpose of this paper is to compare what earlier popes had done for the progress of Catholicism with what had been effected by Clement VIII.

Under the earlier popes:—"1. La reduttione delle Indie; 2. La celebratione del concilio; 3. La lega santa e la vittoria navale; 4. L'erettione de' collegii; 5. L'offerta dagli heretici del primato di Pietro al patriarcha Constantinopolitano . . . (??); 6. La constantia del re cattolico in non concedere agli heretici nei paesi bassi cose in pregiudicio della religione." [1. The reduction of the Indies; 2. The celebration of the council; 3. The holy league, and the naval victory; 4. The erection of colleges; 5. The offer from the heretics of the primacy of Peter to the patriarch of Constantinople (?); 6. The firmness of the Catholic king in refusing to make concessions to the heretics of the Low Countries in matters prejudicial to religion.]

By pope Clement VIII.:—"1. Il governo pastorale et universale; 2. Il governo particolare dei dominii del stato ecclesiastico; 3. La vita di S. Beatitudine; 4. Il Turca hora per opera di S. Beatitudine fatto apparire di potersi vincere; 5. Ferrara occupata; 6. L'essersi fatto cattolico il christianissimo re di Francia." [1. The pastoral and universal government; 2. The particular government of the dominions of the ecclesiastical states; 3. The life of his holiness; 4. The possibility of vanquishing the Turk now made manifest by means of his holiness; 5. Ferrara occupied; 6. The most Christian king of France made Catholic.]

Malaspina concludes that this last was of more importance

than all that the others had effected. Very naturally. The work is dedicated to the papal nephews.

I have not been able to discover more than one single passage worthy of notice in all this long paper.

The author was present at the electoral diet of Ratisbon, in the year 1575. He there conversed with the elector Augustus of Saxony. This prince was still far from exciting hopes among the Catholics of his conversion to their faith. He declared, on the contrary, that he made but small account of the pope, either as pope or as sovereign of Rome, and thought just as little of his treasurer, for that the papal treasure chamber was rather a cistern than a living spring. The only thing he considered worthy of attention was the fact that a monk like Pius V. could unite so many powerful princes for a Turkish war: he might effect as much against the Protestants. In fact, Gregory XIII. did propose such an attempt. Since he perceived that France declined taking any part in the Turkish war from fear of the Huguenots, he considered that a general confederacy of Catholic princes, directed equally against Turks and Protestants, was a thing needful. Negotiations were immediately opened in Styria for that purpose, both with the emperor and the archduke Charles.

No. 74.

Relatione delle chiese di Sassonia. Felicibus auspiciis ill^mi comitis Frid. Borromei. 1603. (*Bibl. Ambros. H.* 179.)
[Report concerning the churches of Saxony, under the fortunate auspices of the most illustrious Count Frederick Borromeo. (Ambrosian Library, H. 179.)]

This is another of the various projects of Catholicism, with a view to recovering possession of Germany.

The author has persuaded himself that people in Germany have gradually become wearied of Protestantism. The fathers are already but little concerned for the bringing up of their children in their own religion. "Li lasciano in abandono, perche Dio gl'inspiri, come essi dicono, a quel che sia per salute dell' anime loro." [They leave them to themselves, to the end, as they say, that God may inspire them with that which shall be for the welfare of their souls.]

In this conviction he forms designs on two leading Protestant countries, Saxony and the Palatinate.

In Saxony the administrator had already annihilated Calvinism. He must be won over by the hope of recovering the electorate. "Mettergli inanzi speranza di poter per la via della conversione farsi assoluto patrone dell' elettorato." [Set before him the hope of becoming absolute master of the Electorate by means of his conversion.] The nobles of the country would also gladly see the probability of again acquiring the bishoprics.

With respect to the Palatinate, he expresses himself as follows:—"Il Casimiro aveva una sorella vedova, che fu moglie d'un landgravio d'Hassia, la quale suol vivere in Braubach, terra sopra il Rheno, e si dimostra piena di molte virtù morali e di qualche lume del cielo: suol esercitare l'opere di charità per molto zelo, facendo molte elemosine e consolando gl'infermi di quei contorni con provederli di medicine: conversa volentieri con alcuni padri del Giesù e con l'arcivescovo di Treveri. . . . . E opinione di molti che mediante una più diligenza o di qualche padre del Giesù amato da lei o di qualche principe cattolico o vescovo saria facil cosa di ridurla totalmente alla vera fede: . . . . di che se Dio benedetto desse la gratia e che la cosa passasse con conveniente segretezza, sarebbe ella ottimo instrumento per convertire poi il nipote con la sorella di lui et un altra figlia che resta del Casimiro." [Casimir had a sister, a widow, who had been wife to a landgrave of Hesse, and was living at Braubach, a domain on the Rhine. She appears to possess many moral virtues, and some degree of religious light: she is wont to practise many works of charity with much zeal, bestowing many alms, and consoling the sick of those districts, whom she provides with medicine. She converses willingly with certain fathers of the Jesuit order, and with the archbishop of Treves. . . . . It is the opinion of many that with greater diligence, and by means of some Jesuit father in her favour, or of some Catholic prince or bishop, it would be an easy thing to bring her entirely over to the true faith; . . . . for which, if the blessed God would grant his grace, and the thing were done with befitting secrecy, she would be an excellent instrument for afterwards converting her nephew with his sister and another daughter left by Casimir.]

The author is here alluding to Anna Elizabeth of the Palatinate, wife of Philip II. of Hesse Rheinfels, who died in the year 1583. She had previously been suspected of Calvinism, and had even been wounded in a tumult on that account. We see that at a later period, while residing on her jointure estate of Braubach, which she was embellishing, she was suspected of a tendency to the opposite creed of Catholicism.

This was the combination of circumstances on which our author builds. He thinks that if the young count palatine were then to be married to a Bavarian princess, the whole territory would become Catholic. And what an advantage would it be to gain over an electorate!

No. 75.

Instruttione a V. S^ria Mons^r Barberino, arcivescovo di Nazaret, destinato nuntio ordinario di N. Sig^re al re christianissimo in Francia, 1603. [Instruction to Monsignore Barberino, archbishop of Nazareth, on being sent papal nuncio to the most Christian king, &c.] (MS. Rome.)

Prepared by Cardinal P. Aldobrandino, who makes frequent mention of his own former embassy to the French court. Its object is the furtherance of Catholicism in France, where it had already received a powerful impulse from the conversion of Henry IV.

Let us listen to some of the charges given to the nuncio (who was afterwards Pope Urban VIII.). "Ella farà si con il re ch'egli mostri non solamente di desiderare che gli eretici si convertino, ma che dopo che si sono convertiti, gli ajuti e favorisca. . . . . Il pensare a bilanciare le cose in maniera che si tenghi amiche ambidue le parti è una propositione vana, falsa et erronea, e non potrà esser suggerita a S. M^ta che da politici e mal intentionati e da chi non ama la suprema autorità del re nel regno. . . . . N. Sig^re non vuol lasciar di porli (to the king) in considerationc una strada facile (for ridding himself of the Protestants) e senza che possa partorir tumulto e che si eseguisca facilmente e fa il suo effetto senza coltivatione, et è quella che altre volte ha S. S^ta ricordato alla M^ta S. et addotto l'esempio di Polonia, cioè di non dar gradi ad eretici: . . . . ricorda a S. M^ta di dar qualche sbarbatezza alle

volte a costoro (to the Huguenots), perche è turba ribelle et insolente. . . . . V. S^ria^ dovrà dire liberamente al re che deve fuggire gli economati et il dar vescovati e badie a soldati et a donne." [Your excellency will proceed in such a manner with the king, that he shall not only give evidence of his desire for the conversion of heretics, but shall aid and favour them after their conversion. The idea of balancing matters so that both the parties shall be maintained in amity, is a van, false, and erroneous proposition; it can be suggested only by politicians, evil-minded persons, and such as love not the supreme authority of the king in the kingdom. . . . . Our lord the pope would have you place before him (the king) for his consideration a most easy method (for getting rid of the Protestants), one that will cause no commotion, can be very easily executed, and produces its effect without constant labour. It is that which his holiness has on other occasions suggested to his majesty, adducing the example of the king of Poland; namely, that he should confer no appointment or promotion on heretics. . . . . Your excellency will also remind his majesty that he should occasionally give a shrewd rap to those fellows (the Huguenots), for they are an insolent and rebellious crew. . . . . Your excellency must plainly tell the king that he ought to discontinue the "economati" (custody of vacant sees), and avoid the practice of giving bishoprics and abbacies to soldiers and women.]

The right of the "regale," which afterwards occasioned so many disputes, had its origin in these "economati:"—"Il re nomina l'economo, il quale in virtù d'un arresto, inanzi sia fatta la speditione apostolica, amministra lo spirituale e temporale, conferisce beneficii, constituisce vicarii che giudicano, assolvono, dispensano." [The king nominates the economo, who, by virtue of a decree, and before the apostolic decision has been made, administers both spiritual and temporal affairs, confers benefices, and constitutes vicars, who judge, absolve, and dispense.]

The nuncio was also to labour for the confirmation of the king himself in the Catholic faith, for it was not possible that he could have received sufficient instruction during the war. He was enjoined to urge the appointment of good bishops and to promote the reform of the clergy; if possible, he was also to see that the decrees of the Council of Trent were

published: the king had promised the cardinal on his departure, that this should be done within two months, yet several years had now passed, and it was still delayed. He was further to advise the destruction of Geneva: "Di tor via il nido che hanno gli eretici in Ginevra, come quella che è asilo di quanti apostati fuggono d'Italia." [To do away with the nest that the heretics have in Geneva, as that which offers an asylum to all the apostates that fly from Italy.]

But it is Italy that the pope has most at heart. He declares it to be intolerable that a Huguenot commander should be sent to Castel Delfino, on the southern side of the Alps. His example would be deadly.

Clement was very earnestly occupied with the idea of a Turkish war. Each of the sovereigns ought to attack the Turks from a different point. The king of Spain was already prepared, and only required an assurance that the king of France would not raise a war against him meanwhile in other quarters.

No. 76.

Pauli V. pontificis maxima vita compendiose scripta. (*Bibl. Barb.*) [Epitome of the life of Pope Paul V. (Barberini Library,)]

A panegyric of no great value.

The judicial administration of this pontiff and that of his government generally, as well as his architectural undertakings, are all extolled at length.

"Tacitus plerumque et in se receptus; ubique locorum et temporum vel in mensam editabatur, scribebat, plurima transigebat

"Nullus dabatur facinorosis receptui locus. Ex aulis primariis Romæ, ex ædium nobilissimarum non dicam atriis sed penetralibus nocentes ad supplicium armato satellitio educebantur.

"Cum principatus initio rerum singularum, præcipue pecuniarum difficultate premeretur, cum jugiter annis XVI. tantum auri tot largitionibus, substructionibus, ex integro ædificationibus, præsidiis exterorumque subsidiis insumpserit, rem frumentariam tanta impensa expediverit, ... nihil de arcis Æliæ thesauro ad publicum tutamen congesto detraxerit, subjectas

provincias sublevaverit: tot immensis tamen operibus non modo æs alienum denuo non contraxit, sed vetus imminuit, non modo ad inopiam non est redactus, sed præter publicum undequaque locupletatum privato ærario novies centena millia nummum aureorum congessit."

[He was for the most part silent and abstracted, in all times and places; even at table he meditated, wrote, and transacted many affairs.

[To evil-doers no retreat was afforded. From the principal palaces of Rome culprits were dragged to punishment by an armed force. I do not say from the open halls only, but even from the innermost apartments of the noblest dwellings.

[In the beginning of his pontificate he was oppressed by many difficulties, and most of all by want of money. During sixteen years he was continually expending much gold in gifts, the reconstruction of buildings, or the raising of others entirely new; in fortresses also, and subsidies to foreign powers; being moreover at much cost for supplies of corn. He took nothing from the treasure of the Castle St. Angelo, amassed there for the public safety, and relieved the burthens of the subject provinces. For so many vast works he contracted no new debt, but rather diminished the old; nor was he by any means reduced to want,—nay, he enriched the public treasury from many sources, and even accumulated 900,000 pieces of gold in his private treasury.]

This panegyrist does not appear to have considered the creation of so many new "luoghi di monte" as a loan.

No. 77.

Relatione dello stato infelice della Germania, cum propositione delli rimedii opportuni, mandata dal nuntio Ferrero, vescovo di Vercelli, alla S^ta di N. S^re Papa Paolo V. (*Bibl. Barb.*) [Report on the unhappy state of Germany, with a proposal of the fitting remedies, presented by the nuncio Ferrero, bishop of Vercelli, to his holiness our lord the Pope Paul V. (Barberini Library.)]

This is probably one of the first circumstantial reports that came into the hands of Paul V. The nuncio alludes to the insurrection of the imperial troops against their general, Basta, in May, 1605, as an event that had just occurred.

The unfortunate course taken by the war under these circumstances, the progress of the Turks, and that of the rebels who were in open strife with the emperor, were without doubt his chief reasons for calling Germany unhappy.

For, on the other hand, he did not fail to perceive the many conquests which the Catholic church was making in Germany.

"Di questi frutti ne sono stati prossima causa gli alunni così di Roma come delle varie città e luoghi della Germania dove la pietà di Gregorio XIII. alle spese della camera apostolica gl'instituì, giunti li collegii e scuole delli padri Giesuiti, alli quali vanno misti cattolici et heretici; perche li alunni sudetti si fanno prelati o canonici." [The immediate cause of these successes have been the pupils, both of Rome and various cities or other places of Germany, where the piety of Gregory XIII. afforded them opportunity of instruction at the cost of the apostolic treasury, together with the colleges and schools of the Jesuit fathers, wherein heretics are received mingled with the Catholics; because the aforesaid students become prelates or canons.]

He declares repeatedly that the Jesuit schools had won over large masses of young men to Catholicism; but he complains of an extraordinary dearth of Catholic parish priests, more particularly in Bohemia.

He enters also into the political state of the country. He considers the danger from the Turks to be rendered very menacing and serious by the feeble and ill-prepared condition of the emperors, and the internal dissensions of the house of Austria. The archdukes Matthias and Maximilian have reconciled their disputes, that they might the better oppose the emperor.

"Hora l'arciduca Mattia e Massimiliano si sono uniti in amore, vedendo che con la loro disunione facevano il gioco che l'imperatore desidera, essendosi risoluto il secondo a cedere al primo come a quello che per ragione di primogenitura toccava il regno d'Ungaria, Boemia e stati d'Austria, et Alberto ha promesso di star a quello che se ne farà, e di comun concerto sollecitano l'imperatore con lettere a prendere risolutione al stabilimento della casa: ma egli è caduto in tanta malinconia, o sia per questa lor unione, e gelosia che non siano per valersi di queste sedizioni, o per altro, che non provede alla casa nè agli stati nè a se stesso." ['The archdukes Matthias and Maximilian are now united in friendship, perceiving that

by their divisions they were playing the game desired by the emperor. Thus the second archduke has resolved to yield to the first, as to him in whom, by the claims of primogeniture, is vested the right to the kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, and the states of Austria. Albert also has promised to acquiesce in whatever shall be done, and by common consent they have required the emperor by letters to adopt some resolution for the stability of the house; but he has fallen into so melancholy a state, whether because of their union, and vexation at not being able to avail himself of those seditions, or for some other cause, that he provides neither for the imperial house, for his states, nor for himself.]

Many other remarkable circumstances are also brought to light,—the fact, for example, that views were entertained by the house of Brandenburg upon Silesia even at that time. "Il Brandeburgh non dispera con gli stati che ha in Slesia e le sue proprie forze in tempo di revolutione tirar a se quella provincia." [Brandenburg does not despair, with the states that he has in Silesia, and with his own forces, of succeeding, at some period of revolution, in appropriating that province to himself.]

No. 78.

Relatione dell' ill^mo S^r Franc. Molino cav^r e pro^r ritornato da Roma con l'ill^mi sig^ri Giovanni Mocenigo cav., Piero Duodo cav^r e Francesco Contarini cav^r, mandati a Roma a congratularsi con Papa Paolo V. della sua assontione al ponteficato: letta in senato 25 *Genn.* 1605(1606). [Report of Francesco Molino on his return from Rome with the most illustrious signors Pietro Duodo and Francesco Contarini, whither they had been conjointly sent to congratulate Pope Paul V. on his accession to the pontificate: read in the senate Jan. 1605 (1606).]

The outbreak of troubles was already foreseen; the ambassadors observed Pope Paul V. as minutely as possible.

"Sicome pronuntiato Leone XI. penarono doi hore a vestirlo pontificalmente, così il presente pontefice fu quasi creduto prima vestito ch'eletto et pur da altri cardinali: che non fu così presto dichiarato che in momento dimostrò continenza et gravità pontificia tanta nell' aspetto, nel moto, nelle parole et

nelli fatti, che restarono tutti pieni di stupore et meraviglia et molti forse pentiti, ma tardi et senza giovamento: perche diversissimo dalli altri precessori, che in quel calore hanno tutti assentito alle richieste così de' cardinali come d'altri et fatte infinite gratie, così il presente stette continentissimo et sul serio, tanto che si dichiarì risoluto a non voler assentire et promettere pur minima cosa, dicendo ch'era conveniente aver prima sopra le richieste et gratie che le erano dimandate ogni debita et matura consideratione: onde pochissimi furono quelli che dopo qualche giorno restassero in qualche parte gratiati. Nè tuttavia si va punto allargando, anzi per la sua sempre maggior riservatezza dubitando la corte di veder anco sempre poche gratie et maggior strettezza in tutte le cose, se ne sta molto mesta. Fra li cardinali non v'è alcuno che si possi gloriar di aver avuto tanto d'intrensichezza o familiarità seco che di certo si possi promettere di ottener prontamente alcuna cosa da lui, e tutti procedono con tanto rispetto che si smarriscono quando sono per andarli a parlar et negotiar seco: perche oltre che lo trovano star sempre sul serio et dar le risposte con poche parole, si vedono incontrar in risolutioni fondate quasi sempre sopra il rigor dei termini legali: perche non admettendo consuetudini, ch'egli chiama abusi, nè esempj de consenso de' pontefici passati, ai quali non solamente dice che non saperia accomodar la sua conscientia, ma che possono aver fatto male et potriano render conto a Dio o che saranno stati ingannati, o che la cosa sarà stata diversa da quella che a lui viene portata, li lascia per il più malcontenti. Non ha caro che si parli seco lungo per via di contesa o di disputatione, et se ascolta pur una o doi repliche, quelle stimando di aver risoluto con le decisioni de' leggi o dei canoni o de' concilj che lor porta per risposta, si torce se passano inanzi, overo egli entra in altro, volendo che sappino che per le fatiche fatte da lui il spatio di trenta cinque anni continuo nel studio delle leggi et praticatele con perpetui esercitii nelli officii di corte in Roma et fuori, possi ragionevolmente pretendere, se bene questo non dice tanto espressamente, di aver così esatta cognitione di questa professione che non metti il piede a fallo nelle risolutioni che da et nelle determinationi che fa, dicendo bene che nelle cose dubbie deve l'arbitrio et interpretatione particolarmente nelle materie ecclesiastiche esser di lui solo come pontefice. Et per queste li cardinali, che per l'ordinario da

certo tempo in qua non contradicono, come solevano, anzi quasi non consigliano, et se sono ricercati et comandati di parlar liberamente, lo fanno conforme a quell' intentione che vedono esser nelli pontefici, se ben non la sentono, col presente se ne astengono più di quello che habbino fatto con alcun dei suoi precessori; et averanno ogni dì tanto maggior occasione di star in silentio, quanto che manco' delli altri ricerca il parere di loro o di alcuno a parte, come soleva pur far papa Clemente et altri: fa fra se stesso solo le risolutioni et quelle de improviso pubblica nel concistoro; in cui hora si duole dei tempi presenti, hora si querela de' principi con parole pungenti, come fece ultimamente in tempo nostro per la deditione di Strigonia, condolendosi et attribuendo la colpa all' imperatore et ad altri principi con parole aculeate et pungenti; hora rappresentando a' cardinali li loro obblighi, li sfodra protesti senza alcun precedente ordine o comandamento, con che li mette in grandissima confusione, come fece significandoli l'obbligo della residenza et, come ho detto, non per via di comando, come facevano li altri pontefici, li quali prefigevano loro ancor stretto tempo di andar alle lor chiese, ma con solamente dirli che non escusarebbe li absenti da esse da peccato mortale et da ricevere i frutti, fondando la sudetta conclusione sopra li canoni et sopra il concilio di Trento: col qual termine solo così stretto et inaspettatamente con molta flamma pronunciato mette tanta confusione nelli cardinali vescovi che conoscendo loro non potersi fermare in Roma più lungamente senza scrupolo et rimorso grandissimo della conscientia, senza dar scandalo et senza incorrer in particolar concetto presso il papa di poco curanti li avvertimenti della S^tà Sua, di poco timorati di Dio et di poco honore ancor presso in mondo, hanno preso risolutione chi di andar alla residenza, et già se ne sono partiti alquanti, chi di rinunciare, et chi di aver dispensa fin che passi la furia dell' inverno per andarvi alla primavera: nè ha admesso per difesa che salvino le legationi delle provincie o delle città del stato ecclesiastico: solo doi poteano essere eccettuati, il card^l Tarasio arcivescovo di Siena vecchissimo et sordo, che non sarà perciò salvato da restar astretto alla renoncia, et il sig^r card^l di Verona, medesimamente per l'età grandissima et per aver già molti anni mons^r suo nipote ch'esercita la coadjutoria et ottimamente supplice per il zio." [When Leo XI. was declared pope, they delayed the ponti-

fical investment for two hours; but this pope was believed to be clothed pontifically almost before he was elected, and while yet but equal to the other cardinals; for he had scarcely been declared before he began to manifest the pontifical reserve and gravity so conspicuously, whether in looks, movements, words, or deeds, that all were filled with amazement and wonder, many perhaps repenting, but too late, and to no purpose. For this pontiff, wholly different from his predecessors, who, in the hurry and warmth of those first moments, all consented to the requests as well of the cardinals as others, and granted a vast number of favours. This pope, I say, remained from the first most reserved and serious—nay, declared himself resolved not to grant or promise the most trifling request, affirming that it was needful and proper that he should take due consideration with regard to every request presented to him. Thus there were but very few who received any favours, and those after the lapse of some days. Nor does he at all enlarge his liberality; on the contrary, his reserve seems always increasing, so that the court is apprehensive of a continued scarcity of favours, and closer restriction on all points, whereat all are very sorrowful. Among the cardinals there is not one that can boast of having had so much familiarity or intimacy with him as to make sure of readily obtaining any thing at his hands: and they all hold him in so much dread, that when they have to wait upon him for the negotiation of affairs, they are quite bewildered and disconcerted; for not only do they always find him standing on his dignity, and giving his replies in few words, but he further encounters them with resolutions almost always founded on the most rigid letter of the law. He will make no allowance for customs, which he calls abuses, nor for the practice of preceding pontiffs, to which not only he declares himself incapable of reconciling his conscience, but he further says, those popes may have done wrong, and have now perhaps to render an account to God, or else they may have been deceived, or that the cases have been different from those then before him: thus he dismisses the cardinals, for the most part, very ill satisfied. He is not pleased that any should speak long in dissent or argument, and if he does listen to one or two replies, when he has met them by decisions of law, by the canons, or by decrees of councils, which he cites in refutation of their opinions, he turns away if they proceed

further, or commences some other subject; for he would have them to know, that after his labours for thirty-five years in the study of the laws, and in their continual practice, while exercising various offices in the Roman court and elsewhere, he may reasonably pretend (though he does not say this in express words) to so exact an acquaintance with the subject, as never to take any false step, whether in the decisions that he propounds or the determinations that he makes. He alleges also, that in matters of doubt, the judgment and interpretation, more particularly in ecclesiastical matters, belong to him as supreme pontiff. Things being thus, the cardinals, who for some time past have not been wont to contradict, as they formerly did, or even to offer counsels but when they are requested and commanded to speak freely, take care to do so in conformity with the opinion they perceive to be entertained by the ruling pontiff, even though they do not think with him, restraining themselves with this pope much more than even with his predecessors; and they will every day have more and more cause to keep silence, for their opinion is now asked less than by any others: Paul neither desires to hear it from the body collectedly, nor from any one of them apart, as Pope Clement and other pontiffs used to do. He makes all resolutions for himself, and announces them at once in the Consistory, where he will now complain of the evil of the times, and now inveigh against different princes with bitter words, as he did but lately while we were there, in reference to the surrender of Strigonia, complaining of it, and laying the blame on the emperor and other sovereigns, with very pointed and biting expressions; or anon reminding the cardinals of their duties and obligations, will suddenly deal out protests against them, without precedent, order, or rule, by which he throws them into the utmost confusion, as he did, for example, when he signified to them the necessity for their residence, and, as I have said, not by way of command, as was usual with other pontiffs, who assigned the prelates a specific time, though a short one, to repair to their churches, but solely by declaring that he would not absolve the absentees from mortal sin while they received the revenues, which determination he founded on the canons and the council of Trent. By this form of words, and a decision so unexpected, pronounced with so much heat, he caused such dismay among the cardinal-

bishops, that, knowing they could stay no longer in Rome, without heavy scruples and great remorse of conscience—without causing scandal, and above all, incurring the particular opinion of the pope that they cared little for the warnings of his holiness, had little fear of God, and small regard for their own honour in the eyes of the world, they have taken the resolution either to depart to their sees, and some have even already set off, or otherwise to resign them, though some few, indeed, have requested a dispensation to remain until the rigour of the winter has passed, and then to go in the spring. Nor has he admitted their holding legations in the provinces or cities of the Ecclesiastical States as an excuse or means of defence. There are only two who are to be excepted from the necessity of residence: first, Cardinal Tarasio, archbishop of Sienna, who is very old, and quite deaf, and even he will not be excused from renouncing his revenues; and the cardinal of Verona, who is also exempted on account of his very great age, as well as because he has for many years had his nephew in the office of coadjutor; and this last has supplied the place of his uncle extremely well.]

But in despite of this severity on the part of Paul V., the ambassadors made very good progress with him upon the whole. He dismissed them in the most friendly manner,—the most gracious pontiff could not have expressed himself more favourably; they were therefore astonished that affairs should so soon afterwards have taken a turn so entirely different, and at the same time so formidable.

No. 79.

Instruttione a mons^re^ il vescovo di Rimini (C^l^ Gessi) destinato nuntio alla republica di Venetia dalla Santità di N. S. P. Paolo V. 1607. 4 *Giugno.* (*Bibl. Alb.*)
[Instructions to the bishop of Rimini, nuncio from Pope Paul V. to the Republic of Venice. 4th June, 1607. (Albany Library.)]

Prepared immediately after the termination of the disputes, but still not in a very pacific temper.

The pope complains that the Venetians had sought to conceal the act of absolution. In a declaration to their clergy

there appeared an intimation that the pope had revoked the censures, because he acknowledged the purity of their intentions ("che S. Beat^ne per haver conosciuta la sincerità degli animi e delle operationi loro havesse levate le censure"). Paul V. nevertheless goes so far as to entertain a hope that the "Consultores"—even Fra Paolo—would be given up to the Inquisition. This passage is very remarkable. "Delle persone di Fra Paolo Servita e Gio. Marsilio e degli altri seduttori che passano sotto nome di theologi s'è discorso con V^ra Sig^ria in voce: la quale doveria non aver difficoltà in ottener che fossero consignati al sant' officio, non che abbandonati dalla republica e privati dello stipendio che s'è loro constituito con tanto scandalo." [With respect to the persons of Fra Paolo, a Servite, and Giovanni Marsilio, with others of those seducers who pass under the name of theologians, your excellency has received oral communication, and you ought not to have any difficulty in obtaining that these men should be consigned to the holy Inquisition, to say nothing of being at once abandoned by the republic, and deprived of that stipend which has been conferred on them to the great scandal of all.] It was impossible that such suggestions should fail to exasperate the enmity of Fra Paolo, and to make it implacable. The pope knew not the character of the enemy he was thus making for the papacy. His *Monsignori* and *Illustrissimi* are all forgotten, while the spirit of Fra Paolo still lives, at least, in one part of the opposition existing within the limits of the Catholic church, even to the present day.

The resistance which the pope had encountered in Venice made the most profound impression on his mind. "Vuole N. Sig^re che l'autorità e giurisdittione ecclesiastica sia difesa virilmente da V. S^ria, la quale averte non dimeno di non abbracciar causa che possa venire in contesa dove non abbia ragione, *perche forse è minor male il non contendere che il perdere.*" [His holiness desires that the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction should be manfully defended by your excellency; but your excellency will be also very cautious to adopt no cause for which you have not very good reason, *since there is perhaps less evil in leaving a point undisputed, than in losing one contended for.*]

No. 80.

Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona l'anno del S^r^ 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' ecc^mo^ e rev^mo^ Mons^r^ Antonio Gaetano, arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M^ta^ Cesarea, fu residente il padre Filippo Milensio, maestro Agostino, vic^rio^ generale sopra le provincie aquilonarie. All' ecc^mo^ e rev^mo^ sig^re^ e principe il sig^r^ card^l^ Francesco Barberini. [Report of the imperial diet held at Ratisbon in the year of our Lord 1608, whereat Father Filippo Milensio, general of the Augustines, and vicar of the northern provinces, was resident in the place of Gaetano, archbishop of Capua, and apostolic nuncio; who was detained at Prague by his imperial majesty. Presented to the prince-cardinal Francesco Barberini.]

When the emperor Rudolf summoned a diet in 1667, Antonio Gaetano was nuncio at his court.

Gaetano was instructed to effect the more complete introduction of the Tridentine decrees, and the acceptance of the Gregorian calendar, to which the three secular electors were already disposed,—Saxony most decidedly so. He had already instructed his ambassador to that effect, and charged him to attend more particularly to the Catholic interests in the Kammergericht. The interruption experienced by the affairs of that court is accounted for in the Instruction, as follows:—

"Di questo tribunal essendo presidente supremo l'intruso Magdeburgese heretico, e volendo egli esercitare il suo officio, non fu ammesso, e da quel tempo in qua non essendo state reviste le cause et essendo moltiplicati gli aggravii fatti particolarmente alli catolici, protestando li heretici di volere avere luogo nella detta camera indifferentemente, come hanno li catolici, hanno atteso continuamente ad usurpare i beni ecclesiastici." [The Magdeburg heretic intruder, being supreme president of this tribunal, and desiring to exercise the duties of his office, was not admitted; thus from that time no causes have been heard, and the suits have accumulated, more especially the offences offered to the Catholics, the heretics insisting that they ought to have equal place in that tribunal with the Catholics, and continually labouring to usurp the ecclesiastical possessions.]

It was easily to be foreseen that very animated discussions must arise in the diet with relation to this matter, yet the nuncio himself could not be present. The emperor sent the archduke Ferdinand thither as his representative, and would have considered it as an affront had the nuncio left him.

Gaetano sent the vicar of the Augustines, Fra Milensio, in his place. As the latter had passed some years in Germany, he could not fail to be in some degree acquainted with the position of things. But in addition to this, he was referred by the nuncio to Matthew Welser,—"per esatta cognitione delle cose dell' imperio," [for minute information respecting affairs of the empire,]—and to that bishop of Ratisbon, a letter from whom was at that time producing so great an excitement among the Protestants. He was also to attach himself to the counsels of Father Willer, the emperor's confessor.

It was not, unfortunately, till many years afterwards that this Augustine drew up the report of his exertions in the diet. The account he gives of his own proceedings is nevertheless highly remarkable; and we have already inserted it in the body of our work.

He attributes the whole of the disorders that had at that time broken out in the empire to the disputed succession: "Essendo fama che Ridolfo volesse adottarsi per figliuolo Leopoldo arciduca, minor fratello di Ferdinando, e che poi a Ferdinando stesso inchinasse." [The report prevailing that Rudolf intended to adopt the archduke Leopold, younger brother of Ferdinand, and that afterwards he had inclined to Ferdinand himself.] Matthias was exceedingly displeased at this. But he found in Klesel and in Prince Lichtenstein, who had so much power in Moravia, very faithful and influential adherents.

According to this report of the Augustinian's, Dietrichstein and Gaetano had an important share in the conclusion of the agreement between the brothers

No. 81.

Relatione di Roma dell' illustrissimo S^r Giovan Mocenigo Kav^r Amb^r a quella corte l'anno 1612. *Inff. Politt. tom.* XV. [Report from Rome by the most illustrious Giovanni Mocenigo, ambassador to that court in the year 1612. Inff. Polit. vol. xv.]

The first ambassador after the settlement of the dissensions was Francesco Contarini, 1607—1609. Mocenigo speaks highly of the advantage he had derived from Contarini's prudent management. He himself, who had already been employed in embassies during eighteen years, remained in Rome from 1609 to 1611. The quiet tone of his report suffices to shew that he also succeeded in maintaining a good understanding.

In the report before us, Mocenigo did not propose to repeat generalities or matters well known, but rather to exhibit the personal qualities of the pope and his disposition towards the Venetian republic. "La qualità, volontà, dispositione del papa e della republica verso questa republica. Tratterò il tutto con ogni brevità, tralasciando le cose più tosto curiose che necessarie." [The qualities, purposes, and dispositions of the pope and of the republic towards this republic. I will treat all with the utmost brevity, omitting such things as are rather curious than necessary.]

1. Pope Paul V.—"Maestoso, grande, di poche parole: nientedimeno corre voce che in Roma non sia alcuno che lo possa agguagliare nelli termini di creanza e buoni officii: veridico, innocente, di costumi esemplari." [Majestic, tall, and of few words: yet it is currently reported in Rome that there is no one can equal him in terms of politeness and good offices: he is truthful, guileless, and of most exemplary habits.]

2. Cardinal Borghese.—"Di bella presenza, cortese, benigno, porta gran riverenza al papa: rende ciascuno sodisfatto almeno di buone parole: è stimatissimo e rispettato da ogn' uno." [Of a fine presence, courteous, and benevolent, he entertains great reverence for the pope, and renders all who approach him content, at least by good words. He is esteemed and respected by every one.] In the year 1611 he had already secured an income of 150,000 scudi.

3. Spiritual power.—He remarks that former popes had sought to acquire honour by granting favours; but that those of his times laboured rather to retract the favours already granted ("rigorosamente studiano d'annullare et abbassare le già ottenute gratie"). Yet sovereigns earnestly endeavoured to remain on good terms with them, because it was believed that the obedience of the people was founded on religion.

4. Temporal power.—He finds that the population of the Ecclesiastical States is still very prone to war: "prontissimi alle fattioni, alli disagi, alle battaglie, all' assalto et a qualunque attione militare" [most ready, in all factions, troubles, or battles, for the assault of an enemy, and all other military proceedings]. The papal forces were, nevertheless, in utter ruin. There had formerly been 650 light cavalry kept against the bandits; but, when these were put down, they had sent this body of cavalry to the Hungarian war, without raising any other in its place.

5. Form of government, absolute.—The cardinal-nephew, the datary, and Lanfranco had some influence; otherwise the cardinals were only consulted when the pope desired to hear their opinions; and even when his holiness did consult them, they replied rather according to his wishes than their own views. "Se pure dimanda consiglio, non è alcuno che ardisca proferir altra parola che d'applauso e di laude, sicche tutto viene terminato dalla prudenza del papa." [If he ask advice, there is no one who dares utter a word except in applause and commendation, so that every thing is determined by the prudence of the pope.] And this was in fact the best thing to be done, because the factions of the court had turned all opinion into mere party spirit.

6. Relation to Spain and France.—The pope endeavoured to maintain a neutral position. "Quando da qualcheduno dipendente da Spagnoli è stato tenuto proposito intorno alla validità et invalidità del matrimonio della regina, si è stato mostrato risoluto a sostenere le ragioni della regina. Li poco buoni Francesi nel medesimo regno di Francia non hanno mancato d'offerirsi pronti a prender l'armi, purche havessero avuto qualche favore del papa e del re di Spagna.

"Il re di Spagna è più rispettato di qualsivoglia altro principe dalla corte Romana. Cardinali e principi sono consolatissimi, quando possono havere da lui danari et essere suoi

dependenti.—Il papa fu già stipendiato da lui, e dall' autorità di S. M., come soggetto confidente, favorito all' assuntione del pontificato con singolare et incomparabile beneficio.—Procura di dar sodisfattione al duca di Lerma, acciò questo le serva per instrumento principalissimo di suoi pensieri presso S. Mª cattolica." [When any one dependent on the Spaniards commenced a discussion as to the validity or invalidity of the queen's marriage, he has evinced a determination to defend the motives and cause of the queen. The few good Frenchmen in the kingdom of France itself have not failed to prove that they were ready to take arms, provided they had received any favour from the pope or the king of Spain.

[The king of Spain is more respected by the court of Rome than any other sovereign. Cardinals and princes rejoice when they can have pensions from him, and be placed among his dependents. The pope was formerly pensioned by him; and as a favoured subject of his majesty, was aided in his elevation to the papacy by singular and unparalleled benefits. He takes care to satisfy the duke of Lerma, to the end that this latter may serve as the principal instrument of his purposes with his Catholic majesty.]

7. His council: "Temporeggiare e dissimulare alcune volte con li pontefici.—Vincitori essercitano le vittorie a modo loro, vinti conseguiscono che conditioni vogliono." [Temporising and frequently dissembling with the pontiffs.—When victors, they use their victory after their own fashion; when vanquished they accede to any condition imposed on them.]

No. 82.

Relatione della nunziatura de' Suizzeri. Informationi Politt. tom. ix. *fol.* 1—137. [Report from the Swiss nunciature, &c.]

Informatione mandata dal Sr C^l^ d'Aquino a Mons^r^ Feliciano Silva vescovo di Foligno per il paese di Suizzeri e Grisoni. Ibid. fol. 145—212. [Information from the cardinal of Aquino to the bishop of Foligno in relation to Switzerland and the Grisons, &c.]

In Lebret's Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten- und Kirchengeschichte, Bd. vii. p. 445, will be found extracts

from the letters sent by the Roman court to the nuncios in Switzerland in the years 1609 and 1614. They cannot be called very interesting, standing alone as they do, without replies or reports that might illustrate their meaning: they are not even intelligible.

The first of these nuncios was the bishop of Venafro, the same whose report in relation to Switzerland has been cited by Haller (Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte, Bd. v. nr. 783). "The papal nuncio," he remarks, "Lad. Gr. of Aquino, bishop of Venafro, has given proof of his discernment and ability in this work, which well deserves to be printed." Haller made a copy from it in Paris with his own hand, and this he deposited in the library of Zurich.

The report he has eulogized is that now before us; but we have it in a more complete form than that in which it was known to Haller.

When the bishop of Venafro resigned the nunciature, which he had administered from 1608 to 1612, he not only communicated to his successor, the bishop of Foligno, the instruction that he had received from Cardinal Borghese, but presented him also with a circumstantial account of the mode in which he had acted upon that instruction and had himself proceeded in his office. "Di quanto si è eseguito sono al giorno d'hoggi nelli negotii in essa raccommandatimi." This is the second of the manuscripts now before us. It begins with a description of the internal dissensions of Switzerland.

"E seguitando l'istesso ordine dell' instruttione sopradetta, dico che da molti anni in qua si è fatta gran mutatione ne' cantoni cattolici e particolarmente nella buona amicitia e concordia che anticamente passava fra di loro: perche hoggidì non solo per causa delle fattioni Spagnuole e Francesi e delle pensioni, ma ancora per altri interessi, emolumenti e gare vi è fra alcuni tanto poca amicitia che col tempo potrebbe partorire molti danni se tosto non si prende buon rimedio con procurare una dieta particolare non ad altro effetto che a rinuovare le leghe antiche, l'amicitia, fratellanza et amorevolezza, come io molte volte ho proposto con grandissimo applauso, se bene sin' hora non ho potuto vederne l'effetto. Altorfo è antico emulo di Lucerna, e tira seco gli altri due cantoni Schwitz et Undervaldo, e vede mal volontieri preminenza e primo luogho de' signori Lucernesi, e però spesse volte contradice in attioni

publiche non ad altro fine che di gara e di poca intelligenza: Lucerna tira seco Friburgo e Soloturno e ancora Zug, e fa un' altra partita. Zug è diviso fra se stesso, essendo in gravi controversie li cittadini con li contadini, volendo ancora essi essere conosciuti per patroni: e così in ogni cantone cattolico vi sono molte publiche e private dissensioni con pregiudicio delle deliberationi e con pericolo di danni assai maggiori se non vi si rimedia, come io procuro con ogni diligenza." [And following the same order as that observed in the above-named Instruction, I proceed to say, that for many years past there has been a great change going on in the Catholic cantons, more particularly in the good understanding and concord that formerly existed between them: for nowadays, not only are they divided by the Spanish and French factions, and by the pensions, but also by other interests, emoluments, and rivalries, so that there is now so little friendship among them that many grave evils may result from this state of things unless there be presently applied some special remedy. A particular diet is required for this, and should be held, to the sole end that it might renew the ancient leagues of friendship, brotherhood, and affection,—a thing which I have often proposed with great applause, although I have never yet been able to bring it to an effectual end. Altorf is the ancient rival of Lucerne, and carries with it the other two cantons of Schwytz and Unterwalden, beholding very unwillingly the pre-eminence and first place taken by the nobles of Lucerne; for which reason it frequently opposes them in public affairs for no better reason than mere rivalry and want of understanding. Lucerne leads with it Friburg, Solothurn, and even Zug, thus making another party. Zug is divided within itself, there being very serious disputes between the townspeople and the peasantry: these last, also, desiring to be known as masters. Thus in every Catholic canton there are many dissensions, both public and private, to the prejudice of the deliberations, and at the hazard of much greater evils, if there be not some remedy applied, which I am labouring to do with the utmost diligence.]

At the same time that he sends this information, the nuncio promises a still more circumstantial account. "Fra pochi giorni spero di mandarle copia d'una piena e più diffusa relatione di tutti li negotii della nuntiatura."

This is the first-named manuscript, and that known to Haller.

In this document the nuncio proceeds somewhat methodically to work. Chapter 1.—"Della grandezza della nuntiatura." He first describes the extent of the nunciature, which he declares to be as large as the kingdom of Naples, and including, moreover, inhabitants using the most varied tongues. Among these he does not forget to mention the Romance language,—"Una favella stravagantissima, composta di otto o dieci idiomi." [A most preposterous speech, made up of eight or ten dialects.]

2. "Degli ambasciatori de' principi che residono appresso Suizzeri e de' loro fini." [Of the ambassadors of princes residing among the Swiss, and of their views.]

3. "Delle diete e del modo, tempo e luogo dove si congregano fra Suizzeri." [Of the diet, and of the time and place of the Swiss convocations.]

4. "Delli passi che sono nella nuntiatura de' Suizzeri." [Of the passes that are in the Swiss nuntiature.] For the passes were precisely the principal object of contention between the various powers.

5. "Stato spirituale della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri." [Of the spiritual state of the Swiss nunciature.] The most important, and, as was requisite, the most circumstantial chapter, pp. 28—104: and in this an account is given of various dioceses, and also a report concerning the abbeys.

6. "Officio del nuntio per ajutare lo stato spirituale e de' modi più fruttuosi di farlo." [Office of the nuncio established to aid the spiritual power, and of the best and most effectual modes for doing so.]

7. "Che debbia fare il nuntio per dare sodisfattione in cose temporali nella nuntiatura." [Of what the nuncio should do to give satisfaction in regard to the temporal affairs of his nunciature.]

The care with which all the more important points were discriminated and gone through will be at once perceived. The execution proves the writer's knowledge, no less of past times than those present: it shews zeal, ability, and discernment. The report, as might be expected, repeats the greater part of what was contained in the Instruction.

Yet our nuncio did not think even this sufficient. He

adds to the report a "Compendio di quanto ha fatto Monsr di Venafro in esecutione dell' instruttione datali nel partire di Roma" [Summary of what the bishop of Venafro has done in execution of the directions given him on leaving Rome], which he had prepared on another occasion, and which must have been almost identical with the "Information." He remarks this himself, yet he appends the little document nevertheless. In the copies afterwards taken, it was, without doubt, and very properly, omitted.

Instead of this paper there follows an "Appendice de' Grisoni e de' Vallesani," no less remarkable than the preceding.

"E questo," the writer at length concludes his voluminous work, "è il breve summario promesso da me del stato della nuntiatura Suizzera con le parti che a quella soggiaciono. Deo gratias. Amen." [And this is the short summary promised by me of the state of the Swiss nunciature, and of the districts depending on it. Thanks be to God. Amen.]

But he still thought that he had given only a brief outline of such things as were best worth noting; so little is it possible to represent the world in words.

I have used the Notices here found only so far as they were subservient to my own purpose (see vol. ii. pp. 178, 182); the publication of the remainder must be left to the industry of the Swiss.*

No. 83.

Instruttione data a Monsr Diotallevi, vescovo di S. Andelo, destinato dalla Sta di Nro Sigre Papa Paolo V. nuntio al re di Polonia 1614. [Instruction to the bishop of St. Andelo, nuncio from Pope Paul V. to the king of Poland.]

A general recommendation to promote the Catholic religion, the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the appointment of tried Catholics to public employments, and never to endure any thing that can result to the advantage of the Protestants.

There are traces, nevertheless, of a certain misunderstanding.

* A translation of this report has in fact appeared since this was written. See Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterthümer in Süddeutschland, 1840, p. 280; 1841, p. 289; 1844, p. 29.

The pope had refused to nominate the bishop of Reggio cardinal, as the king had requested. The nuncio was directed to take measures for pacifying the king on that subject.

He is particularly enjoined never to promise money.

"Perche o non intendendosi o non vedendosi le strettezze pur troppo grandi della sede apostolica, sono facili i potentati particolarmente oltramontani a cercar ajuto, e se si desse ogni picciola speranza, si offenderebbero poi grandemente dell' esclusione." [For either because they do not perceive, or do not understand, the excessive embarrassments of the Apostolic See. Foreign princes, more especially those north of the Alps, are very ready to seek assistance, and if the least hope were given them, they would then consider themselves greatly offended if they should afterwards be deprived of such hope.]

Respecting the latter years of Paul V., we find but few ecclesiastical documents; we will therefore employ the space thus left by examining some others which refer to the administration of the state during that period.

No. 84.

Informatione di Bologna di 1595. *Ambrosian Library of Milan. F.D.* 181.

The position and constitution of Bologna, with the sort of independence it maintained, were so remarkable and important, that papers and documents relating to this city, though only a provincial one, were readily included in the collections.

In the 22nd volume of the "Informationi," we find a great mass of letters of the year 1580, addressed to Monsignor Cesi, legate of Bologna, and which relate to his administration.

They are almost all recommendations, chiefly intercessions.

The grand duke and grand duchess of Tuscany intercede for Count Ercole Bentivoglio, whose crops had been sequestered. After a short time the grand duchess expresses her acknowledgments for the compliance granted to her request. The duke of Ferrara recommends an actress of the name of Victoria; the Cardinal San Sisto, certain turbulent students of the university: "We too," he remarks, "have been scholars."

Giacomo Buoncompagno, son of the pope, begs favour for a professor who had been deprived of his office; the cardinal of Como, who had at that time the chief management of affairs, for certain monks who had been disturbed in their privileges, but he does not use the tone of one who may command. There are, besides, petitions of a different character. A father, whose son had been murdered, entreats most urgently—nay, imploringly—that justice shall be done upon the murderer, who was already imprisoned in Bologna.

It was principally as regarded the administration of justice that the influence of the governor was available. In all other matters, the city was exceedingly independent.

"I senatori," says our Report, "conferiscono ogni cosa importante col superiore, et havendo in mano tutti li datii et entrate della città, del datio del sale e vino in poi, che è del papa, dispensano li denari publici mediante un scrutinio, che si fa presente il superiore con le mandate sottoscritte dal detto superiore, dal gonfaloniere et assunti deputati secondo li negotii. Hanno cura delle impositioni e gravezze imposte a contadini, reali e personali, come per li buoi e teste:—attendono alle tasse che pagano li contadini: alle muraglie, porte e serragli; a conservare il numero de' soldati del contado:—provedono ch'altri non usurpi il publico e si conservi la bellezza della città:—han cura della fiera della seta:—eleggono ogni mese por la ruota civile 4 dottori forastieri, che bisogna siano almeno dottori di X. anni, e questi veggono e determinano ogni causa civile." [The senators confer with the superior on all important affairs; and having all the customs and revenues of the city in their hands, excepting the duty on salt and wine, which belongs to the pope, they dispose of the public moneys, controlled by an audit, which is made in the presence of the superior, and by a mandate, bearing his sign manual, with that of the gonfaloniere: it is signed also by the special officers appointed for each branch of revenue. They have the regulation of the taxes and imposts laid on the peasantry, whether real or personal, the tax on oxen and the capitation-tax; they have the care of the imposts paid by the rural districts, of the walls, gates, and enclosures; they see that the number of soldiers is kept up in each district, take care that no encroachments are made on the public rights, and that the beauty of the city is preserved; they regulate the proceedings of the silk-market; they elect every month for

the civil tribunal ("ruota civile") four foreign doctors, who must be doctors of at least ten years' standing, and these take cognizance of and decide all civil causes.]

The question next arising is, to what extent the representatives of the government retained its influence in this state of things. It was manifestly, as we have said, principally in judicial affairs. "Un auditore generale concorre nella cognitioni delle cause con la ruota, et un' altro particolare delle cause che avoca a se, et uno criminale chiamato auditore del torrione del luogo ove risiede, qual tiene due sottoauditori per suo servitio, e tutti quelli sono pagati dal publico." [An auditor-general is joined with the "ruota" in the hearing of causes, and there is another special auditor for such causes as the auditor-general summons before his own tribunal; moreover there is a judge of criminal cases called "auditor of the great tower" of such place as he resides in; which last official has two sub-auditors as assistants, and all these functionaries are paid by the public.]

There next follow certain statistical accounts. "Contado circa miglia 180: semina intorno a corbe 120 m., raccoglie un anno per l'altro 550 m. a 660 m. corbe. Fa da 130 m. anime (la città 70 m., che avanti le carestie passava 90 m.) 16 m. fuochi, consuma corbe 200 m. di formento (la corba 160 libre), 60 m. costolate di vino, 18 m. corbe di sale, 1700 m. libre d'olio, ammazza 8 m. vaccine, 10 m. vitelli, 13 m. porchi, 8 m. castrati, 6 m. agnelli, et abrugia 400 m. libre di candele .....Si fa conto che un anno per l'altro moreno nella città 3 m. persone e ne nascono 4 m., che si faccino 500 spose e 60—70 monachi, che siano portati a' poveri bastardini 300 putti l'anno. Ha 400 fra carrozze e cocchi. Vengono nella città ogni anno da 600 m. libre de follicelli da quali si fa la seta, e se ne mette opera per uso della città 100 m. libre l'anno." [The extent of country is about 180 miles: it sows about 120,000 bushels of corn, and gathers one year with another from 550,000 to 660,000 bushels. It has 130,000 inhabitants (the city 70,000,—before the famine it contained more than 90,000), hearths 16,000; consumption 200,000 bushels of corn (the bushel containing 160 lbs.); 60,000 measures (costolate) of wine; 18,000 bushels of salt; 17,000 lbs. of oil: there are killed 8,000 oxen, 10,000 calves, 13,000 pigs, 8,000 sheep, 6,000 lambs; and 400,000 lbs. of candles are burnt

.....It is computed that one year with another there die in the city 3,000 persons, and 4,000 are born: there are 500 marriages, and from 60 to 70 take conventual vows; there are born to the poor 300 illegitimate male children in the year. There are 400 coaches and other carriages: 600,000 lbs. of silk cocoons are annually brought to the city, of which 100,000 lbs. are yearly wrought for the use of the city.]

No. 85.

Instruttione per un legato di Bologna. (*Vallic.*)

Of a somewhat later period we remark the following counsels.

"Invigilare sopra gli avvocati cavillosi et in particolare quelli che pigliano a proteggere a torto i villani contro li cittadini e gentilhuomini, ... accarezzare in apparenza tutti li magistrati, non conculcare i nobili." [To keep special watch over the cavilling lawyers, and more particularly over such of them as take upon them wrongfully to protect the people of the rural districts against the citizens and gentlemen, ... to make a pretence of caressing all magistrates, and not to be too hard upon the nobles.] The crying evil of the outlaws had risen to such a point, that some of them were to be found even among the matriculated students.

Other papers take us into the Campagna di Roma; they shew us how the unfortunate peasant was harassed, what the barons received, and how the land was cultivated.

No. 86.

Dichiaratione di tutto quello che pagano i vassalli de baroni Romani al papa e aggravj che pagano ad essi baroni. [Declaration of all that the vassals of the Roman barons pay to the popes, and of the imposts they pay to the barons themselves.]

"1. Pagamenti diversi che si fanno da vassalli de baroni Romani al papa.—Pagano il sale, pagano un quattrino per libra di carne, pagano l'impositione per il mantenimento delle galere posta da Sisto quinto, pagano i sussidii triennali, pagano

i cavalli morti cioè per alloggiamento di cavalleria, pagano una certa impositione che si chiama de soldati, pagano una certa impositione che si chiama l'archivio, pagano un' altra impositione che si chiama S. Felice, pagano la foglietta messa da Sisto quinto, pagano una certa impositione che si chiama sale forastico.

"2. Pagamenti che fanno li medesimi vassalli a baroni.—Pagano poi al barone, ove sono molina, tanto grano, perche è somma molto grave, pagano risposta di vino, pagano risposta d'olio ove ne fa, pagano di mandare i porci nei castagneti e querceti fatta la raccolta che chiamano ruspare, pagano tasse d'hosterie, pagano tasse de pizigaroli, pagano tasse de fornari, pagano de bichierari, pagano quelli che vanno a spigolare come è secato il grano, pagano dei bestiani che vanno a pascere, pagano risposta di grano, pagano risposta di biada. Montano tutti questi aggravii, come si vuol vedere dall' entrate del duca Altemps, computata la portione del molino della molara che si trahe da vassalli, 2,803 sc.; questo si cava da vassalli del Montecapuri (?) del ducato Altemps, che sono de 180 e 190 fuochi, e ciò si mette per esempio, onde si possa vedere appresso come sono aggravati i vassalli de baroni Romani dello stato ecclesiastico. Avertasi che qui non ci è quello che si paga alla camera." [1. The different payments made by the vassals of the Roman barons to the pope.—They pay the salt-tax; they pay a quattrino on every pound of meat; they pay the tax imposed by Sixtus V. for the support of the galleys; they pay the triennial subsidies; they pay for the dead horses, that is for the quartering of cavalry; they pay a certain tax called soldiers' money; they pay an impost called the "archivio;" they pay another called the tax of St. Felix; they pay the pint-tax, imposed by Sixtus V.; and they also pay a certain impost called the "sale forastico."

[2. Payments that are made by those same vassals to the barons.—They pay further to the barons, where there are mills, so much corn, and this is a heavy sum. They pay a fixed portion of wine, and the same of oil, where it is made; they pay for sending the swine into the chestnut and oak woods after the produce is gathered in, and this they call "ruspare;" they pay a tax on taverns; they pay on chandlers' or provision shops; they pay bakers-tax, and the tax on glass-makers; those who go to glean when the grain is cut

also pay; they pay for their cattle going to pasture; they pay a fixed portion of their corn and oats. All these burthens amount, as may be seen by the revenues of Duke Altemps, to 2,803 scudi, which includes the muletures taken from the vassals at the mill when their corn is ground. This sum is drawn from the vassals of Montecapuri (?), of the duchy of Altemps, who count from 180 to 190 hearths; and this is given as an example from which a moderately accurate idea may be formed of the manner in which the vassals belonging to Roman barons of the Ecclesiastical States are burthened: and let it be observed, that herein is not included what is paid to the treasury.]

No. 87.

Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani. [Note of the revenues of many Roman nobles and dukes.]

This document, like the preceding, belongs, without doubt, to the times of Clement VIII., who is simply called the pope.

The Colonna family are distinguished by having vassals; other families possessed more allodial property. The revenues of the Contestabile Colonna are computed at 25,000 scudi, those of Martio Colonna of Zagarolo at 23,000.

We have seen how the public system of debt was imitated by the barons. The Sermoneta family, about the year 1,600, had an income of 27,000 scudi, but they had 300,000 scudi of debt. The duke of Castel Gandolfo had 14,600 scudi, revenue, with a debt of 360,000 scudi. The house of Montalto surpassed all others; its debts were to the amount of 600,000 scudi. The collective revenues of the Roman barons were estimated at 271,747 scudi, and their domains were valued at nine millions of gold.

The author considers these estates to be by no means neglected.

"Questi terreni di campagna, contrario all' opinione commune e a quel che io pensavo, sono tenuti con grandissima cura e diligenza: perche si arano quattro, sei e sette volte, si nettano d'erbe due o tre, tra le quali una d'inverno, si levano l'erbe con la mano, si seminano, ragguagliati li quattro anni, &

due a grano nei sodi luoghi: dove non si semina, vi si fidano le pecore. Le spighe si tagliano alte, onde rimane assai paglia; e quella poi si abbrugia, che fa crescere. E li aratri con che si arano questi terreni, generalmente non vanno molto profondo; e questo avviene perche la maggior parte di questi terreni non son molto fondati e tosto si trova il pancone. Questa campagna è lavorata tutta per punta di danaro (by day-labourers), segata, seminata e sarchiata; in somma, tutti li suoi bisogni si fanno con forastieri: e genti che lavorano detta campagna, sono nutriti della robba che si porta loro con le cavalle. Questa campagna, computati i terreni buoni e cattivi e ragguagliato un' anno per l'altro, si può dir che faccia ogni uno sei, avvertendo che nei luoghi di questi signori dove sono i loro castelli molto fiate non fanno far lavorare, ma li danno a risposta a' vassalli secondo che convengono. E questo basti quanto alla campagna di Roma. S'affitterà ragguagliato il rubbio di questo terreno 50 giulj, onde a farli grassa verrà il rubbio del terreno cento scudi e dieci giulj." [These lands, contrary to the common opinion and to what I myself believed, are managed with the utmost care and diligence, being ploughed four, six, or even seven times, and cleared from weeds twice or thrice,—one of these weedings being in the winter. The weeds are taken up by hand, the land is cropped in rotations of four years, grain is sown in the fallows two years out of the four: where none is sown, the cattle are put in. The ears of corn are cut high, so that much straw remains: this is afterwards burnt, which makes the ground productive. The ploughs used for these lands do not generally go very deep, because the greater part of them have no great depth of soil, and they very soon reach the subsoil. The country is all cultivated by day-labourers; reaped, sown, and weeded: all the labour it requires in short is done by strangers, and the people who work in the said Campagna are supported by the profits arising from their breed of horses. The country, good and bad lands taken together, and counting one year with another, may be said to yield six for one; but it must be observed that in many instances these nobles do not themselves cultivate the lands around their castles, but let them to their vassals for such terms as shall be agreed on; and this may suffice to say of the Campagna of Rome. The average rent of this land is of 50 giulj the rubbio: thus, to render it fertile, the land will cost 100 scudi and 10 giulj the rubbio.]

There were computed to be at that time 79,504 rubbio in the Campagna, the collective product of which was 318,016 scudi yearly, four scudi the rubbio. Of this there belonged to the barons something more than 21,000; to religious institutions nearly 23,000; above 4,000 to foreigners; and 31,000 to the rest of the Roman people. At a later period this proportion was altered, because the Roman citizens sold so much of their part.

But let us proceed to more general relations.

No. 88

Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di Mons^r Malvasia. 1606. [Method of relieving the Apostolic treasury, by Mons. Alvasia.]

In despite of the heavy imposts, it was observed with alarm that the papal government possessed nothing. "The interest," exclaims our author, "consumes nearly the whole revenue." The meeting of the current expenses is a matter of continual difficulty, and if any extraordinary demand arises, the government knows not which way to turn. The imposition of new taxes would not be possible, and new retrenchments are not even advisable. "Magnum vectigal parsimonia" [parsimony is a great burthen];—nothing remains but to reduce the rate of interest, and at the same time to take money from the castle. Instead of the numerous monti, with their varying rates of interest, there should be but one, a "monte papale" at four, or at the highest, five per cent. All the rest ought to be bought in, and the government would be fully justified in redeeming them at the nominal value of the "luogo," this right having usually been reserved to itself by the Apostolic See. Former popes, as, for example, Paul IV., had been obliged to sell at 50 per cent., Clement VIII. himself had received only 96½. The author next proceeds to shew how far this method is practicable

"Succederà che stante la larghezza ed abbondanza del denaro che al presente si trova nella piazza di Roma con l'accrescimento che farà il millione estratto, aggiunta la difficoltà e pericolo di mandar fuori la moneta e l'oro per la prohibitione sudetta, — che la maggior parte di quelli che hanno monti ed offizj estinti, volentieri entreranno in questo monte papale, ed a quelli che vorranno i lor denari cautanti, se gli potranno

pagare del detto millione e del prezzo del monte papale che si andrà vendendo. Si può anche considerare che ne' monti non vacabili ne sono gran parte vinculati ed obbligati a reinvestimento per sicurtà di eccezione di dote, di luoghi pii ed altri obblighi, che necessariamente entreranno in questo monte papale, e si tarderà assai a ricevere il dinaro, per ritrovare altro reinvestimento o dare altra sodisfattione ed adempimento alle conditioni ed obblighi a quali sono sottoposti, il che anco apporterà molto comodo e facilità a questo negotio.

"Potrà anco la camera accollarsi tutti i monti delle communità e de' particolari, e ridurli come sopra, e godere quel più sino che da esse communità particolari saranno estinti.

"A tutti quelli che in luogo di altri monti e offici vorranno del detto monte papale, si gli deve dare la spedizione e la patente per la prima volta gratis senza spesa alcuna.

"In questa maniera può la S^ta^ V. in breve tempo sollevare e liberare la sede e la camera apostolica da tanti debiti e tanta oppressione: perche con l'avanzo che si farà dalla detta estinzione e reduzione di frutti ed interesse, che secondo il calcolo dato alla S^ta^ V. dal suo commissario della camera ascende almeno con far la reduzione a 5 per cento a sc. quattro cento trentunmila ottocento cinque l'anno, potrà estinguere ogni anno scudi trecento trentunmila ottocento cinque di debito, oltre alli sc. centomila che saranno assegnati per rimettere in castello il millione estratto a compire la metà del terzo millione che manca." [It will then be seen that, taking into account the extreme abundance of money now in the market of Rome, with the addition made to it by the million drawn from the castle, and considering the difficulty and danger of sending money and gold abroad, because of the aforesaid prohibition (which he had proposed), it will be seen that the greater part of those whose monti and offices are extinguished will gladly enter this "monte papale;" and those who shall prefer to have their money in cash may be paid from the aforesaid million, and from the price of the "monte papale" which will be in course of sale. It may also be taken into the account, that of the "monti non vacabili" a great part are bound and engaged to a reinvestment for the security of reserved dowries of pious institutions, and other claims: these will necessarily be transferred to the "monte papale," and the holders will be in no haste to receive the money, for which they must have to seek another investment, as the fulfilment and satisfaction of the

conditions and obligations to which they are subjected; so that thus also this affair will be greatly promoted and facilitated.

[The camera may further take to itself all the monti of corporate bodies as well as of individuals, and reduce them as above, enjoying the overplus until they shall be extinguished by the said corporate bodies or individuals.

[All those who shall be willing to change their other monti and offices for the said "monte papale," should have their patents made out for the first time without any expense whatever.

[In this manner your holiness may, in a short time, relieve and liberate the See and the apostolic treasury from these heavy debts and burthens; for, from the gains that will result from the aforesaid extinction and reduction of privileges and interests, which, according to the calculation given to your holiness by your commissioner of the treasury, amounts, the interest being reduced to five per cent., to at least 431,805 scudi per annum, there may be annually extinguished 331,805 scudi of debt, besides the 100,000 scudi which shall be assigned for the restoration to the castle of the million drawn out of it to make up the amount of the third million deficient.]

It will suffice here to remark the earnest attention that now began to be given to the securing an orderly system of finance. It will not be necessary to produce the calculations. The Roman court did not adopt any proposal of this kind, but continued to follow the more easy and convenient methods.

No. 89.

Nota di danari, officii e mobili donati da Papa Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fatteli. [Note of the moneys, offices, and valuables bestowed by Pope Paul V. on his relations, and of the grants conferred upon them.]

The pope had been advised to call in the offices and monti bearing interest. We have here,—1. "Nota officiorum concessorum excell^mo domino M. Antonio Burghesio tempore pontificatus felicis recordationis Pauli V." [Note of the offices conferred on M. Antonio Borghese during the pontificate of Paul V. of happy memory.] There are in the whole 120 offices, the value of which is computed according to the ordinary market price. 2. "Nota di molte donationi di monti

fatte alli sig^ri Francesco Gioan Battista e M. A. Borghese do Paolo V., con le giustificationi in margine di qualsivoglia partito." Extracts are given from the official books, that is to say, in which these parts are entered. Under similar lists we find an account of the sums bestowed on them in hard cash, as well as other valuables, and also of the privileges and immunities conferred on them. The vouchers are appended in the following manner: "Nel libro della thesoreria secreta d'Alessandro Ruspoli, fol. 17, e da doi brevi, uno sotto la data delli 26 Genn. 1608, et l'altro delli 11 Marzo, registrati nel libro primo signaturarum Pauli V. negli atti di Felice de Totis, fol. 116 et fol. 131.—A dì 23 Dec. 1605 sc. 36 m. d'oro delle stampe donati a Isig^r GB Borghese per pagar il palazzo, et il restante impiegarli nella fabrica di quello, quali scudi 36 m. d'oro delle stampe provenivano del prezzo del chiamato di mons^r Centurioni, ridotti a 24 moneta a ragione di Giulii 13 per scudo, sono 46,800 sc." [In the book of the secret treasury by Alessandro Ruspoli, fol. 17, and in two shorter ones—one under date of the 26th of January, 1608, and the other of the 11th of March, registered in the first book of the signatures of Paul V., in the acts of Felix de Tolis, fols. 116 and 131.—On the 23rd of Dec. 1605, 36,000 golden scudi were given to Signor G. B. Borghese, to pay for the palace, the remainder to be employed on its buildings, which 36,000 golden scudi proceed from the price paid for his nomination by Mons^r Centurioni, and being reduced to 24 rate of exchange, at 13 giulios to the scudo, make 46,800 scudi.]

I have already shewn to what extraordinary sums these donations amounted, and what was the influence exercised by the advancement of the papal families on the capital and the provinces.

No. 90.

Relatione dello Stato Ecclesiastico dove si contengono molti particolari degni di considerationc, 1611. *Inform. Politt.* xi. *ff.* 1—27. [Report of the Ecclesiastical State, wherein are contained many particulars worthy of consideration, &c.]

We are told in the very beginning that the author was asked for this report in the morning, and that now in the evening of the same day he was sending it in.

It would be truly wonderful if he could have found means to dictate so circumstantial a report, and which is by no means ill arranged, and presents much that is remarkable, in a few hours. We here, for example, find the admission that in many parts of Italy the number of inhabitants was declining, either by pestilence and famine, the murders committed by banditti, or the overwhelming burthen of the taxes, which rendered it impossible any longer to marry at the proper age and to rear a family of children. The very life-blood of the people was wrung from them by the taxes, while their spirits were paralyzed and crushed by the endless restrictions on trade.

At one point the anonymous author betrays himself. He remarks that he had written a book, "Ragione di Stato" [Philosophy of Government]. He says somewhere, "Ho diffusamente trattato nella Ragione di Stato" [I have treated of this at large in the Philosophy of Government].

By this we obtain a clue to the writer. In the year 1589 there appeared at Venice a book thus entitled,—"Della ragion di stato libri X con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città." It is dedicated to that Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, archbishop of Salzburg, who was the first of the German princes to introduce a more rigid administration of government, modelled on that of Italy. Its author is the well-known Giovanni Botero, whose "Relationi universali" enjoyed in their day an almost universal circulation.

It is manifest that these "Relationi" must now be examined to see if they do not also include the one before us.

In what is properly to be called the main work, that wherein the Ecclesiastical State is mentioned in a summary manner, it is not to be found; but there is a smaller book which is frequently appended to the former: "Relationi del sig^r Giov. Botero Benese, ... di Spagna, dello stato della chiesa, del Piamonte, della contea di Nizza dell' isola Taprobana," of which the dedication is dated 1611. Here, then, we find our report word for word.

The introduction alone is different. The "Relation" bears the title: "Discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa presa della parte dell' ufficio del cardinale che non è stampata." [A discourse respecting the state of the church, taken from that part of the office of a cardinal which is not printed.] It belonged, as we perceive, to a work on the duties of cardinals.

I leave it to the decision of the reader, whether the most credulous would be misled by the above-named introduction.

No. 91.

Targu. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima. 17 *Ott.* 1612. (*Vallic.*) [Pitaro on foreign trade. Oct. 1612.]

Among other counsels, Botero recommends that of encouraging the trade of the states of the church. There was, in fact, at that time a plan for excavating a new harbour for the city of Fano. It was expected that the commerce of the towns of Urbino would be attracted to the new port.

But our author opposes this plan with the most convincing reasons. He thinks that the projectors might read their own fate in the example of Ancona, which he declares, as did the Venetians shortly after, to have fallen into extreme decay: "Ne sono partiti li mercanti forastieri, i nativi falliti. le genti gl'uomini impoveriti, gli artigiani ruinati e la plebe quasiche dispersa." [The foreign merchants have left the city; the native traders are bankrupt; the gentry are impoverished, the artisans ruined, and the populace almost dispersed.] To build a harbour with borrowed money was more likely to ruin Fano altogether than to promote its welfare,—as had happened to Ascoli, which had raised a considerable loan to bring its Maremma into a state of cultivation, but had by no means succeeded in doing so.

It was, in fact, not advisable, for other causes, to make this attempt, since the towns of Urbino must in every case very soon lapse to Rome.

No. 92.

Relatione della Romagna (*Alt.*) [Report on Romagna.] (Altieri Library.)

About the year 1615: 1612 is expressly mentioned, but it is of great importance for the whole period from the pontificate of Julius III. The parties that divided the province are described. The transfer of estates, as consequent more particularly on the advancement of the papal families, is very clearly explained. I have frequently used this work, but will give place here to a remark in relation to San Marino, which in those

early times gradually raised itself to freedom by progressive exemptions.

"La republica di S. Marino si presume libera, se non in quanto è raccommandata al duca d'Urbino. Del 1612 si propose e si ottenne in quel consiglio che succedendo la mancanza della linea delle Rovere si dichiaravano sotto la protettione della sede apostolica, della quale per ciò ottennero alcuni privilegii et in particolare dell' estrattione de grani e di grascia. Fa questa terra, compresovi due altri castelli annessi, circa 700 fuochi. E situata in monti, è luogo forte et è custodita la porta da soldati proprii. Hanno la libera amministratione della giustizia e della grazia. Si elegono tra di loro ad tempus i magistrati maggiori chiamati conservatori, a quali tra di loro si da il titolo dell' illustrissimo. In qualche grave eccesso sogliono condurre officiali forestieri per fare processi e cause, et in particolare li ministri dell' Altezza del duca d'Urbino, con quella autorità che loro pare. Il publico è povero, che non arriva a 500 scudi d'entrada. Ma li particolari alcuni sono comodi et alcuni ricchi rispetto alla pochità del paese. Solevano affittare banditi d'ogni sorte: ma perche alle volte ne nascevano scandali, è stato da loro decretato che non si possino affittare banditi se non certe conditioni: ma non si ne può havere facilmente salvocondotto." [The republic of San Marino is presumed to be free, except in so far as it is recommended to the duke of Urbino. In 1612 it was proposed and carried in the council, that on the failure of the heir of Rovere, the republic should declare itself under the protection of the Apostolic See; from which San Marino thereby obtained certain privileges, and particularly that of drawing corn and provisions from the Roman states. This territory, with two other domains annexed to it, comprises about 700 hearths. It is situated among mountains, is a fortified town, and the gates are guarded by soldiers of its own. The inhabitants have the free administration of justice and grace. They elect their principal magistrates for the time being among themselves, and these are called conservators, and receive from the people of San Marino the title of most illustrious. In case of any serious offence, it is their habit to procure foreign officials for the conduct of the proceedings, having recourse in particular to the ministers of his highness the duke of Urbino, on whom they confer such

authority as they deem fitting. The state is poor, not having so much as 500 scudi of revenue; but some of the inhabitants are in easy circumstances, and others rich, the small extent of the country considered. They are wont to hire banditti of all kinds, but as scandals sometimes arise from this, they have decreed that banditti shall not be hired except on certain conditions; yet it is not easy to procure safe-conduct from them.]

No. 93

Parole universali dello governo ecclesiastico, per far una greggia et un pastore. Secreto al papa solo.—Informatt. xxiv. (26 *leaves.*) [Universal words of ecclesiastical government for making one flock and one shepherd, &c.]

In despite of the condition of the country, which was gradually becoming so manifestly worse, there were yet people who entertained the boldest designs.

But more extraordinary or more extravagant proposals were perhaps never brought forward than those made by Thomas Campanella in the little work before us.

For there cannot be a doubt that this unlucky philosopher, who fell under the suspicion of intending to wrest Calabria from the Spanish monarchy, and to have taken part in the extravagant plans of the duke of Ossuna, was the veritable author of this work. "Questo è il compendio," he says, "del libro intitolato il Governo Ecclesiastico, il quale restò in mano di Don Lelio Orsino, et io autore tengo copia in Stilo patria mia." [This is a summary of the book entitled the "Ecclesiastical Government," which remained in the hands of Don Lelio Orsino; and I, the author, have a copy of it in Stilo, my native place.]

To this, he adds, "Hæc et longe plura explicantur in Monarchia Messiæ" [These and much more are explained in the Monarchy of Messiah]. Campanella was from Stilo: this Monarchia Messiæ was his work. We cannot doubt that he either composed or revised that now before us.

We may leave the date undetermined. He was probably accompanied through his whole life by notions of this kind.

He remarks that the pope had very warlike subjects. "Li Romagnuoli e Marchiani sono per natura inclinati all' armi:

onde servono a Venetiani, Francesi, Toscani e Spagnuoli, perche il papa non è guerriero." [The people of Romagna and the March are naturally inclined to arms: thus they serve the Venetians, French, Tuscans, and Spaniards, because the pope is not a warrior.] But he advises the pope also to become warlike. There was still the material for Ciceros, Brutuses, and Catos. Nature was not wanting; art only was deficient.

He thinks that the pope ought to raise two armies; the one of St. Peter for the sea, the other of St. Paul for the land, somewhat after the manner of the Janissaries. Never had an armed religion been vanquished, especially when it was well preached.

For he does not in anywise leave that out of his reckoning. He recommends that the most able men should be selected from all the orders, who shall be freed from their monastic duties, and permitted to devote themselves to the sciences.

Law, medicine, and the liberal arts should be studied in the monasteries, as well as theology. The people should be preached to of the golden age, when there should be one shepherd and one fold—of the blessedness of liberated Jerusalem, and of patriarchal innocence. The longings of the people after these things should be awakened.

But when would so happy a state of things commence? "Then," he replies, "when all temporal sovereignties shall be put an end to, and the vicar of Christ shall rule over the whole earth." "Sarà nel mondo una greggia et un pastore, e si vedrà il secol d'oro cantato da poeti, l'ottima republica descritta da philosophi, e lo stato dell' innocenza de' patriarchi, e la felicità di Gerusalemme liberata da mano degli eretici et infedeli. E questo fia quando saranno evacuati tutti li principati mondani e regenerà per tutto il mondo solo il vicario di Christo." [There shall be in the world one flock and one pastor, and the age of gold sung by the poets shall be realized, with the perfect republic described by philosophers, the state of innocence of the patriarchs, and the felicity of Jerusalem delivered from the hands of heretics and infidels. And this shall take place when all mundane principalities being set aside, the vicar of Christ alone shall reign supreme throughout the world.]

There should be set forth, as he advises, the doctrine that

the pope is lord in temporal as well as spiritual things,—a priest such as Abimelech, not such as Aaron.

Such opinions were still entertained towards the close of the sixteenth century, or—for I will not attempt to determine the precise period—in the first ten years of the seventeenth century. We already know the extraordinary progress being made at that time by the Romish power. Before I return to the documents touching that period and progress, let me be permitted to add yet a word with respect to the historians of the Jesuits, who were then at the height of their influence.

INTERCALATION.

Remarks on certain Historians of the Jesuit Order.

Self-esteem and leisure gradually led the greater part of the religious orders to narrate their own histories in very circumstantial detail.

But no one of them all has done this so systematically as the Jesuits. It was their full determination to give to the world a connected and comprehensive history of their exertions, prepared by their own hands.

And, in fact, the "Historia Societatis Jesu," known under the name of Orlandinus, and of those who continued his book, is a work of the highest importance for the history of the order,—nay, we may even say for that of the century also.

Nicolaus Orlandinus, a native of Florence, had for some time presided over the college of Nola and the novices of Naples, when in 1598 he was summoned by Acquaviva to Rome, and appointed historian of the order. In his style of writing, as well as in the business of life, he was exceedingly careful, accurate, and wary, but very infirm. It was with difficulty that he brought down his work to the death of Ignatius. He died in 1606.

His successor in this occupation was Franciscus Sacchinus, from the territory of Perugia, who is, upon the whole, the most distinguished of the Jesuit historians. He was the son of a peasant; his father occasionally visited him in the Collegium Romanum, where he taught rhetoric, and it is recorded to his honour that he was not ashamed of his origin. On his ap-

pointment, he devoted himself to the composition of his history, at which he laboured during eighteen years in the house of probation on the Quirinal at Rome, and very rarely quitted his residence. Yet he passed his life none the less in contemplation of the great interests of the world. The restoration of Catholicism was still making the greatest progress. What can be more inviting for the historian than to describe the first beginnings of an event, of which the development and effects are passing in their living reality beneath his eyes? Sacchinus was fully impressed with the characteristic peculiarity of his subject,—the universal conflict fought out in the enthusiasm of orthodoxy. "I describe wars," he says, "not of the nations with each other, but of the human race with the monsters and the powers of hell;—wars not merely affecting single provinces, but embracing all lands and every sea;—wars, in fine, wherein not earthly power, but the heavenly kingdom is the prize of battle." In this spirit of Jesuitical enthusiasm he has described the administration of Lainez, 1556—1564, that of Borgia to 1572, and of Everardus Mercurianus to 1580,—each in one volume containing eight books, with the first ten years of Acquaviva's government in the same number of books. These form four tolerably thick and closely-printed folio volumes; he nevertheless excuses himself for being so brief. Nor can he indeed be accused of prolixity, or of falling into tediousness. He is, as a matter of course, partial—partial in the highest degree; he passes over whatever does not please him: from the materials before him he frequently takes only what is honourable to the society, and so forth. But notwithstanding this, there is much to be learned from his books. I have compared him here and there with his authorities,—with the Litteræ Annuæ, for example, so far as they are printed and were accessible; for books of this kind are very rare in these parts, and I have been compelled to apply to the libraries of Breslau and Göttingen for aid. In every instance I have found his extracts to be made with judgment and propriety,—nay, even with spirit and talent. But while occupied with this work, Sacchini had acquired so extensive and accurate an acquaintance with the affairs of the society, that he was called to take part in them by the general Mutio Vitelleschi himself. It were to be desired for our sakes that this had not happened; for Sacchini would then have completed the history of Acquaviva's admi-

nistration, and one of the most important epochs would have been more clearly illustrated than was the case at a later period. Sacchini died in 1625. Even his last volume was brought to a close, and published by Petrus Possinus.

But as time passed, so also did enthusiasm diminish. The "Imago primi Sæculi," in the year 1640, had already declined in richness of contents, was more credulous of miracles, more common-place. It was not until 1710 that there appeared a continuation of Sacchini by Jouvency, comprising the last fifteen years of Acquaviva's rule. Jouvency also has undeniable talent; he narrates in a perspicuous and flowing manner, though not without pretension. But the misfortune is, that he took the word "Historia" much too literally, and would not write annals as Sacchini had done. Thus he distributed the materials that lay before him, arranging them under different heads. "Societas domesticis motibus agitata—societas externis cladibus jactata—vexata in Anglia—oppugnata—aucta, etc." [The society agitated by internal commotions—the society disturbed and tossed by external troubles—oppressed in England—assailed—increased, &c.] It resulted from this, that he did not give due attention to that which was, without doubt, the most important point,—the renewed extension of Catholicism in Protestant countries. The method of annals was, besides, much more suitable to a subject such as this. With all his historical labours, Jouvency has produced nothing but fragments.

Neither did he obtain much applause for his work. The order even entertained the purpose at one time of causing the whole period to be rewritten after the manner of Sacchinus. Julius Cordara, who continued the history from 1616 to 1625, confined himself closely to that model. But the spirit of earlier times was irrecoverably lost. The volume of Cordara is very useful, but is not to be compared in freedom or power with his earlier predecessors, or even with Jouvency. It appeared in 1750. After that time the society had to struggle too hard for its very existence to have leisure for thinking of a continuation to its history. What has since then been to relate would, besides, have made a much less magnificent display.

In addition to this general history, there are, as is well known, very many provincial histories of the order. These

have, for the most part, the general history as their basis; they are, indeed, often directly copied from it. We remark this most strikingly in Socher, "Historia provinciæ Austriæ," where Sacchinus is copied even to particular terms of expression. The "pudet referre" of the original, for example, is reproduced as "pudet sane referre" by Socher. (Sacchin. iv., vi., 78. Socher, vi., No. 33.)

But I will not suffer myself to enter on a criticism of these authors; the field is much too wide; it is, besides, certain that they are not likely to mislead in the present day, when they receive too little credit, rather than too much. I will take leave to make one observation only on the history of Ignatius Loyola himself.

If we compare Orlandinus with the other two more important historians of Ignatius Loyola, we are at once struck by the fact that he agrees much more exactly with the one, Maffei—"De vita et moribus D. Ignatii Loiolæ"—than with the other, Pietro Ribadeneira. The manner of this agreement is also remarkable. Maffei's book appeared as early as 1585; that of Orlandinus was not produced until fifteen years later, and from the close resemblance between the two, Maffei might very well appear to have served as a model for the other. Maffei is, nevertheless, more elaborate and artificial in his manner throughout; Orlandinus is more natural, more simple, and has more force in description. The enigma is solved when we discover that both drew from the same source—the notes of Polancus. Maffei does not name him; but a special treatise by Sacchinus, "Cujus sit auctoritatis quod in B. Cajetani vita de B. Ignatio traditur," which is to be found in the later editions of Orlandinus, informs us that Everardus Mercurianus had laid the manuscripts of Polancus before him. From that same Polancus, Orlandinus also afterwards drew the principal part of his work; no wonder, therefore, that they agree. But we have the original memoranda in a more genuine form in Orlandinus than in Maffei: the first is more diligent, more circumstantial, and better authenticated by documentary evidence; the latter seeks his renown in historical ornaments and correct Latinity.

But whence proceed the variations of Ribadeneira? He drew principally from a different manuscript authority—the memoranda of Ludovicus Consalvus.

Consalvus, as well as Polancus, derived his information from the oral communications of Ignatius himself; but we can perceive thus much, that Polancus gathered more of the accidental and occasional expressions of the general, while Consalvus knew how to lead him at once into a circumstantial narrative; as, for example, in relation to his first spiritual call.

From this it results that we have here to distinguish a double tradition; the one, that of Polancus, repeated by Maffei and Orlandino; the other, that of Consalvus, repeated by Ribadeneira.

By far the most remarkable is that of Consalvus: he has given, so far as can be supposed possible, an account really delivered by Ignatius himself.

But in this, as in all other traditions, we very soon become aware of an amplification of the simple material. This was commenced even by Ribadeneira. He takes the narration of the eight days' ecstasy, for example, which Ignatius had in Manresa, and from which he was awakened by the word "Jesus," out of the relations of the lady Isabella Rosel of Barcelona. "Examen Ribadeneiræ in comment. prævv. AA. SS. Julii, t. vii. p. 590."

But his readers were far from being satisfied with him. Of many among the miracles already commonly believed, he took no notice. "Nescio," says Sacchinus, "quæ mens incidit Ribadeneiræ, ut multa ejus generis miracula præteriret." [I know not by what idea Ribadeneira was influenced, that he should pass over so many miracles of this kind.] It was on account of these very omissions that Polancus commenced his collection, and that Mercurianus caused his work to be elaborated by Maffei, whence they were transferred to Orlandinus.

But even these narrations did not suffice to the wonder-craving Jesuitism of the seventeenth century. As early as the year 1606, people had gone so far as to affirm the sanctity of a cave in Manresa, which they affirmed to be the place wherein the Exercitia Spiritualia were composed, although neither the first nor even the second of these traditions mentions a word of this cave, and the Dominicans maintained, doubtless with perfect truth, that the cave (spelunca) of Ignatius was in their monastery.

The most violent dissensions between the Dominicans and Jesuits were just then in force, a motive sufficient to make the Jesuits choose another scene as that of the founding of their order.

We now return to our manuscripts respecting Gregory XV. and Urban VIII.

No. 94.

Relatione delli ecc^mi S^ri Hieron. Giustinian K^r Proc^r, Ant. Grimani K^r, Franc. Contarini Proc^r, Hieron. Soranzo K^r, amb^ri estraord. al sommo pontefice Gregorio XV. l'anno 1621, *il mese di Maggio.* [Report of the most excellent Signors Hieron. Giustinian, Ant. Grimani, Francesco Contarini, and Hieron. Soranzo, ambassadors extraordinary to the supreme pontiff Gregory XV., presented in May, 1621.]

Of inferior importance, as are most of the reports of this kind.

The description of the new pope and of his government could not be more than a hasty sketch, after so short a residence; a few remarks on the journey, the conclave, the origin and previous life of the newly-chosen pontiff, with the first proceedings of his administration, generally form the whole material of the report.

Something more might, nevertheless, have been expected on this occasion, because the ordinary ambassador, Geronimo Soranzo, who had resided five years at the court of Rome, made one of the four ambassadors, and prepared the report in concert with the other three.

The interests of the Venetian senate were, however, not identical with our own; they were political, not historical. The personal character and court arrangements of a departed prince no longer awakened curiosity, and had no essential importance. Soranzo contents himself with a few remarks. "Non debbo tralasciare di narrare qualche cosa della più gravi che mi sono occorse di maneggiare in sì lunga et importante legatione." [I must not neglect to relate something

of those more weighty matters which I was called on to settle in so long and so important an embassy.]

The point of chief moment is, that Soranzo explains the position which Venice had assumed towards the see of Rome, in the affairs that had shortly before been in discussion with Spain.

"Gli Spagnuoli facevano considerar a S. S^tà quelle sì opportune congiunture di ravvivar le ragioni della chiesa in golfo. L'amb^r si affaticò di mostrare il giusto, antico et indubitato possesso del golfo, aggiungendo che la rep^ca per difenderlo ricorrerebbe ad ajuti stranieri, si valerebbe di Inglesi, Olandesi e di Turchi med^mi, e se S. S^tà havesse fomentato l'ingiuste et indebite pretensioni di Spagnuoli, arebbe posta tutta la X^ta in grand^mo scompiglio. Un giorno S. S^tà mi disse: 'Stimiamo necessario che le cose del golfo non si alterino: le novità seguite in esso ci son spiacciute grandemente: lo abbiamo detto a chi ne ha parlato." [The Spaniards submitted to the consideration of his holiness the favourable opportunity now presenting itself for reviving the claims of the church in the gulf (of Venice). The ambassador laboured to shew the just, ancient, and indubitable possession of the gulf; adding that the republic would have recourse to foreign aid to defend it, and would avail itself of the English and Dutch—nay, even of the Turks themselves; and that if his holiness fomented the unjust and unfair pretensions of the Spaniards, he would throw all Christendom into the utmost confusion. One day his holiness said to me, "We consider it necessary that the affairs of the gulf should remain unaltered: the innovations that have taken place there have displeased us greatly: we have said this to whomsoever hath spoken to us of the matter."]

We perceive that there were once more precautions required, lest another outbreak of open hostility should ensue.

Soranzo laboured only to convince Paul V. that the republic was not disposed to the Protestants. "Lo resi al pieno capace della bontà e del puro zelo della republica." [I made him fully sensible of the goodness and pure zeal of the republic.]

The ambassadors entertained the conviction that the new pope would not incline to the Spaniards. The character and manner of his election seemed to justify this expectation.

"Nella elettione di Gregorio XV. si mostrò l'effetto del

spirito santo. Borghese, che aveva per far il papa a sua voglia sei voti oltre il bisogno, era risoluto di far eleggere Campori: ma tre delle sue creature dissentendovi, nascendo più altri inconvenienti, più per motivo et istigatione d'altri che per inclination propria venne alla nominatione di Ludovisio sua creatura. Questo cardinale aveva l'amore di Aldobrandino, fu tenuto da Spagnuoli di placidi pensieri, Francesi suo confidente l'aveano." [In the election of Gregory XV., the operation of the Holy Spirit was made manifest. Borghese, who had the command of six votes more than were required to make the pope at his own pleasure, had resolved to have Campori elected; but three of his creatures dissenting, and other obstacles afterwards arising, he was induced to nominate his creature Ludovisio; but more by the instigation of others, than by his own inclination. This cardinal possessed the good-will of Aldobrandino; he was believed by the Spaniards to entertain pacific dispositions, and the French considered him to be their friend.]

The papal nephew seemed also to maintain himself still unfettered. "Mostra sinora genio alieno da Spagnoli" [He has hitherto shewn himself averse to the Spaniards], say the ambassadors.

But all this too soon underwent a change.

No. 95.

Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, di S. R. Ch. vicecanc. nepote di papa Gregorio XV., scritto da Luc. Antonio Giunti suo servitore da Urbino. (*Cors.* 122 *leaves.*) [Life and measures of Ludovico Ludovisi, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman Church, nephew of Pope Gregory XV. Written by his servant, Luc. Antonio Giunti of Urbino.]

"Ludovico, ch'è poi stato il card^{l} Ludovisi, nacque in Bologna dal conte Oratio della famiglia di Ludovisi e dalla contessa Lavinia Albergati l'anno 1595, a 27 d'Ottobre." [Ludovico, who afterwards became Cardinal Ludovisi, was born in Bologna on the 27th October, 1595. His father was Count Oratio, of the family of Ludovisi, his mother the Countess Lavinia Albergati.] He was educated in the Jesuits' college at Rome, was admitted doctor in 1615, in 1617 he

accompanied his uncle on the latter being sent nuncio to Bologna, and in 1619 he entered on the career of the prelacy: on the day after the coronation of his uncle, 16th February, 1621, he was nominated cardinal, and thence obtained that eminent position in the world which we have already described.

"Darò," says the author, "qualche cenno delle cose parte da lui proposte, parte da lui coadjuvate o promosse nel pontificato del suo zio Gregorio." [I will give a certain idea of such things as were partly proposed by him, and brought about by his agency, or at the least promoted by his efforts during the pontificate of his uncle Gregory.]

1. Traits of character.—"Ascoltava tutto con flemma più che ordinaria: gli ambasciatori mai si rendevano satii di trattar seco,..... si dava a tutti, accioche tutti si dassero a lui. Mostrava giustitia e misericordia insieme, senza passione o doppiezza." [He heard all that was said with a more than common coolness. The ambassadors could never have enough of transacting business with him: he gave himself to all, that all might give themselves to him. He did justice and shewed mercy at the same time, without passion or duplicity.]

2. Promotions.—He appointed the cardinals who had promoted the election of his uncle, to different legations: Orsino to Romagna, Pio to the March (of Ancona), Ubaldini to Bologna, and Capponi he made archbishop of Ravenna. Thus their good services were rewarded. Nuncios were despatched to all the courts: Massimi to Tuscany, Pamfili to Naples, Corsini to France, Sangro to Spain, Caraffa to the emperor, Montorio to Cologne. Aldobrandino served as general, Pino as paymaster in Germany. The greater part of the Instructions furnished to those nuncios are still extant. The following account of the manner in which these documents were prepared is thus rendered all the more interesting. "Quantunque fossero distese da m Agucchia prelato Bolognese, nondimeno il card.^le fece in esse particolar fatica nelle annotationi di capi, di motivi, del senso di S. Beat.^ne, de' ripieghi e consigli suggeriti dal suo proprio avvedimento e sapere." [Although they were drawn up by Monsignore Agucchia, a prelate of Bologna, yet the cardinal gave particular attention to them himself, by adding notes on the chief points, and making memoranda of the motives, intentions, and opinions of his holiness, together with such counsels and reme-

dies as were suggested by his own foresight and knowledge.] We perceive, then, that the essential parts were supplied by the cardinal-nephew, while Agucchia, a fellow-townsman of Ludovisi, undertook the completion.

3. Bulls relating to papal election.—The forms previously used were altered, secret scrutiny was introduced, the adoration was abolished. Giunti describes the disadvantages arising from the adoration: "Rendeva i cardinali più timidi nel dire il parer loro, partoriva e fomentava gravi disgusti tra gli escludenti e gli esclusi, cagionava che il pontefice si eleggesse senza la debita premeditatione, mentre i capi delle fattioni manifestavano le loro voluntà, faceva che la somma delle elettioni fosse per il più appoggiata a cardinali giovani." [It made the cardinals more diffident in the expression of their opinions; it produced and fomented serious antipathies between the excluders and the excluded; it caused the pontiff to be chosen without due deliberation, when the heads of the factions had made their inclinations manifest; it occasioned the result of the elections to depend, for the most part, on the younger cardinals.] It will be readily supposed that Ludovisi had other and more secret motives for this change, but these are not here brought forward.

4. The establishment of the Propaganda; the canonization of saints.—Of these we have treated in the text.

5. The transfer of the Electorate; discussion of the personal share taken by Ludovisi in that event.

6. The acquisition of the Heidelberg library: ". . . . Per la quale (la biblioteca Palatina) si operò molto il card^le^ Ludovisio, atteso che riputava uno degli avvenimenti più felici del pontificato del zio di poterla conseguire. Fu destinato il dottor Leon Allaccio, scrittore Greco dell' istessa biblioteca Vaticana, che andasse a riceverla et accompagnarla." [On account of which (the Palatine library), Cardinal Ludovisio exerted himself greatly, seeing that he considered the being able to obtain it among the most fortunate events of his uncle's pontificate. Doctor Leon Allaccio, Greek writer in the said Vatican library, was selected to go and receive it, and take charge of it to Rome.]

7. His protection of the Capuchins, whom Ludovisio esteemed very highly, as he did, even more particularly, the Jesuits.—Vitelleschi says, that by the "special protection

which God has ever extended to that society, it has come to pass that some great cardinal has always stood forward as its patron—Alessandro Farnese, Odoardo Farnese, Alessandro Orsino, and now Ludovico Ludovisi." The last-named cardinal had richly supported the Jesuit churches in Rome and Bologna from his private fortune; and for the completion of the former, he finally bequeathed 200,000 scudi in his will. He had constantly bestowed 6,000 scudi a year towards that purpose during his lifetime. The author includes that sum in the alms he describes him to have given, and which he computes to have been exactly 32,882 scudi yearly.

8. The election of Urban VIII.—This is he reascribed to the cardinal: "Superando con la sua destrezza le difficoltà che si traponevano." [Surmounting by his dexterity the difficulties that opposed it.] His removal from Rome to his archiepiscopal see of Bologna was entirely determined by himself.

9. His subsequent life.—He preached occasionally in Bologna, and it was by him that the Bolognese were induced to add Ignatius and Xavier to the number of their heavenly protectors. But the principal thing related is, that he placed himself in earnest opposition to the vacillating policy of Urban VIII., in accordance with the principles by which he had himself conducted the administration. When the victories of Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 were made known to him, he offered the Spanish court 100,000 scudi, with the proceeds of all his Spanish abbeys, of which he held ten, during such time as the war should continue. Giunti gives the letter in which Ludovisi makes this offer, which he founds on the "presenti bisogni della Germania e dell' augustissima casa di S. M^tà^, base e sostegno della religione cattolica" [the present necessities of Germany, and of the most august house of his majesty, the basis and support of the Catholic religion]. This offer was not accepted in Spain, but Olivarez wrote to the cardinal in reply, that although his majesty declined his proposal, he would yet not fail to shew the cardinal whatever favours he could himself desire, and which might appear to be for interested purposes, if the offer were accepted.

Of the intention attributed by a Venetian to the cardinal of calling a council against Pope Urban VIII., we do not here find any trace.

Upon the whole, indeed, this biography is written very much in the tone of an official panegyric. Although containing much useful and authentic information, and many trustworthy particulars, it refrains from all communication of a more questionable character.

The cardinal died soon after. "La cui anima," says Giunti in conclusion, "riposi in cielo." [May his soul find rest in heaven.]

No. 96.

Instruttione a mons^r vescovo d'Aversa, nuntio destinato da N. Sig^re alla M^ta Cesarea di Ferdinando II. Imperatore. Roma, 12 *Apr.* 1621. [Instructions to the bishop of Aversa, nuncio proceeding to his imperial majesty the Emperor Ferdinand II. Rome, 12 April, 1621.]

We have seen the important effects of Caraffa's exertions: the Instruction furnished to him by Gregory XV. on his proceeding to his nunciature would therefore be worthy of our attention, were it only on that account; but it becomes still more so from the fact that it reveals the views entertained at Rome after the battle of Prague.

Gregory commences by assuming that it was the purpose of the Protestants to root out the house of Austria, to wrest the empire to themselves, and then to press forward into Italy, despoiling and plundering that noblest part of the world. But God had given events a different direction; it must now be the part of man to turn this interposition to the utmost possible advantage.

He enjoins the nuncio to direct his attention to the following points:—

I. Confirming the strength of the empire by means of the Catholics.—He promises aid to the emperor, and urges that the victory should be promptly followed up.

II. The restoration of the Catholic religion.—The pope is rejoiced at the progress it is making in Austria and Moravia. He is comforted by perceiving that in Silesia they have at least refused to tolerate the Calvinists. But he would not give his sanction to the toleration, even of the Augsburg confession in Hungary, although that confession certainly

comes nearest to Catholicism: "La confessione che, quantunque rea, si dilunga assai meno dalla professione cattolica di quello che facciano le più sette cattoliche." [The confession which, however criminal, yet departs less from the Catholic profession than many of the Catholic sects.] But he is most of all anxious respecting Bohemia. For the restoration of Catholicism in that country he recommends the following measures:—

"1. Fondare in Praga un' università cattolica." [The foundation of a Catholic university in Prague.]

"2. Rimettere nelle antiche parrocchie i parrochi cattolici e per le città i maestri di scola parimente cattolici." [The re-establishment of the Catholic parish priests in the ancient parishes, and that of Catholic schoolmasters in the cities.]

"3. L'uso dei catechismi e di buoni libri per tutto, ma per li fanciulli et idioti l'antiche canzoni spirituali in lingua Bohema." [The use of catechisms and good books for all, but for children and ignorant people (idioti) the ancient spiritual songs in the Bohemian tongue.]

"4. Librarj e stampatori cattolici, facendo visitare le librerie e stampe degli eretici." [Booksellers and printers should be Catholics, bookshops and printing-presses of heretics should be subjected to visitation.]

"5. L'opera de' padri Gesuiti e di altri religiosi." [The Jesuit fathers and other religious orders should be called into activity.]

"6. Ritornare in piedi li collegii di poveri, assegnando a quelli li beni ecclesiastici alienati." [The colleges for the poor should be restored to their efficiency by making over to them the alienated ecclesiastical property.]

All means of instruction and education. But the nuncio is further reminded that he must oppose the appointment of Protestants to public offices. "Lasciandosi le menti humane più consigliare dal proprio interesse che da altro, incominceranno a poco a poco massimamente i giovani a piegare l'animo alla religione cattolica, se non per altro, per partecipare di publici honori." [The minds of men being more effectually moved by their own interests than by other motives, they will begin by degrees, more particularly the young, to bend their spirits to the Catholic religion; if for no other cause, yet for the sake of participation in public honours.]

III. The re-establishment of the ecclesiastical tribunals.—On this subject the pope has many complaints to make. The bishops are still reluctant to submit to the decrees of the council of Trent; the canons pursue various corrupt practices; the chapters make a very bad use of the patronage they exercise; even the emperor allows himself too much liberty. "L'imperatore istesso sotto varii pretesti di spogli, di juspatronati, di concessioni apostoliche, di avocarie, di incamerationi e di pienezza di potestà trattiene le chiese gli anni vacanti, et in quel mentre se ne prende per se l'entrate." [The emperor himself, under various pretences of "spolia," rights of patronage, apostolic concessions, rights of advocacy of the imperial exchequer, and of plenary authority, retains the churches in vacancy for many succeeding years, during which time he takes their revenues for himself.]

IV. Restoration of the papal authority.—The emperors appear to see with gladness that the pope dares no longer come forward with his bulls and excommunications. The papal court has, moreover, lost a very large portion of the revenues in money formerly derived from Germany, and which amounted in earlier times to 200,000 scudi. Gregory will not give his approval to the proceedings with Klesel; but expresses himself with great moderation on the subject. "Non è mai piaciuto troppo quel fatto." [He was never greatly pleased with that matter.] Verospi, the auditor of the rota, was sent over to conduct the proceedings.

V. The relation of the emperor to Italy.—This might be made useful, more especially in the affairs of the Valtelline. The consent of Spain had not yet been given to the demolition of the conquered fortresses. "Pare che il duca di Feria et altri ministri di S. M^tà Ces. in Italia si opponghino a quel consiglio, come coloro che vorrebbero ritenere i forti e con essi la gloria di quell' acquisto." [It seems that the duke of Feria and other ministers of his imperial majesty are opposed to that measure, as desiring to retain those forts, and with them the glory of that conquest.] But the pope clearly perceived the danger that might arise from this. The Protestants in Germany would desire nothing better than to see the sword unsheathed in Italy.

VI. The conduct and deportment of the nuncio.—He is above all things recommended in the first place to Eckenberg,

as was to be expected; but it is highly remarkable that the papal nephew speaks of the Jesuits with the utmost reserve and caution only. "Terrà gran conto del padre Beccano confessore di Cesare, e si valerà con destrezza dell' opera sua, non lasciando intanto di osservare i suoi discorsi e consigli per scoprirne meglio i fini et avvisarmegli. E parimente a' padri Gesuiti ricorrerà con avveduta confidenza." [The nuncio will make great account of Father Beccano, the emperor's confessor, and must avail himself skilfully of his assistance,—not neglecting meanwhile to observe the language and opinions of that father, the better to discover his purposes, and to acquaint me with them; and in like manner he will have recourse to the Jesuit fathers with a wary confidence.] "With a wary confidence!"—a very useful piece of advice.

We are meanwhile made aware of the magnificent designs already conceived by the pope. Even at that time he contemplated the restitution of all church property. With this remarkable passage we will conclude our extract. "Secondo che s'anderanno acquistando de paesi tenuti avanti dagli eretici, ella faccia grandissima istanza con S. M^tà di ricuperare i beni ecclesiastici occupati da loro e di renderli alle chiese et alli veri patroni. Questo officio si fece per ordine di papa Paolo V., quando il marchese Spinola s'impossessò del palatinato, e l'imperatore rispose che non era ancor tempo di trattarne." [In proportion as progress shall be made in the acquirement of territories previously held by heretics, your excellency will urge on his majesty with the utmost earnestness, that he should recover the ecclesiastical possessions occupied by them, and restore them to the church and their true patrons. An application to this effect was made by order of Pope Paul V., when the marquis Spinola took possession of the Palatinate, and the emperor replied that the time was not yet come for treating of that matter.]

We perceive then that the idea of the Edict of Restitution was conceived by Paul V. in 1620, but was at that time rejected by the emperor as premature and inopportune.

The nuncio of Gregory XV. was now to press anew for that measure, and was to represent to the emperor the merit he would acquire by it.

No. 97.

Instruttione a Mons^r Sangro, patriarcha d'Alessandria et arcivescovo di Benevento, per andar nunzio di S. S^tà al re cattolico. 1621. [Instruction to Monsignor Sangro, patriarch of Alexandria and archbishop of Benevento, when proceeding as nuncio from his holiness to the king of Spain. 1621.]

Sangro is reminded that the power of Spain is now for the most part in the hands of Uzeda and of the grand inquisitor. He must therefore more particularly remind the latter of his spiritual duties.

To make himself master of things kept secret, he is recommended to attach himself to the ambassadors of Venice and Tuscany; "de' quali si suol cavare molto" [from whom there is usually much to be drawn].

The affairs of immunity, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the collettoria, are afterwards discussed minutely; but I am obliged to confess that the defective and illegible copy which I found deterred me from entering more fully into those subjects.

The principal matter is still the discussion of the political relations.

The nuncio is directed above all things to demand the renewal of the war with Holland.

He was to remind the Spanish court that Prince Maurice was already old and feeble, and that his death was daily to be expected; that the division between the Arminians and Gomarists weakened the Provinces, where Count Henry was hoping to obtain the supreme power by the aid of the former, while Count Ernest founded similar hopes on the assistance of the latter; that the Zealanders were poor, and the Hollanders hated by the different sects for their encroachments. "Laonde il re non può voltare le sue forze contra di loro in meglior tempo ovvero opportunità." [Thus the king could not turn his forces against them at a better time or more fitting opportunity.]

No. 98.

Instruttione a V. Sig^ria M^r di Torres, arcivescovo di Antrinopoli, nuntio destinato da N. Sig^re in Polonia. 30 *Maggio*, 1621. [Instruction to Torres, archbishop of Antrinopoli, nuncio elect to Poland.]

The misunderstanding between Paul V. and Sigismund III. was not altogether without importance. "Se la pietà del re," says Gregory XV. in this Instruction, "e la riverenza che a questa sede egli porta, non havesse ammorzato del tutto o almeno coperte le scintille de' dispiaceri loro, se ne sarebbe per li soffioni altrui acceso alcun fuoco di discordia manifesta." [If the piety of the king, and the reverence which he bears to this see, had not entirely quenched, or at least subdued, the sparks of their resentments, the fires of open discord would certainly have been enkindled from them by the breath of others.]

Gregory now labours to pacify all these dissensions. He is impressed by the merits of this king, who could not have been made a better Catholic even in Rome itself.

The nuncio is reminded that he must above all things be careful to let his deportment be such as to incur no blame: "Perche tutti gli pongono gli occhi adosso e prendono ancora esempio da santi costumi di lui, et il re medesimo il propone a suoi prelati per norma." [Because all eyes are fixed on the nuncio, and take example from him in holiness of manners, and the king himself proposes him as a model to his prelates.] To give diligent attendance at the banquets of the great, would certainly not in itself be an unlikely means of obtaining influence, but in the end it would diminish the respect which it was necessary for a nuncio to receive.

It were to be desired that the nuncio would visit the churches in person, as was formerly done.

But the point principally insisted on was still education. The institution of the Dottrina Christiana, as subsisting in Italy, was to be introduced into Poland also. Care must be taken to provide catechisms, and worldly or Protestant songs must be superseded by others of Catholic import.

No. 99.

Instruttione a V. S.ª M.r Lancellotti, vescovo di Nola, destinato da N. S.re suo nuntio in Polonia. [Instruction to Lancellotti, bishop of Nola, nuncio elect to Poland.]

I do not know whether belonging to 1622 or 1623, but certainly still under Gregory XV.

The Instruction furnished to Torres was communicated to the present nuncio also. At the command of the Propaganda, all bishops had, since that time, been compelled to present reports on the state of their dioceses: from these documents the nuncio was directed to procure further information.

Political relations are brought more prominently forward. The nuncio was enjoined to do his utmost for the preservation of the good understanding subsisting between the Poles and the house of Austria: the Turks and the rebellious subjects of the emperor are thereby held in check.

The Poles would gladly have concluded a peace, or at least a truce for twenty years, with Gustavus Adolphus. The latter also proposed that the Polish line should succeed to his throne in the event of his dying without children, but Sigismund rejected every overture. "Benche Gustavo per conditione espressa offrisse che morendo lui senza figliuoli gli avesse a succedere S. M.tà e la sua stirpe, s'oppose a questi consigli." [Although Gustavus offered the express condition that in case of his dying without children, his majesty and his line should succeed him, he yet refused to accept these proposals.] It was only from consideration for the Poles that he agreed to a short truce.

The affairs of the United Greeks have already been discussed in the Instruction given to Torres, but were clearly and thoroughly explained in this paper.

"I Greci commossi al tempo di Clemente Ottavo per opera di Rupaccio Pacciorio, che fu prima vescovo overo vladica di Vladimiera e poi metropolitano di Chiovia, si contentarono i vescovi o vladici loro, eccettuati quelli di Leopoli e di Premisla, che nella loro ostinatione si rimasero, d'unirsi alla chiesa Romana, e di riconoscere, come fecero l'anno 1595, il papa per loro capo secondo la forma e professione di fede nel concilio Fiorentino contenuta. Ma tanto discordie ne nacquero, e così si posero nelle diete a impugnare quella unione li nobili

Greci, dagli heretici favoriti, che s'è havuto a mettere sossopra il regno: imperocche pochi del clero e molto meno del popolo l'hanno voluto abbracciare, affermando tutti essere per privati disegni e per ambitione di pochi stata fatta e senza loro partecipatione. Onde si conservano bene li vescovi e pastori cattolici, ma questi soli se ne stanno, senza trovare pecorelle che seguitare li vogliano, e di più corrono gran rischio d'essere dalle sedie loro cacciati e che vengano ancor ad essi levate quelle chiese che tolte già alli scismatici furongli concedute. Onde in tutte le diete se ne fa lo strepito grande; e nell' anno passato avvenne che un vescovo o fosse il patriarca scismatico di Gerusalemme mandato in Moscovia et in Russia dal patriarca di Constantinopoli, si fermò fra Russi, e vi creò tanti scismatici quanti sono gli uniti, et eccitò li cosacchi, che sono tutti Greci scismatici, ad addimandare nella dieta con offerte grandissime, perche il regno per la guerra col Turco havesse bisogna di loro, che all' antiche loro pretensioni si sodisfacesse: ma il vescovo di Santo Angelo, all' hora nuntio, ne divertì l'impeto, siche tra per questo e per publiche necessità, che a nuove contese non lasciavano luogo, si pose con l'autorità del re il negotio in silentio. Si vive non di meno dagli uniti nel medesimo timore: e li più prudenti prelati ne pronosticano alla fine de' mali eventi se alcun provedimento non vi si piglia: onde havrebbero alcuni havuto per lo migliore che l'unione non si fosse mai fatta, apportando essi che sarebbe stato più agevole il ridurre li nobili singolarmente e di famiglia in famiglia alla chiesa cattolica, perche si vede per prova che tutti coloro che ad uno abbandonano il rito Greco e lo scisma, stanno nella nostra chiesa perseveranti." [The Greeks in the time of Clement VIII., being influenced by Rupaccio Pacciorio, who was first bishop or vladica of Vladimiera, and afterwards metropolitan of Chiovia, their bishops or vladici agreed, those of Leopoli and Premisla excepted, who remained in their obstinacy, to unite themselves to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope for their head, as they did in 1595, according to the form and profession of faith contained in the Florentine council. But so many dissensions arose out of this, and so earnestly did the Greek nobles, favoured by the heretics, oppose themselves to that union in the diet, that the kingdom had nearly been turned upside down, because very few of the clergy, and still fewer of the people, were willing to accept it, affirming that all had been done for the private designs and

ambition of a few, without their participation. Thus, though the Catholic bishops and pastors do still subsist, yet they stand alone, without finding flocks willing to follow them. Moreover, they run great risk of being driven from their sees, and of having those churches taken from them which were previously wrested from the schismatics and conferred upon them. There is, accordingly, great noise made about this in all the diets; and in the past year it happened that a bishop, or perhaps it might be the schismatic patriarch of Jerusalem, sent into Muscovy and Russia by the patriarch of Constantinople, fixed himself among the Russians, and created there as many schismatics as there were United Greeks, besides exciting the Cossacks, who are all schismatic Greeks, to demand in the diet, with very large offers, because the kingdom had need of them for the war with the Turks, that their ancient pretensions should be satisfied. The bishop of St. Angelo, now nuncio, nevertheless contrived to divert the blow, so that, between his exertions and the public necessities, which left no leisure for new conflicts, the matter was reduced to silence by authority of the king. There is yet continual apprehension from the United Greeks, and the most intelligent prelates prognosticate that evil will ultimately arise from them, if some precaution be not taken to prevent it. Hence there are some who think that it would have been better if this union had never been made; for they affirm that it would have been much more easy to lead the nobles separately, and family by family, into the Catholic church; and of this they adduce as proof the fact that all those who have singly abandoned the Greek rite and the schism, remain fixed in their attachment to our church.]

No. 100.

Relatione fatta alla congregatione de Propaganda Fide da Dionysio Lazari sopra alcune cose che possono essere di servitio alla santa fede cattolica. 1622. [Report presented to the congregation "de Propaganda Fide" by Dionysio Lazari with respect to certain things which may be useful to the holy Catholic faith.]

Dion. Lazari had been in England for some time, or, as he expresses himself, "molti mesi" [many months], and here

suggests the means by which Catholicism may be restored there.

He considers that the methods to be pursued are three:—negociation with one, or with many, or measures of violence.

He is of opinion, however, that much might be effected with King James personally, his majesty being indifferent as regarded his creed, and very timid. "Per la pratica che ho di lui, lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione." [From the knowledge that I have of him, I consider him altogether indifferent in matters of religion.] It would be well to foster his suspicions, even by means of forged or supposititious letters: "Far artificiosamente avisar qualche suo ministro fuori del regno di persona da loro creduta fedele, e nell' istesso regno far trovar qualche lettera a nome supposito che trattasse in forme segrete queste materie." [To contrive that some minister of his, out of the kingdom, should receive seeming advices from some person believed trustworthy, and to manage that some letter in a feigned name should be found in the kingdom, which might treat of these matters with forms of secrecy.] Buckingham, also, might well be gained over; his wife was the daughter of a Catholic, and was secretly a Catholic herself ("è segreta cattolica figlia anche di segreto cattolico"). Buckingham attached great importance to alliances with foreign powers; it was through these that he might be most easily won, and the rather as he was always in danger from the parliament. "Essendo composto il parlamento quasi per la maggior parte di puritani, stimarebbe egli specie d'efficace vendetta l'indurre il re al cattolicismo." [The parliament being for the most part composed of puritans, he would esteem it an efficient kind of vengeance to lead the king into Catholicism.]

Influence to be gained over the people. It would be very useful if they could only obtain freedom of preaching: "Il che si potrebbe fare per via di danaro, proponendo, per così dire, una gabella di predicatori et auditori, inducendosi il re molte volte per l'interesse a cose contrarie a sua volontà." [Which might be accomplished by means of money, proposing, so to speak, a toll or tax on preachers and hearers, for the king is often led, by the gain to be made, into things contrary to his will.]

He says that violent measures were not to be thought of.

But we see clearly that even peaceable ones, such as he proposed, could not have been carried out.

Lazari belongs to that class of people who believe that they can influence the progress of events by means of intrigue and cunningly-contrived plans, but which can never, in point of fact, be accomplished.

He has no hopes from the present generation, which has been wholly nurtured in the Protestant opinions. The prince alone, afterwards Charles I., appears to him to give some promise. "Io v'ho grandissima speranza, per vederlo d'indole molto ingenua, di costumi assai generosi, molto sobrio nel detestar li cattolici." [I have the greatest hopes of him, perceiving him to be of an extremely ingenuous disposition, of sufficiently generous character, and very temperate in expressing aversion to the Catholics.]

No. 101

Instruttione al Dottor Leone Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. Court libr. in Vienna, MS. Hohenb. [Instructions to Doctor Leone Allatio, for going into Germany to fetch the library of the Palatine. 1622. Court library at Vienna, MS. Hohenb.]

The Instruction by which Leo Allatius, then scriptor to the Vatican, was empowered to take possession of the Heidelberg library.

This document is found not only in Vienna, but also in many other libraries; for example, in the Chigi library at Rome, among the collections of Instructions by Gregory XV. The literary interest attached to the subject has also caused it to be made known in Germany. Quade, Baumgarten, and Gerdes, one after the other, had it printed in Latin.

Having once come within the domain of Protestant literature, it was at length inevitably made the subject of discussion. In the history of the formation, despoiling, and destruction of the ancient Heidelberg collections of books (Heidelberg, 1817), p. 235, our learned fellow-citizen and friend Herr G. R. Fr. Wilken has suggested serious doubts of its authenticity.

And the Latin translation is in fact executed in a manner

that cannot fail to awaken mistrust. But fortunately this disappears when we have the original manuscript before us.

In the Latin, for example, we find the following words in relation to the medals furnished to Allatio for the soldiers of Tilly:—"Unum adhuc R. T. D. suppeditamus stratagema, ut scilicet sibi magnam nummorum comparet copiam, quos a sanctis canonisatos esse fingat." [One stratagem we suggest to the reverend doctor, to wit, that he should gather a large quantity of coins, which he may feign to have been canonized by the saints.] It is without doubt incredible that the Roman court should have expressed itself in this manner to one of its servants.

We find accordingly, on consulting the original, that it is in truth quite different. "E qui soggiungerò a V. S. che se le darà un grosso numero di medaglie con l'indulgenza della canonizzatione de' santi fatta da N. S." [And here I may add, that you shall be furnished with a great number of medals, with the indulgence of the canonization of saints made by his holiness.] By this I understand, medals commemorating the canonization of the saints who had been placed in the calendar by Gregory XV., with an indulgence attached.

There is just as little to be found in the original, of Allatio addressing the duke of Bavaria in German, as the Latin version will have him to have done.—"Tradito," we find it in Baumgarten, "brevi a Sancto Patre fidei ipsius concredito, Germanico idiomate cum affandi." [Having delivered the brief of the holy father committed to him, addressing him in the German tongue.] In the original, on the contrary, we have, "Presentando a Sua Altezza il breve di N. S^re, le parlerà a nome di Sua S^tà conforme al tenore di esso." [Presenting to his highness the brief of our lord the pope, you shall speak in the name of his holiness according to the tenor of the same.]

This is a translation which is an outrage of the Italian, as well as of all probability.

But when we examine the original, and remark how much more judiciously it was composed, and in circumstances that leave no room for doubt, we can no longer question its authenticity.

It is, nevertheless, certainly true that Allatio was commanded to circulate a rumour to the effect that the library was to be transferred to Munich, and not to Rome. "In ogni

caso sarà bene di metter voce che si abbia da condurre solamente a Monaco e non a Roma." [In every case it will be advisable to put about the rumour that it is to be taken to Munich only, and not to Rome.] We have already seen how often the most wary caution was impressed as a duty on the papal envoys. Further instructions of similar character were given to Allatio; for example: "Massimamente per i paesi sospetti sarà sempre meglio di andare in habito corto, come persona negotiante del dominio Veneto." [It will be always advisable, more particularly in the suspected countries, that you should appear in a short coat, like one occupied in commerce from the Venetian territories.] So much dissembling and disguise were thought needful to success.

That such directions should be given in writing should scarcely excite our wonder. In that court, and more particularly in the chancery of Ludovisio, they were fond of writing. The Instructions prepared by Agucchia are not wanting in important political views, but they are also loaded with trifles of this kind. The compiler desired to have the credit of thinking of every thing.

There was, besides, much cause for apprehending the rage to be awakened among the inhabitants of Heidelberg by this loss to their metropolis, more especially among the reformed. The library was to be escorted by a detachment of cavalry.

No. 102.

Instruttione al padre Don Tobia Corona, de' chierici regolari, mandato da Papa Gregorio XV. al re di Francia e prima al duca di Savoia per l'impresa della città di Ginevra. 1622. [Instructions to Father Corona, of the clerks regular, sent by Gregory XV. to the king of France, and first to the duke of Savoy, respecting the enterprise against the city of Geneva.] Library of Frankfort on the Maine, MSS. Glauburg, tom. 39, n. 1. 26 leaves. 4to.

The commencement of this paper is as follows:—"L'Italia che dall' eterna providenza è stata eletta a reggere hora l'imperio temporale, hora lo spirituale del mondo." [Italy, which has been elected by eternal Providence to govern at one time the temporal, at another the spiritual empire of the world.]

To this spiritual domination, Geneva is above all things abhorrent; "non solo come piena di huomini appestati ma come catedra di pestilenza" [not only as being full of men infected with pestilence, but as itself the very seat of pestilence].

To chastise it, to destroy that city, was a task especially befitting the pope as the vicar of Christ, and the duke of Savoy, who still calls himself count of Geneva. And accordingly the popes and dukes had frequently attempted that enterprise, but had constantly been impeded by the protection that France had extended to the city. Now, however, the state of things is altered. "La Francia tratta il soggetto di domare i ribellati heretici, et ha da ricever piacere che per togliere loro e forze e la riputatione si faccia il medesimo senza suo costo in altre parti." [France is occupied with the task of subduing the rebel heretics, and will be pleased to see that they are deprived of strength and reputation in other quarters, by measures similar to those she is herself adopting, and without any cost to her.]

The pope had formed the plan of this attack from the very commencement of his pontificate, and thought the way might be prepared for its execution by the mission of a conventual ecclesiastic. "Poiche habbiamo un' argumento di religione, si conviene fuggendone il rumore coprirlo più che si puote: vuole inviarvi un religioso. La P. V^ra^ porterà da per tutto questo negotio come nato nell' animo di Sua S^tà^ senza altra origine che dello spirito santo." [Since our motive is that of religion, it will be advisable that we should avoid all rumour, concealing our proceedings as much as possible; therefore we will send a monk thither. Your reverence will conduct this affair throughout as originating in the mind of his holiness, without any other inspiration than that of the Holy Spirit.]

He is first to awaken in the duke of Savoy "the propensities of a warlike heart;" but if he should require help, he must represent to him how greatly the support accorded to the emperor and the League had exhausted the Apostolic See, how many claims the Poles were making, and the heavy expenses occasioned by Avignon; yet he was by all means to lead him to hope for some assistance. "Che Sua S^tà^ non sarà stretta a S. A. di tutti quelli ajuti che dalle picciole forze uscir potranno." [That his holiness would not be parsimonious

towards his highness in supplying him with all those aids that can be given with confined resources.] The envoy is also directed to request all needful information respecting the rights of Savoy to Geneva.

But the most important part of his mission was the kind of representations that he should make to the king of France. 1. That the king must beware of incurring the suspicion that he was persecuting the Protestants solely from regard to his political interests. 2. That even these interests, rightly understood, required the destruction of Geneva. "Se Ginevra non fosse stata ricovero di Calvino, la M^ta^ S. non havrebbe di presente da portare l'armi contro l'ostinati e perversi suoi popoli Ugonotti, non si vedrebbe nascere le republiche contro la monarchia. . . . . Sono republiche popolari che in ogni palmo di terreno e fino nell' istessa corte e forse nella camera del re hanno lor cittadini e seguaci. . . . . Già la republica loro (Ugonotti) è piantata, già ne sono publicate le leggi, e già in ogni provincia hanno costituiti i magistrati, i consigli et i governatori dell' armi: più non hanno da fare che da andare eglino a muovere l'armi al re per cacciarlo di casa." [If Geneva had not afforded shelter to Calvin, his majesty would not now be compelled to bear arms against his obstinate and perverse Huguenot subjects; nor would republics be seen rising up against the monarchy. . . . There are popular republics (those of the Huguenots) that have their citizens and adherents on every hand's breadth of ground; nay, even in the court itself, and perhaps in the very chamber of the king. . . . Already the republic of the Huguenots is founded; already are its laws published; already are magistrates, counsellors, and commanders of armies appointed in every province. There remains nothing more for them to do than themselves to take up arms against the king and drive him from his throne.]

How prominently the element and tendencies of monarchy were brought forward in the midst of these Catholic endeavours, is here made manifest. Geneva was to be destroyed as the chief and adviser of the Huguenot republics. It could now look for no assistance, since all other Protestant communities were fully occupied with their own affairs, and the English were bound fast by treaties.

And of what importance could this augmentation of Savoy

be considered, in comparison with the might of France? The pass could not be defended against the Swiss, since the king held possession of Bresse. "I cantoni cattolici, con quali la corona è più congiunta, ne riceveranno e servitio e piacere: certo che il cantone di Friburgo circondato da Bernesi heretici, benche sia valoroso e di loro non tema, haverà nondimeno più caro di confinare per via del lago con quella città divenuta cattolica e posta sotto il dominio di un principe amico e cattolico, che libera et heretica remanente." [The Catholic cantons, with which the crown is most closely allied, will be gratified as well as benefited by the change. The canton of Friburg, surrounded by Bernese heretics, although it be valiant and not afraid of them, will none the less prefer to have for its neighbours on the side of the lake, that city become Catholic, and placed under the dominion of a friendly and Catholic prince, rather than the same remaining free and heretical.

Cardinal Retz, the Constable (Luines), and Père Arnoux, are the persons named to Corona as those from whom he may more particularly expect support.

We shall presently speak of the results of this mission.

No. 103.

Relatione di Roma fatta nel Senato Veneto dall' ambasciador Rainiero Zeno alli 22 *di Nov.* 1623. *Informat. Politt. tom.* xiv. 101 *leaves.* [Report from Rome, presented to the Venetian Senate by the ambassador Rainiero Zeno, on the 2nd of November, 1623. Informat. Politt. &c.]

The ambassadors, returning from their missions, usually express themselves with modesty and deference, as well towards the princes from whom they return as towards their hearers. Rainiero Zeno is the first who gives evidence of a great self-complacency. He not only declares that he lays before the senate a clear view and balance of the papal revenues and expenditure, which he had compiled with the most diligent care (f. 80), but even reminds them of the lively colours with which he had portrayed first one and then another of the cardinals in his despatches (f. 111). Of Pope Urban himself, he says, without ceremony, "with two words

I brought his arguments to nothing." He asserts, in express terms, that "the Divine Majesty had given him the talent of penetrating the innermost thoughts of the most reserved men;' and makes Cardinal Ludovisio utter an encomium on the Venetian republic, because she always selected men of the most approved ability for the embassy to Rome.

Rainier Zeno appears some years later in the Venetian troubles of 1628. Here, also, whatever proceeds from his pen has that stamp of self-approval manifest in the report before us, and which betrays itself in so many Italians and Spaniards of that century.

Among men of this character there could not fail to be many collisions; Rainier Zeno accordingly experienced the most unpleasant incidents in the course of his embassy.

These took place for the most part in the pontificate of Gregory XV. Ludovisio desired a display of reverence and observance that Zeno would not accord him: they consequently soon fell into violent dissensions.

In the latter part of his report Zeno describes these contentions. He boasts of having frequently given sharp replies to the papal nephew—of reducing him to silence. He derived especial satisfaction from having arrived by secret means at the knowledge of things which the cardinal nephew believed to be veiled in the deepest secrecy, and respecting which he would then let him see that he was perfectly well acquainted with the whole. It rejoices him to think of the vexation this occasioned to Ludovisio. "Vedeva," he says, "che appresso di me non poteva restare in quel gran concetto di sapere ch'egli con tutti ascosamente ambiva." [He saw that with me he must give up his mighty conceit of being impenetrable to every one.] But he will not have it supposed that much evil came of this; on the contrary, the republic was thereby advanced in reputation. When it was proposed to leave the Valtelline as a deposit in the hands of the Spaniards, there was nothing so much dreaded by Ludovisio as the noise of the Venetian protests,—"il fracasso che era per far io, il rimbombo delle mie proteste" [the uproar that I was sure to make, the resounding of my protestations].

But these times had, meanwhile, passed away. Urban VIII. had ascended the papal throne, and Rainier Zeno makes it his particular care to describe the personal character, the court,

and political administration of that pontiff, so far as they had at that time become known.

He declares repeatedly that the cardinals made it their only thought to speak in such a manner as might satisfy the pope. He considers it perfectly right that no man should think of attempting to bring the papal finances into order. There is no instrument, he says, so well fitted to throw all Christendom into confusion as the head of a pope.

He thereupon sketches a portrait of Urban VIII. "E prencipe d'aspetto grave e venerabile, di statura grande, di colore olivastro, di lineamenti nobili, di pel nero che comincia a tirar al canuto, d'attillatura più che ordinaria, e di gratia singolare ne' gesti e ne' moti del corpo. Parla per eccellenza bene, et in qualsivoglia discorso che s'entra seco, ha da difendersi quanto vuole, e d'ogni materia mostra d'haver peritia straordinaria. Ha mostrato sin hora diletto grande della poesia, l'uso della quale non ha mai intermesso, nè pure nelle occupationi e nelli studii più serii: perciò gl'intendenti di questa arte e delle lettere che chiamano di humanità sono stati sempre benveduti da lui, et gli ha favoriti cortesemente in quello che ha potuto: non l'ha però questo diletto astratto da quello che importava più e che era più necessario per li carichi che successivamente li sono passati per le mani, dico dallo studio delle leggi, nel quale ha faticato incessantemente dalla prima gioventù sino a questi ultimi anni con tanta maggiore applicatione, perche così richiedeva la carica del perfetto della signatura di giustitia, magistrato che richiede studio et acutezza grandissima et esattissima per la varietà delle materie che vi concorrono. Delli affari del mondo e degl' interessi de' prencipi è intendentissimo, quanto che se nelle scuole politiche havesse fatto continua dimora." [He is a prince of grave and venerable aspect, tall in stature, of an olive complexion; his features are noble, and his hair black, beginning to turn grey; more than commonly elegant in appearance, singularly graceful in his gestures and the movements of his body. He speaks admirably well, and on whatever subject you enter with him, he has arguments at will, and displays extraordinary proficiency in every matter. He has hitherto shewn a great love for poetry, which he has never ceased to cultivate, even in his most serious occupations and studies. Those who are well acquainted with this

art, and with what is called humane letters, have been always well received by him, and he has courteously favoured them in all that came within his power; yet this taste does not abstract his attention from things of greater importance, and which were more essential to the due performance of his duties in such offices as have successively passed through his hands. I speak of the study of law, in which he has laboured incessantly from his earliest youth even to these last years, and that with the extraordinary closeness of application required by his charge of prefect to the segnatura of justice, a magistracy demanding severe study, extreme acuteness, and the most exact accuracy, because of the variety of the affairs brought before it. He is so well versed in the business of the world, and the interests of princes, that it might be thought he had passed his whole time in the schools of politics.]

It is by no means necessary that we should extract further. The resemblance of this portrait is only in the general outline; the more delicate features of that intellectual physiognomy are not to be found here, whether because they were not developed until a later period, or that Zeno had not the power of comprehending them.

The case is precisely similar with the following descriptions of the pope's relatives and the cardinals, of whom the author gives a circumstantial account.

One thing only demands notice, that he advises the senate to expect no kind of service from the Venetian cardinals. "Priuli," he says, "languido di spirito come di corpo." [Priuli, feeble in mind as in body.] So contemptuously does he treat them! Of Venier he will not speak at all, in order that he may have no contentions with his kinsmen.

He next proceeds to the political relations. He declares himself at least content that this time a pope has been elected who is not in love with the Spaniards. Albuquerque had found the soil exceedingly stubborn, and could not get what he wanted. The relations of Urban VIII. to France are described by Zeno in the following manner.

"Non è da dubitarsi che il pontefice verso il regno di Francia habbi molta propensione d'affetto, additandocelo molte congetture probabilissime: hebbero a quella corte principio le sue grandezze, alle quali, se bene ascese per meriti proprii, non nega però egli medesimo che di grande ajuto li fossero le

attestationi d'Henrico quarto della sodisfattione che haveva del suo modo di negotiare et del gusto che sentirebbe di vederli partecipato l'honor solito a conferirsi alli altri residenti in quella carica; quadra benissimo a Sua S.tà il trattare de' Francesi ingenuo et libero, lontano dalli artificii, lontano dalle duplicità proprie delle altre nationi; ha una certa conformità di genio alle qualità de' studii alli quali s'applicano et de' quali si dilettano più li Francesi, ch'è la pulitezza delle lettere, l'eruditione più acconcia, la poesia, la cognitione delle lingue, in che per quanto le permettono le sue attioni, s'è pigliato molto piacere. Stima quel regno, quanto si possa dire, per reputarlo equilibrio dell' ambitione d'altri, li cui fini mirano senza dubbio alla monarchia universale." [It is not to be doubted that the pontiff has a most friendly disposition towards the kingdom of France, a thing pointed out to us as most highly probable by many circumstances; for first his greatness took its rise in that court. Since, although it is true that he rose by his own merits, yet he does not himself deny that he received great assistance from the attestations of Henry IV. to the satisfaction produced by his mode of transacting business, and to that monarch's assurance of the pleasure it would give him to see him participate in the honours usually conferred on other residents who had held the same charge. The frank and ingenuous proceedings of the French, wholly free from the artifice and duplicity common to other nations, are in perfect accord with the disposition of his holiness; there is also a certain conformity in the modes of study to which the French apply themselves, and in which they excel, with those in which his holiness takes pleasure,—the more polite literature, that is to say, the more graceful kinds of erudition, poetry, and the study of languages, in which he also delights, and has engaged, in so far as his active duties have permitted. He esteems that kingdom as much as words can say, because he considers it as a counterpoise to the ambition of the others, which unquestionably aim at universal monarchy.]

The pope took it very ill that the Venetians should connect themselves with heretics and unbelievers. He thought there could certainly have been other assistance found for them.

Zeno concludes by once more recalling to mind the toils

and struggles that his office had cost him; his incessant watchings, his sleepless nights, and the bitter vexations by which his health had been impaired. "Yet am I more rejoiced," he says, "to have worn out my life in the service of my native land, than if I had lived at ease for a whole century, but remained inactive."

No. 104.

Relatione degli ecc^mi signori amb^ri straordinarii, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, e Zeno, ritornati ultimamente da Roma, letta all' ecc^mo senato 25 *Febr.* 1624. (*i. e. M. V.* 1625.) [Report of the most excellent the ambassadors extraordinary, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, and Zeno, lately returned from Rome, read to the most excellent senate 25 Feb. 1624. (i. e. M. V. 1625.)]

When Gregory XV. declared that he would no longer transact business with Rainier Zeno, the Venetians sent Geronimo Soranzo to take his place. Yet Zeno was still in Rome, as we have just seen, when Urban VIII. was elected. Both were commissioned to congratulate the new pontiff, Corner and Erizzo appearing to complete the embassy.

The report which they prepared in common is free from those effusions of self-love to which Zeno alone gave indulgence; it acquires a certain importance from the fact that the affairs of the republic had again become complicated by the matter of the Valtelline.

Pope Urban appears to have been greatly dissatisfied by the Venetians having taken part with the French in their attack on the papal garrisons. "Che i cannoni della republica si fossero voltati contra i luoghi tenuti in deposito della S. S^tà, che chiamò luoghi dell' istessa chiesa." [That the cannon of the republic should have been turned against places held in deposit by his holiness, and which might therefore be called the fortresses of the church itself.]

"Nè mancano," continue the ambassadors, "in Roma soggetti d'ogni grado et d'ogni qualità che proponevano a S. S^tà, come ella medesima ci disse, ad usare contra quell' ecc^mo senato le censure ecclesastiche." [Nor are there wanting in Rome men of every rank, and of all characters, who pro-

posed to his holiness, as he told us himself, that he should utter the ecclesiastical censures against the most excellent senate.]

They laboured to excuse themselves as well as they possibly could: they affirmed that it was the purpose of the Spaniards to possess themselves of universal monarchy. "Rendersi patroni di quelli passi, per facilitarsi la monarchia di questa provincia." [To make themselves masters of those passes, and thereby facilitate their attainment of the sovereignty of that province.] They alleged that religion had been perfectly secure, and that their having formed a league with Ultramontanes was the less to be brought against them as a ground of reproach, because they had been forbidden by the popes themselves to raise troops in the States of the Church.

Urban had believed that they would make him some conciliatory proposal in relation to that affair; but they had no commission to that effect. On his side, also, he was on that account inaccessible to their requests. They were obliged to content themselves with merely perceiving that his displeasure was mitigated: "Non si impetrava altro che mitigamento dell' acerbità mostrata del suo animo." [They gained nothing further than a mitigation of that animosity which was in his mind.]

But this could not have been a very difficult matter to attain, since the aversion of Urban to the Spaniards had already made itself manifest. He declared "che non poteva parlar alto, perche troppo era circondato da' Spagnoli, e che a Madrid lo chiamavano heretico, ma che armato si havrebbe fatto rispettare" [that he dared not speak above his breath, so closely was he surrounded by Spaniards, and that at Madrid they were calling him a heretic; but that if he were armed he would make himself respected].

His subsequent opinions and conduct was already shadowed forth in these words.

It is principally with interests of this kind that our report is occupied, but it also attempts to give an intimation of affairs in general. Let us observe how it describes the chiefs of the government in the first years of Urban VIII.

"Quelli che di presente sono in maggior autorità presso il pontefice nella essentia degli affari, si ristringono nel sig"

cardinale Magalotti e nel sig^r Don Carlo Barberino, fratello della Beat^ne Sua. Mostrano però ambidue di non conoscere e non havere questa autorità: schifano i congressi, parono non esser informati dei negotii, non gustano di esser frequentemente visitati, e con questa maniera di procedere, differente assai dal costume dei parenti dei pontefici passati, conservano in maggior riputatione la Santità Sua, volendo dar ad intendere che tutto dipende dai soli cenni di lei," &c. [With regard to those who are now in the highest authority with the pontiff for the most essential affairs, they are restricted to two persons, namely, Cardinal Magalotti and Don Carlo Barberino, brother of his holiness. It is true that both affect to be quite unconscious of this authority, and not to possess it: they avoid all official interviews, pretend to know nothing of the affairs in hand, do not approve of being frequently visited; and by this mode of proceeding, very unlike that adopted by the kindred of other popes, they more effectually sustain the reputation of his holiness, desiring to have it understood that all depends entirely on his commands alone.

[In events of very grave importance, his holiness was sometimes wont to summon to his councils the cardinals Bandino, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna, and some others; because, knowing them to be of very severe character, he sought by this appearance to give proofs of esteem for the sacred college and for their persons: not that he was in effect much inclined towards them, or confided greatly to their opinions. And this conceit of his holiness, which is clearly perceived by the said cardinals as well as by others, is complained of by every one, all affirming that after his determination respecting affairs is taken, he communicates with them, but not with any intention of accepting their advice. They perceive also that he becomes daily more negligent in making these communications, omitting, indeed, altogether to hold consultations with the cardinals. It is true, that though greatly induced to this by the wish to retain absolute dominion and authority in his own hands, yet he is the more confirmed in it because he knows them to be dependent on one or other of the foreign sovereigns, and attached to the interests of those princes; so that he considers this course to be most advantageous for himself.

[With respect to matters touching the republic, Monsignor Gessi and Monsignor Montefiascone are admitted to the con-

sultations, as having been nuncios to this city and well acquainted with its affairs. Occasionally also, Anzolo Badoer is also invited, but he lives in Rome under another name and surname, having become a priest and fixed himself there finally, residing for his greater security in a house attached to the monastery of the Frati della Scalla, in whose church he generally says mass. But, as we have said, the Cardinal Magalotti and Signor Carlo Barberino are the fixed stars of that firmament; and all negotiations, being confined to those two heads, are conducted with the closest secrecy; so that what we could not attain to by conjecture, it was very difficult to know by any other means, unless we were directly informed by the pontiff himself.

[Don Carlo displays a similar independence of princes to that possessed by his holiness. He is fifty-eight years old, of good constitution, and strong. He is disposed to give satisfaction to the people by keeping the cities well supplied with all things. In his private affairs he is a careful economist, and is anxious to make himself rich, knowing well that the reputation of men is enhanced by wealth,—nay, that gold exalts and distinguishes its possessor advantageously in the eyes of the world; besides that, it is the generally received opinion that it is not reasonable or suitable for a man who has once been the kinsman of a pope, to remain after his death in narrow circumstances. He is a man of few words, but sensitive. He has shown the highest reverence for the most serene republic, but we having said to him, on paying our compliments, that we wished his holiness a long reign, he replied with a certain bitterness, that if the pope were to be respected and honoured as pope,—alluding to matters then proceeding in the Valtelline,—he should desire long life for him; but that if it were to be otherwise, he should pray the Almighty to take him to himself as soon as possible.

[Cardinal Magalotti also professes to live in perfect independence. He is a sagacious and prudent man, shewing great vivacity of mind and restlessness of spirit, and it is believed that he might be gained. As the cardinal-nephew increases in age and experience, it is thought that they will scarcely go on well together, and that the pope will therefore take care to avail himself of the cardinal's services at the right moment, in some legation.]

No. 105.

Instruttione a M^re Sacchetti, vescovo di Gravina, nunzio destinato di N. S^re per la M^ta catt^ca. 1624. *Barb. fol.* 26 *leaves.* [Instructions to Monsignor Sacchetti, bishop of Gravina, nuncio elect from our lord the pope to the king of Spain.]

The directions of Sacchetti refer, first, to the domestic affairs of Spain; secondly, to those of Europe generally.

1. There were at all times manifold rivalries and disputes between Rome and Spain. The Roman court was just then, for example, extremely displeased that a cardinal such as Lerma should be deprived of his revenues and summoned before a secular tribunal. But while the pope laboured to put a stop to these proceedings, he caused Lerma to be admonished, at the same time, that he must resign all hope of worldly greatness,—that nothing further, indeed, could be done, since Olivarez was so high in favour; wherefore he would do well to make up his mind, and after having lived so long for others, at length to live to God and himself. On the other hand the nuncio was referred to Olivarez, with whom the Roman court was at that moment still on good terms. The following remarkable circumstance is brought forward on this occasion:—"It has come to pass that the jealousy of the queen, aroused by some suspicion that the king had bestowed his affections elsewhere, has led her to complain to the king of France, her brother, in such sort that the latter had taken a resolution to make it a matter of public dispute with his brother-in-law. But the predecessor of your excellency wrote about the business, and said he had found a remedy by establishing confidence between Count Olivarez and the queen, who had before been exceedingly distrustful of him."

The nuncio is also recommended to have recourse to the grand inquisitor, and was directed to stimulate that official to increased watchfulness against the introduction of heretical books into Spain and the Indies.

2. There had been conceived in Spain the idea of securing the German line in more peaceful possession of their late acquisitions by means of two new marriages. The hereditary Prince Palatine and Bethlem Gabor were both to be married

to princesses of the imperial house. By these means it was hoped that the Hungarian troubles, and still more certainly those of Germany, might be got over. This purpose did not at first obtain credence in Rome, but on the receipt of further intelligence, it was no longer possible to doubt. The pope hastened to make remonstrances to the king against this design. It had appeared from certain letters, that it was by no means the purpose of the English to suffer that the Prince Palatine should become Catholic, even though he did go to the imperial court, and would they venture to confide in so unstable a man as Gabor? He (the pontiff) could neither believe nor sanction such proposals, and charged his nuncio to oppose them with his utmost power.—"Your Lordship—but with address and watching your time—will do every thing to impede them [those two marriages] that, humanly speaking, you may."

We know that Pope Urban himself had a large part in defeating these, if far-sought, yet well-intentioned plans. The mission of Rota, which we have before mentioned, is explained by these expressions.

No. 106.

Instruttione a V. S^ria^ arcivescovo di Damiata e chierico di camera per la nuntiatura ordinaria al re crist^mo^. 23 *Genn.* 1624. [Instructions to the Archbishop of Damiata, clerk of the chamber, nuncio in ordinary to the king of France.]

This Instruction is the counterpart of that given to Sacchetti.

Here also the pope condemns the above-described plan for the restitution of the Palatinate in the most violent manner. He calls on the king to use his influence for inducing Saxony to abstain from impeding the progress of the Bavarian power. After that he wishes for nothing more earnestly than the destruction of Orange, which was only a gathering-place for heretics.

But the most important part of this document refers to the internal affairs. King Louis XIII. is described as follows:—"The king is beyond measure virtuous, and

abhors all those vices which are wont to accompany sovereign power. He is not haughty, but most affable. He is not too much attached to his own opinion, but rather loves to receive good counsels. He is no lover of ease, but is devoted to labour, which he bears bravely; he knows no pleasure but that of the chase; he cherishes no abject or grovelling thought, but is most desirous of glory, yet without neglecting the duties of piety. His ministers of state, as also his attendants at the chase, whom he readily accosts, may enjoy a degree of liberty with his majesty which the rigid etiquette of the great rarely permits. Among those who have access to his majesty on account of the chase, his principal favourite is the sieur de Toiras, a wary and prudent man, who does not mix himself up with state affairs, that he may the better conceal his influence, but is very capable of acting in them."

Under this monarch, Catholicism was making the most brilliant progress. The nuncio is enjoined to promote all the missions to the very utmost of his power, more particularly those in the south of France: he is directed to defend their interests on all occasions at the court of the king.

But even at that time a constantly-renewed and insuperable opposition was arising from the Gallican principles.

There was at least a portion of the members of the Sorbonne by whom the doctrine of the independence of the temporal power and the divine right of bishops was put forward and defended. Some even propounded the opinion that parish priests had a right to as much power in their parishes as the bishops in their bishoprics. These doctrines the pope considers abominable: it grieves him sorely that though Richer, who defended these opinions with especial earnestness, was excommunicated, yet that he paid no regard to that circumstance, but continued to read mass as before. The parliaments were meanwhile taking active measures to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The appeals "comme d'abus," the inquiries into the despatches of the dataria, the encroachments on the jurisdiction of the bishops, appeared to the pope like so many usurpations. ["They favour all who appeal to them, and in this manner they seek to subjugate such provinces as are not yet subjected to them, as, for example, Brittany, Provence, and Bourg-en-Bresse."]

In the prohibition of books, also, the parliament interfered

Gladly would the nuncios have forbidden works such as those of De Thou and Richer, but they found it impossible. The new nuncio is directed to prevent the coming out of mischievous books, rather than to wait for their appearance:—[" The printing-presses are true hotbeds of all false doctrines, and it will be necessary that the nuncio should seek to make friends of the booksellers, that they may give notice from time to time of what books are in the press, seeing that when once they are printed, there is difficulty in obtaining the prohibition."]

We see clearly that the entire conflict between the Curia and Gallicanism had already commenced,— that conflict which, under its various forms, kept different periods of the old Bourbon monarchy in constant commotion.

No. 107.

Instruttione a V. S^ria^ Mons^r^ Campeggi, vescovo di Cesena, destinato da N. Sig^re^ suo nuntio al S^mo^ Sig^r^ duca di Savoia. 1624. [Instruction to Monsignor Campeggi, bishop of Cesena, papal nuncio to the most serene duke of Savoy.]

An Instruction that is remarkable, particularly as throwing further light on the previously-named mission of Don Tobia Corona. We perceive that the enterprise against Geneva was brought to nothing, principally by the opposition of Luines and Rohan, who were still powerful, but also in part by the respect in which the Huguenots generally were held. We also learn, however, that the hope of it was not by any means relinquished on that account.

[" From whom the first suggestion of this enterprise proceeded, whether from the pope or the duke, is not well known. It is true that the pope sent briefs and letters of exhortation to the duke himself, and to the prince of Piedmont, whence it might be conjectured that the pope was the author of it; but his highness the duke displayed so prompt a readiness to receive exhortation, that it does not seem likely to go very wide of the truth if we believe him to have induced the pope to write to him. The difficulties encountered by Father Corona did not originate with the king or queen, who readily yielded to the pontifical persuasions: they arose from the constable Luines, followed by the principal ministers,

who were moved either by their own interests or by their wish to pay court to the constable, and by certain grandees of the Huguenot party. It is believed that the aversion to this enterprise displayed by Luines was inspired by the duc de Rohan; and if we inquire the motive that could impel the latter to oppose the undertaking, we find no other than his own desire for the maintenance of the heretics, he being one of them, and the fear he felt of losing a large body of followers in France from his adherents having to go to the succour of the Genevese. The negotiation of Father Tobia resulted in this, that not only the king was not displeased by that mission, but that none—even of those who well perceived all its purport—dared openly to blame it. All that was said was, that some declared the time was not come for attempting so great an undertaking; and others said the duke ought not to have placed the king in that strait till after the thing was done, because that then his majesty would not have been able to refuse his approbation to the piety and magnanimity of the duke, while previously to the fact his majesty could not violate that faith under which the Genevese believed they were reposing in security. From that time to the present it has been believed that the duke intended to attempt a surprise; and now there is no longer any doubt of this, because his highness has declared himself to his holiness, entreating his assistance. His holiness has replied that he will grant it willingly, and in a manner similar to that adopted by Pope Gregory. But as that course would not be compatible with the secrecy demanded for a surprise, his highness has preferred to content himself with the promise of our lord the pope, that he will use his influence with the most Christian king, so that after the thing has been done, his majesty shall not be indignant thereat."]

There is, moreover, mention in this document of certain affairs more especially touching Piedmont. They shewed that a path was opening to the disputes of a later period. The duke claimed the privilege of nominating to episcopal sees: the pope would acknowledge nothing further in him than the right of recommending, and evinces displeasure at certain burthens that were laid on the clergy.

No. 108.

Ragguaglio dello stato di religione nel regno di Boemia e sue provincie incorporate. 1624. [An account of the state of religion in the kingdom of Bohemia and its incorporated provinces. 1624.]

In May, 1621, Carlo Caraffa arrived in Prague, and proceeded immediately to the work with which Gregory XV. had especially charged him,—the superintendence, namely, of the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia.

Eighteen months after this, as he himself informs us, consequently in November, 1622, he prepared a report of his labours, under the title "Relatio Bohemica," which he despatched to the newly-founded Propaganda. I had sight of the original work, that which circulated among the members of the Congregation: these were cardinals Sauli, Bandini, Barberini (afterwards Urban VIII.), Borgia (at a later period the violent opponent of Urban), Ubaldini, Santa Susanna, Valerio Sagrato, and Zollern, with the prelates Vives, Aguecchi, and Scala. Zollern was deputed to take a copy and report from it.

This first report Caraffa enlarged fourteen months afterwards, consequently in June, 1624; and sent it, under the title given above, to Urban VIII., in order, as he says, "to kindle his paternal zeal into still greater love towards the Bohemians."

There is an elaborate printed work by Caraffa still extant, "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata;" which is one of the most important sources for the history of the first ten years of the thirty years' war; but, in the first place, he could not there enter so fully into the details of his Bohemian labours, to which he always looks back with complacency, as in a report especially devoted to that purpose; and there were, besides, certain other considerations required for a printed work, certain restrictions imposed by various motives. The Report, on the contrary, speaks out in full freedom, giving all the facts in detail.

It does not, indeed, comprise more than the beginning of the changes effected in Bohemia; but as respects these it is, in fact, of great importance.

I have already availed myself of these details in the narrative, but necessarily with close compression. I will here add a few particulars, from which it will be seen under what difficulties, chiefly created by the government of the country, the nuncio carried his views into effect.

1. The introduction of the Latin ritual.

["Having held a conference respecting that matter with Plateis, and considering that those few Bohemians who were Catholics frequented without any restriction the churches of our ritual, where, nevertheless, they always heard the divine offices performed in the Latin tongue, I judged that we ought not to despair of causing the same to be done by those also who should be newly converted, more especially if it were insinuated to them by the preachers that this tongue is, as it were, in a certain sort of its essence most suitable for the divine offices in use through all Catholic countries, and particularly in those churches which are comprised beneath the

rule of the western empire, as a sign of the superiority and predominance of the Roman church over all others. Wherefore, I gave orders to the said Plateis, that at the first possible moment he should employ his utmost diligence towards restoring the use of the aforesaid idiom in such churches as were already taken from the hands of the heretics. Accordingly, on the day of the holy apostles Saint Simon and Jude, in the year 1621, on the occasion of the church of Saint Stephen, the principal parish of the Terranova, being provided by the archbishop with a Catholic incumbent, which parish was inhabited by the very meanest of the people, among whom there were very few Catholics, the most immaculate sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in the presence of a very great number of heretics in the aforesaid church, in the Latin tongue, with aspersion of holy water, invocation of saints, and all the Roman rites, two centuries after the Latin tongue had been excluded from that church, and wherein the mass had not been celebrated for very many years, either in one idiom or the other. This example was afterwards followed, not only by the churches of the city, but by those of all other places in the kingdom, without any complaint or outcry whatever on the part of the people; and I, being in Prague, have seen the said people conduct themselves with much attention at the divine offices."]

2. Deprivation of the cup.

["Then when I had learned the desires and views of the sacred congregation of the holy office, from the letters and documents sent me at that time, I determined to forbid it (the cup) altogether, and to give no further ear to the clamours and prayers of those inhabiting the said kingdom, arguing that if they were disposed to be obedient sons of holy church, they would walk in this as well as in every other matter in concert with the rest of the Catholic body; but if they should shun to return from this abuse, rooted in the minds even of Catholics by that pretended concession of Pius IV., it must be held as a proof of pride and obstinacy, and as a sign that they were not true Catholics. Whence, laying aside all other considerations, and disregarding the dangers alleged by politicians, who imagined that insurrections and irremediable evils would proceed from this innovation, I caused all the parish priests to be prohibited from offering to any one the species of the wine, commanding them that, whosoever should demand both species of them, they should ask if he were a Catholic, and on his declaring himself to be such, should set forth to him the necessity of giving obedience to the Roman ritual, which excludes the laity from the cup. Then many who were not touched by true zeal, hearing this, persisted in their obstinacy, not communicating in either form, and we meanwhile kept fast to our purpose that the cup should not be offered: but there was not one of those priests who had returned to their allegiance, and who had the reconciled churches in their cure, who would have had courage to offer the single species of bread in the face of the heretics who frequented the said churches, if the chancellor Plateis had not so intrepidly given commencement to that holy enterprise in the parish of Saint Martin, as hath been noted above. Which usage, being introduced to the praise of God in the other churches, is observed in them with perfect tranquillity, although the statesmen gave me trouble enough in the matter. For the heretics, seeing the design that they had formed of compelling true Catholic priests to administer the sacrament under both kinds

to be blown to the winds, had recourse, in the year just past, 1622, to the aid of the said statesmen; but in what manner they comported themselves on that occasion it is not my business at this time to relate. Let it be sufficient to say that they extorted a letter from Prince Lichtenstein, who was then here, in virtue of which, as though it were by order of his majesty, summoning the two parish priests of the Tein and Santa Enrico, who had formerly been Dominicans, they commanded them, that in the solemnities of Easter, they should present the sacrament indifferently to every one, to whatsoever ritual he might belong, under both species. Accordingly, on Thursday, 'in Cœna Domini,' by the pure perfidy of the said statesmen, there was committed the greatest abomination; more than two thousand wicked heretics receiving the venerable body of the Lord consecrated under the two forms of bread and wine, from the hands of the legitimate priests, the holy thing being thus given to dogs by the fault of Catholic men. To this Plateis did not fail to make such opposition as might have been expected from him; but nothing could avail against their temerity; wherefore, to maintain the prohibition of the use of the cup, he resolved to take courage, and to dispense the sacrament publicly, under the form of bread alone, as he did three days after in the church of Saint Martin. And I, having had notice of that impious crime, went instantly to make a bitter complaint of it to his majesty, beseeching, in every manner most likely to prevail, that his ministers should not take it upon themselves to intermeddle in those things which concerned the reverence due to the awful sacrament of the altar, which I belonged solely to the spiritual power, as relating to the salvation of the soul: lamenting, further, that they, without fitting respect, should venture to interfere with the ministers of religion, not shewing any sign of obedience towards God and the holy Roman see, of which his majesty had ever proved himself so observant. By all which the emperor, being beyond measure affected, instantly gave most rigid command to the said statesmen to the effect that they should leave the care of ecclesiastical affairs and of religion to churchmen, reprehending them severely for the presumption they had committed. Thereupon they rose violently against myself and Plateis, as being those from whom they were persuaded that the rebuff they had received from his majesty had originated; and besides that they bitterly threatened Plateis, they did not abstain from assailing my authority also, intimating to monsignore the archbishop, that he was not bound to obey me in a matter of so much importance as the suppression of the use of the cup in Prague, unless I shewed him a special brief from his holiness to that effect; neither did they omit to stir up the aforesaid parish priests, bidding them be of good courage, and persuading them that they need have no fear either of me or the archbishop, since they would be always protected and upheld by the political government, to which, in that kingdom, the ecclesiastics were subjected by ancient usage. By these means they contrived that the curate of the Tein, again prevaricating, committed an act of open disobedience, and had the boldness to preach to the people that they should not suffer the papists, who sought to tyrannize in every thing, to take away the use of the cup, and that they should pray to God for him, the true defender of that ancient rite of their fathers, in such sort that the populace made some little tumult, presenting themselves that evening to the number of 2,000 at the house of

that curate, as if in his defence. But this having come to my knowledge, I at once incited his majesty to indignation, and obtained command that the said priest should be arrested, and given over to monsignore the archbishop. This was executed without any delay whatever; and that populace which had first shewn so much eagerness for his security did not make the slightest movement, although they beheld him carried away in the face of day, and before all the people. And he, after some weeks of incarceration, having died in prison, his place in the cure of that church, which is the principal one of the 'Terra vecchia,' was supplied by another priest, a Catholic, and further by the preaching of the canon Rottua, a man distinguished both for learning and zeal, who still administers the duties of that charge with great advantage, and the attendance of a vast concourse, both of Catholics and heretics, all of whom willingly hear the preaching of that good priest, attracted by his efficacious word and pleasing manner."]

3. General mode of proceeding.

["By decree of his majesty, and in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the preliminary congregation held in Vienna, all the cities of the kingdom have since been reformed, the heretical ministers and preachers being driven out of them, and from the districts around them. In each of them, besides the priest, there have been placed a captain, judge, president of the council and chancellor, all Catholic—the heretical worship being banished from their borders for ever; for the emperor had become convinced by experience and the example of the fidelity of Budweis, and the perfidy of almost all the others, how great a difference was made by the question of whether the cities were heretic or Catholic. And although the prince of Lichtenstein, who was already drawing back from the reform now commenced, because of the many rumours of the displeasure it caused in Saxony, continued to promote it on my causing the order to be repeated to him, yet he remained undecided respecting the circles of Egra and Culm, on account of their bordering on Saxony, and that they claimed to hold of the empire, and not of the crown of Bohemia. From all this it comes to pass that there still remain certain preachers in the kingdom who are protected by heretic barons, or by Catholics of little faith; more particularly do they abound in the circle of Leitmeritz, supported by a Catholic baron, who, professing great intimacy and friendship with the elector of Saxony, is persuaded that in this manner he does a thing highly pleasing to the said elector. It is true that from my having exhorted him to drive them forth, and caused him to be spoken to by others to the same effect, he has promised to send them away; but I doubt that, withheld by his wife, who is a heretic, he will neglect to do so until compelled by force. Some of the preachers have also remained in those cities wherein heretic soldiers are quartered, the royal commissioners not having been willing to expose themselves to the peril of tumults by reforming these cities; but now that the expectation of war is diminishing, they will either disband these heretic soldiers, or will assign them to other quarters, in order that the reform may take place. There is one also yet remaining in the city of Kuttemberg, the prince of Lichtenstein excusing himself for not being able to expel him by declaring that, if he did so, the men of that place would not labour in the mines worked there. Nevertheless, on the return of

the emperor to Prague, I trust in God that a remedy will be applied to all these things. Nor should I omit to mention that in my passage from Ratisbon to Prague, having traversed a great part of Bohemia, and thence from Prague to Vienna, I have found the reformation effected everywhere; the city of Jaromir, where certain regiments of infantry belonging to the colonel-duke of Saxony were quartered excepted; but I afterwards sent strict orders from his majesty that this should be remedied, and also that in each of those cities the children should be educated in the Christian doctrine, teaching them to pray in the Latin tongue.

"All conventicles of the heretics have been prohibited under heavy penalties, both within the city of Prague and beyond its walls, with whatever pretext they might be assembled. The order for this was given many months since, at my request; but although I had repeatedly called for its execution from the government of Prague, it had never before been enforced.

"All the heretics have been removed from the senate of the city of Prague, their places being supplied by Catholic members; and they have been deprived of all effectual authority, having left to them only a certain appearance of power in matters of no great importance, and all the privileges prejudicial to the Catholic religion, accorded to them by former kings, being formally annulled, the emperor having an excellent opportunity for doing this, because he had reconquered the kingdom by force of arms, after it had been in open rebellion. The academy or college of Carlo IV. has been restored to its primitive institution, to the glory of God and the Catholic religion, being placed under the care of the Jesuit fathers, who have also the superintendence of all the schools in the kingdom; and they are, besides, using their best diligence to prevent the printing or selling of books that are contrary to Catholic truth, the booksellers and printers being subjected to their censorship. There has been some difficulty with respect to the aforesaid academy, for there was a wish for the appointment of a lay president, which I did not willingly listen to; but I hope that eventually the care of this matter will be left to the archbishop, who, by his ancient privileges, lays claim to be chancellor of the kingdom.

"An additional sum of 4,000 thalers yearly has been assigned to the house instituted in Prague for the poor by Ferdinand III., so that the number of persons supported there has been increased from 80, which they were at first, to 200. There have also been given to the Jesuit fathers 20,000 thalers at one time, to be expended on the building of their college; and in this matter it has not been requisite that they should employ my good offices, having no need of any one to mediate between them and the emperor, because of the evident utility of their proceedings. Estates producing 6,000 thalers yearly have been assigned to increase the revenues of the chapter of the cathedral, and 24,000 for the augmentation of the archiepiscopal income: but the estates of the archiepiscopate being considerably deteriorated and decayed, monsignore the archbishop desires to remain for a certain time bishop of Ossegg, that see being already assigned to the revenues of the archbishop by Rudolf, in place of the pension from the treasury, which was paid with difficulty. The parish churches of Prague, and of the whole kingdom, have been replaced at the disposal of monsignore the archbishop, ever

those which were originally possessed by individual nobles, who were all rebels; the emperor having reserved that right to himself, while the estates of those rebels, have also been sold, care being taken that for many leagues around Prague all the lands should be bought by Catholics."]

No. 109.

Relatione alla S^ta di N. S^re Papa Urbano VIII. delle cose appartenenti alla nuntiatura di Colonia per M^r Montorio, vescovo di Nicastro, ritornato nuntio di quelle parti l'anno di N. S^re 1624. [Report to his holiness our lord Pope Urban VIII., of matters appertaining to the nuntiature of Cologne, held by Monsignor Montorio, bishop of Nicastro, the nuncio returned from those regions in the year 1624.]

It was in the midst of the disorders of war that Montorio arrived in Germany. He sets forth the danger in which the Catholics would have been involved if Mansfeld, who held the Upper Rhine-land from Strasburg to Mayence, and the bishop of Halberstadt, who commanded Westphalia, could have succeeded in effecting a junction with Baden Durlach. But all these leaders suffered defeat. He then describes the advantages that had proceeded from these victories, the position to which the German church had attained.

In Fulda, the counter-reformation had again commenced with the utmost energy. The Catholic party had made its way into Osnaburg by the aid of the infanta and the army of the leagued princes. In Minden they had hope of obtaining an archduke for their bishop. In Bremen, also, great effort had been made by special missions to prevail on the chapter to elect a Catholic coadjutor; but for this time a Danish prince had gained the day; yet the nuncio hoped at least to see toleration granted to the Catholic religion in all the Hanse Towns. It appeared to him that the emperor might directly demand this, more particularly as those towns derived great advantages from the Spanish and Portuguese trade. A church had already been opened in Altona, from which many hopes were formed for Catholicism in the north. ["As that they might be enabled after some time to found a seminary, whence they might procure labourers, who, after they shall have learned the Norwegian and Danish tongues, may bring those more northern nations to the light of the true faith."]

To secure this progress, Montorio considered internal reform in the German church indispensable. The prelates adopted the dress of the laity, and made no scruple of going to the wars: concubinage prevailed openly, and the nuncio had refused, on account of that offence, to admit a certain Hornberg, who was otherwise a very eligible candidate, to the bishopric of Würtzberg. The German bishops were also said to think little of the pope; they nominated to benefices during the reserved months, and by means of their officials engrossed to themselves many unlawful things. ["They grant dispensations for marriage within the

prohibited degrees; also in respect to holy orders and for vacant benefices, though there might exist a defect of birth, they make concessions 'extra tempora;' give dispensations to those under age, and have even sometimes granted them for the marriage of persons in holy orders."] They called themselves bishops "by the grace of God," without any mention of the Apostolic See, and treated their ecclesiastical possessions almost as if they were their real property. Nor were matters any better in the convents. The abbots conducted themselves as so many absolute lords. In the towns, nothing was thought of but feastings, companies wherein men and women banqueted together. In the convents of rural districts, they gave themselves up to the chase, and nothing was seen but hounds and huntsmen.

The nuncio would very fain have set his hand to the needful reform, but he was prevented by contagious diseases, the tumults of war, and political affairs.

He treats of these also with great ability. I have not been able to adopt into my text the whole of his remarks on the transfer of the Electorate, and will therefore insert it here.

["The affairs that have occurred up to the present time are perhaps known to your holiness; and I, although the briefs that were sent me by Pope Gregory, to the effect that I should proceed to the diet assembled for those matters in Ratisbon, arrived somewhat late, proceeded nevertheless, during the utmost rigour of winter, and at very great cost, much discomfort, and many perils, to present myself there. But having reached Würtzburg, and having made known my coming to the ministers of your holiness, and to the electoral princes congregated there, it was signified to me that my presence was no longer necessary, since the conclusion of the affair was retarded by a more important cause than the absence of agreement among the princes there assembled, and that the seeing so many apostolic ministers gathered there would but increase the difficulty by awakening the jealousy of the Protestants, and causing them to think this transfer treated rather as a matter of religion than of state policy. I abstained, therefore, from going thither, and the more readily because the elector of Mayence, who, as dean of the electoral college, was, so to speak, the arbiter of the matter, having been treated with by me some months before, remained firm in the promises then made me, that he would promote the designs of the pope and the emperor. The commissioners from Treves had orders from their prince, given at my instance, that they should not dissent from the resolutions made by the electors of Mayence and Cologne. I will not pause here to point out to your holiness the difficulties which I encountered in disposing Mayence to agree to the said transfer, for at one time he would say that he abhorred the city of Ratisbon, because its air was injurious to his health; at another time, he affirmed that he was entirely drained of money, and could not support the expenses which a suitable appearance in that city would require; then, that the business was not ripe, the consent of Spain and Saxony not having been obtained; anon, that he feared the menaces of the king of England, of the duke, and of other sectaries; and, finally, that this transfer would kindle a new and more sanguinary war in Germany, to the obvious detriment of the Catholic religion, whilst the ecclesiastical princes, who had hitherto borne all the burthen of the war,

and must continue to bear it, exhausted by their previous contributions to the Liga, despoiled of their possessions by the insolence and rapine of our own soldiers, no less than by those of the enemy, not only were destitute of means to prepare for a new war, but were reduced to such extremities that they had been constrained to dismiss their households and to live almost privately. Nor did he fail to bring forward the claims of the duke of Neuburg, as being the nearest kinsman of the Palatine, and not likely to awaken so much jealousy among Protestants, who dreaded the aggrandizement of the Bavarian, to whom, in conformity with the imperial constitutions, according to the golden bull, that dignity was due as to the nearest claimant, the said duke protesting that to his last breath he would never consent that others should be preferred to him. But let it suffice to say, that in four or five days, during which I stayed with him in Aschaffenburg, and after long discourses, both by word of mouth and in writing, I obtained the decision that I desired. The transfer was effected, and is still maintained. The Palatinate is occupied in part by the Bavarian, in part by the Spaniards; nor does any thing remain to the Palatine except the city of Frankenthal, deposited for a certain period in the hands of the most serene infanta of Flanders, in concert with the English king.

"While I was in Aschaffenburg respecting this affair, the news of the taking of Heidelberg arrived there; and I, having already made efforts, by commission of his holiness, with the duke of Bavaria for the Palatine library, and having received the offer of it, sent instantly an express to Count Tilly, urging him to look to the preservation of the same, since I had been assured that, both for the quality and quantity of the books, principally manuscript, it was of inestimable value; and his excellency replied that all was in his possession, and carefully preserved according to the duke's orders. Whereof, when I had given my report to the masters, they having sent a person to take it, the said library was, after some months' delay, conveyed to Rome."]

No. 110.

Instruttione a V. S. Mons^r Caraffa, vescovo di Tricarico, destinato da N. S. suo nuntio in Colonia. 26 *Giugno*, 1624. [Instruction to Monsignore Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, despatched by our lord the pope as his nuncio to Cologne.]

Ludovico Caraffa was the successor of Montorio: he was nuncio to Cologne at the same time that Carlo Caraffa administered the nunciature of Vienna.

The pope communicates his views respecting German affairs to the nuncio in a very circumstantial Instruction.

He therein discusses all those points respecting the internal discipline of the church which had been suggested by Montorio. The Apostolic See had already suffered great losses, both in revenue and consideration; the nuncio is exhorted to labour for the recovery of these lost advantages.

["Your most reverend lordship will give your utmost attention to whatever shall best sustain the apostolic authority; and will more particularly be careful to extract from it the due benefits and provisions."] It is to be remarked, that instructions are here given to the nuncio which are directly founded on the counsels of Minuccio Minucci. He is required, for example, to send a list to Rome of such German ecclesiastics as were most worthy of promotion. ["Of the most exemplary, of the most learned, of the most noble, of those best supported by the authority of the respective Catholic princes. We shall thus have such notices that the Apostolic See may carefully provide pastors before it be too late."] This is precisely the proceeding which Minucci had recommended in 1588. But time had also suggested other measures. The most important of these was that a Catholic coadjutor might be appointed to any see, even during the lifetime of the bishop, on his becoming too old for its due administration. This had already been done in Paderborn as well as in Münster, and with the best results.

The principal matter, nevertheless, was still the more extensive diffusion of Catholicism.

The Catholic league (Liga) was to be maintained by every possible effort. The nuncio is charged to see that all pay their contributions to that object. There was an ecclesiastical society founded in Cologne for the conversion of Protestants, in which the princes of Austria and Bavaria took part, and which possessed a good revenue: the nuncio was instructed to be careful that it did not decline. Certain princely houses were fixed upon as presenting hopes that they might the most readily be won over to Catholicism; namely Darmstadt, and Saxony. The nuncio was exhorted to stimulate this disposition, ["that those princes might not withstand the grace which God may shew them."] He was, above all, to promote the erection of seminaries, and the introduction of the Jesuits. This passage is perhaps the most important of the whole Instruction, and may be subjoined in full.

["It will be a work most worthy of your lordship to labour for the promotion of the seminaries already founded, and to cause that new ones shall be instituted; and for these and similar works, who does not see that the Jesuit fathers are admirable? Therefore the predecessor of your most reverend lordship took measures to procure their introduction into Frankfort, writing the most earnest letters on that subject to the emperor; and the elector of Cologne was equally willing to act in that matter. Then our lord the pope, in furtherance of this good purpose, caused his nuncio at the court of the emperor to be written to, that he might in no case be displeased thereat; and your lordship will concert with him for what remains to be done, advising him of the progress made, and the hopes that may be entertained. The elector of Mayence has made representations to his holiness, that by divine favour the Catholic religion is gaining hold on the Lower Palatinate, and that nothing is judged more expedient as a means for its propagation than the erection of seminaries and houses wherein the nobles of the Rhine may be brought together: to do which, he has suggested to his holiness that the property of certain monasteries might be very suitably applied, more especially those of Germersheim, Spankeim, and Oderuheim, situate in the diocese of Mayence, and formerly occupied by the princes palatine of the Rhine.

And this proposal was considered to be of great moment by his holiness; but before deciding upon it, he desired that the predecessor of your lordship, having diligently taken precise information, should report to him distinctly respecting the condition of the said monasteries, with his opinion of the matter; but the shortness of the time not having permitted him to execute all these things, his holiness desires that your lordship should complete what remains to be done with the utmost diligence and exactitude.

"The elector of Cologne also desires to found an university in his city of Münster, and the question has been discussed in the sacred congregation 'de propaganda fide,' his holiness being disposed to favour the institution of the said university, but on condition that, in addition to the sciences, the canon and court laws shall be taught therein. And this shall serve for the guidance of your lordship, so that you may treat with the said elector on this understanding, when his highness shall speak to you of having obtained the apostolic permission for the said institution."]

No. 111.

Relatione dell' ill^mo et ecc^mo Sig^r Pietro Contarini K^r, ritornato dell' ambasceria ordinaria di Roma, presentata alli 22 Giugno, 1627, e letta il medesimo giorno nell' ecc^mo senato. [Report of the most illustrious and most excellent Pietro Contarini, returned from the ordinary embassy to Rome, presented on the 22nd June, 1627, and read to the most excellent senate on the same day.]

P. Contarini had passed more than three years and a half (forty-four months), at the court of Urban VIII., when he presented this report.

He makes four divisions, and in these he treats of the temporal government, the spiritual administration, the most important affairs of the court, and its most influential members.

He is particularly full and instructive on the extension of the spiritual jurisdiction. He considers that it had never before been exercised in Italy with so much rigour. By its double purpose of maintaining an immediate command over the ecclesiastical body, and the unrestricted disposal of all church property, the Roman court must become very dangerous to temporal princes. He describes Urban VIII. as often remarking that if a Venetian noble were seated on the Roman throne, he could not be more disposed towards the Venetians than himself, the reigning pontiff. But notwithstanding this, they could never obtain the smallest favour at his hands.

Generally speaking, the ambassador had a bad opinion of the whole Roman system. The ruling principle of the entire administration was nepotism.

["The disposition of the popes to aggrandize their nephews, gives the moving impulse in the present day to all actions, all declarations, and all

transactions with other princes. At first the pontiffs think of undertakings against the infidel, or the acquirement of dominion; but as the years are short, and the difficulties many, this purpose is abandoned without producing any effect whatever, and then they take another and more easy course, accumulating great riches, and buying estates."]

He describes the immediate circle of Urban in the following manner:—

["The pontiff most commonly takes counsel with Cardinal Magalotti, whose sister his brother married, and who still holds the office of secretary of state, all the public despatches passing through his hands. The cardinal is a man of extensive and powerful intellect, and is much esteemed by the pope, who always desires to have him near his person, more especially in the legation of Bologna, where he gave him the viceregency of that government. Thus if there be any man who has been able to attain a high position in the opinion of his holiness, this is that one; nor is it known whether this proceeds from a real inclination on the part of the pontiff, or from the great prudence of the cardinal, who, being well acquainted with the character of one whom he has served so long, is aware of the proper means for maintaining himself in his position, and avails himself of them: but it is certain that he may be said to have the sole management of all important affairs. He takes great pains, however, to adjust his proceedings to the inclinations of the pontiff, contradicts him as rarely as possible, and labours to bring his own opinions into conformity with those of the pope, to the end that he may preserve his position with the credit and reputation that he derives from being always employed in the most momentous transactions. He seeks to escape the enmity entertained for the most part against those who are seen to be near the prince, and who share his power and favour, by abstaining from all ostentation of authority, by avoiding the regular audiences of ministers belonging to foreign princes, of cardinals, and of almost all others, treating only of such matters as are expressly committed to him. And this he does above all to avoid awakening the jealousy of Cardinal Barberino, who did not seem at first entirely satisfied at seeing him so greatly advanced, and that the pontiff employed him more than himself; so that words were often heard from Barberino by which his sentiments were made known. But he now permits things to take their course, and seems to confide in his uncle, either because he is willing to remain free from the weight of business, or because he does not know the extent of authority, or perhaps has not power to impede the fortunes of Magalotti. All things, however, are shared with the said Cardinal Barberino, St. Onofrio, and Don Carlo.

"The first, as nephew, is truly beloved. His holiness would indeed be glad to see him apply more diligently to business, but he appears to be really averse to it, nor does his disposition seem in anywise formed thereto. It appears to be almost by force that he attends, where, by the office he holds, he cannot possibly do otherwise, throwing the weight of the most important affairs on that very Cardinal Magalotti, and even being content to despoil himself of things that ought to belong to him for the sake of investing his uncle with them, contrary to the practice in former pontificates, whether from weakness, or from not knowing how to avail himself of that authority which he who attains to so eminent a station should possess. He is a man of the most exemplary, virtuous, and praiseworthy

habits, of a most kindly nature, and one who gives the solitary example of refusing every kind of present. He will, nevertheless, be equal to any other cardinal in wealth and grandeur, should the pope have long life. He must now have somewhere about 80,000 scudi yearly from ecclesiastical benefices; and with the governments and legations that he holds, this must approach to 100,000 scudi. Investments of moment are also beginning to be made, and the best of all that is acquired will be for him. Moreover he spends but little, and will therefore shortly accumulate immense wealth.

"Cardinal St. Onofrio, having constantly lived among the Capuchins, and having always led a most devout life, never intermeddles with any thing not directly committed to him. Of the affairs of the world he knows little, and understands less; and his inability in this respect was made fully manifest during the absence of Barberino, because it then became necessary to transact business with him. He has now gone to reside at his church of Senegaglia.

"Don Carlo, brother of the pontiff, is general of the holy church; and all that appertains to the army, to fortresses, or the galleys, is under his command. He is a man of intelligence and prudence, cautious in discussing and transacting business, and perfectly conversant with the care of the exchequer and management of the revenue, having been well practised in affairs, and being skilled in those matters. He has to a certain extent relaxed from his early application to business, that he may not too heavily burthen his advanced years (he being the elder of the brothers), and also in part from inclination for that repose.

"His holiness has two other nephews. Don Taddeo, whom he has chosen to found the family, a young man of about twenty-three, most noble in manner, of highly ingenuous character, and greatly beloved by the whole court. The pontiff has some intention of making him prefect of the city after the death of the duke of Urbino, who now enjoys that title,—a most dignified office, taking precedence of all others, being held for life, and not liable to change even on the death of the pontiff. The second of these two nephews is Don Antonio, a commander of Malta, and aged eighteen: he has about 14,000 scudi from his commandery; is of prompt and vivacious character, and in good time will certainly be ready to secure his own share in the exaltation of his house. He is desirous of being also raised to the cardinalate, and it is believed that his holiness will gratify his wish. Many of those who do not love the Cardinal Magalotti would willingly see him promoted to that dignity as soon as possible, because they think that he might attain to what his brother has not been able to compass,—to counterbalance Magalotti, that is, and to form an opposition to him."]

We have the affairs of the Valtelline here discussed in their whole extent. ["The other important affair is that of the Valtelline, on which his holiness has indeed bestowed great labour, but with varying results; although it is said that he might at first have applied himself more earnestly to it, and with more decided remedies; but the having entered on a matter so arduous in the first days of his pontificate, and when just recovering, but by no means restored from the effects of a long illness, with his thoughts, beside, more given to the papacy than to this affair, may perhaps have caused him to suffer many things to take their course, which

it was not difficult to provide against at that time, but which it was impossible to remedy afterwards. It was in the hands of Gregory XV. that the Valtelline was deposited by the Spaniards, and they consigned Chiavenna with its surrounding territory, under the same conditions, to the present pontiff. The first negotiations were effected by means of the commendator Sillery, with so much caution and secrecy, that not only was the certainty of their existence withheld from the ministers of your serenity, who had nevertheless, to take so important a part in the transaction, but it was with difficulty that they acquired a knowledge of the real nature of what was transacted. The pontiff concerned himself for nothing more than the receiving security for the payment of the garrisons that he maintained in the forts of the valley; and after many complaints and much pressing, he obtained, I believe, between the two kings, about 200,000 scudi. This money tended somewhat to diminish his disapprobation of that deposit; which he nevertheless always greatly condemned, both before and afterwards, esteeming it to be adverse to his interests, but not considering the injury that might result from his procrastination and irresolute management of the matter.

"The people of the Valtelline offered themselves to the pope as vassals, assuring him that the duties he might impose on wines and cheese would suffice to maintain the garrisons required in ordinary times for the defence of that valley. Many represented to the pontiff, that to restore the Valtelline to the Grisons, and to replace Catholics in the hands of heretics, was not to be thought of by the pope, and could not be done without the greatest scandal and injury; that no one would consent to see it made over to the Spaniards, who on their part would not suffer it to be given up to the French or other temporal powers; neither would there be any better course than that the Valtelline should be preserved to the church, since there was nothing of any moment in that country except the passes, which can be held or claimed only for going or coming beyond the mountains: thus, if these should remain to the power of the pope, the common father, he would always have them kept open, according to the wants and requirements of all. The arguments thus stated did not fail to make an impression, as arguments mostly do, even though but slightly founded; nay, sometimes they will even persuade the hearer, though feeble in themselves, where there appears some prospect of advantage or utility. His holiness suffered himself to listen to the suggestion, and even added that if there should be any difficulty in the retention of the Valtelline by the church, they might invest one of his nephews with it. The plan had at first been promoted by the Spaniards, but eventually it did not please them any more than the French; and there was finally concluded by Sillery that treaty, well known to your serenity, which was not approved in France by the king, principally for that article of it which allowed passage to the Spaniards for their troops going into Flanders, and for the same, but not otherwise, on their return. The formation of the Valtelline into a fourth league, which the Spaniards desired so eagerly, the pontiff would still less consent to permit. The ambassador was changed on that account, or perhaps because of the fall of the chancellor, and of Puysieux the secretary, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of the said Sillery. There then arrived in Rome a minister of wiser counsels and more extended views, as well as more determined

character, Monsignor de Bethune; he annulled the decisions of his predecessor, insisted on the treaty of Madrid, which he firmly upheld; absolutely refused to permit the pass to the Spaniards for any purpose whatever, and pressed the pontiff in frequent audiences to come to some resolution, since the league could not consent to more protracted negotiation or longer delay.

"The pontiff, who had not expected to find so much resolution among those of the League, nor had any thought that they would take arms on this account, being also constantly assured by letters from his nuncios in France and Switzerland that the marchese de Covre would never raise the standard of the king where the ensigns of his holiness were floating, continued nevertheless in his irresolutions, and the more the difficulties increased and were made manifest, the more he persuaded himself (nor were there wanting those who confirmed him in his idea) that at the end of the contest the church would remain mistress of the point in dispute. Wherefore Bethune signified ultimately to the pope that the king and the League together jointly entreated him to remit the fortresses to the Spaniards, in conformity with the terms of the deposit, to the end that if there were a necessity for appealing to arms, they might avoid the reproach of acting disrespectfully by advancing against those of his holiness, and that if the pope would now take the resolution that he ought to adopt of offering the forts to the Spaniards, all would yet be adjusted to his honour and to the satisfaction of others; for the Spaniards would not have received them, not finding themselves in a condition to defend them, while all cause of complaint would cease by the pope's fulfilment of the conditions of the deposit in due time, nor could any one oppose their being left to the Grisons. Some days elapsed, when at length the marchese de Covre surprised Plata Mala, and the pope then made various pretexts, first demanding three months of time, but afterwards restricting himself to so much only as was required to write to Spain and make the offer, affirming that the ministers in Italy did not possess authority for receiving the fortresses. But the enterprise of the marquis being already far advanced, and its success increasing from day to day, it was not considered advisable, and might even have proved injurious, to suspend the proceedings while awaiting replies from Spain which could not but be uncertain. The pope was accordingly deprived by degrees of all that he held in deposit, the only places remaining to him being Riva and Chiavenna, which alone had been succoured by the Spaniards. His holiness complained that these last, although appealed to from the beginning to defend the passes, never came to his assistance, while they complained that they had not been summoned in due time; so that the Spaniards were much dissatisfied, the French by no means content, and his holiness, infinitely displeased by the little respect that had been displayed towards his banners, complains of it continually and bitterly to every one. The Spaniards do much the same, attributing all the disasters that have occurred to his holiness, and complaining of him more than of any thing else; and although the pontiff subsequently despatched his nephew as legate both to France and Spain, with the purpose well known to your serenity, and knew that the Italian arms had made a still more important movement, and that the dangers would become more serious if the powers proceeded earnestly, he has nevertheless not yet been able to get rid of

his first notion, that all the mischievous results experienced have proceeded from the early arrangements having been unskilfully made. But the French as well as the Spaniards attributed the vexations and difficulties encountered in that negotiation to the pretensions of the pope, who required that the fortresses should be consigned to him without any declaration on his part as to what he would do with them, but positively refusing to demolish them. Thus rendering it extremely difficult to find any suitable expedient for arranging the matter, causing the loss of so much time, while so many attempts have been made uselessly; and the matter was finally taken to Spain, because in Rome there was too much difficulty in bringing it to a termination."]

No. 112.

Relatione dello stato dell' imperio e della Germania fatta da Mons^r Caraffa nel tempo che era nuntio alla corte dell' imperatore, l'anno 1628. [Report on the state of the empire and of Germany made by Monsignore Caraffa, while nuncio at the court of the emperor, 1628.]

This Report is, upon the whole, the most circumstantial that I have met with: in a Roman copy it extended to 1,080 folio pages. It is not rare even in Germany. I bought a copy in Leipsic, and there is another in a private library in Berlin, in a beautiful folio volume with a splendid title-page; this was presented by a certain Wynman to the bishop of Eichstadt in the year 1655.

It consists of four parts. In the first, there is a general description of the German troubles; in the second, the situation, possessions, and various relations of Ferdinand II. are described; in the third, the German principalities are treated of according to the circles; and in the fourth, the alliances that had been formed in Germany, more particularly those recently concluded.

The author declares that he will write nothing which he has not himself seen, or had otherwise ascertained to be worthy of belief. ["Protesting that whatever I shall write will be what I have seen and partly acted in myself, during the eight years that I have been in Germany, or what I have heard from persons worthy of credit; and partly what I have read in letters, diaries, and official papers, both of friends and enemies, which have been intercepted at different times, and whereof some have been printed, but others not."]

We perceive that an elaborate arrangement was here contemplated from the outset.

The printed commentaries of Caraffa follow the order of time. This work is composed more in the manner of a report: the events are arranged in chronological order in the first part only.

But I will not conceal that I have often entertained doubts as to the genuine character of this report.

The compilation is extremely loose. We have first a repetition of the Bohemian report, with some slight omissions: we then find a very co-

markable passage relating to the election of a king of Hungary in 1625, but inserted out of its proper place; and, finally, what is of still greater importance, a report of the year 1629, respecting Germany, the emperor, and the princes, but which does not present a trace of being composed by Caraffa himself; and though here, indeed, it is somewhat amplified, yet is otherwise copied word for word. Many other points also are evidently "borrowed wares." Of King James I. of England there is mention as "the present king of England"—and this could not be said in 1628.

One might suppose that some mere compiler had arranged these documents without judgment or any fixed purpose.

But on further consideration, this ceases to appear probable.

To the old account (ragguaglio) of Caraffa there are here added various notices, highly impressive and important, relating to more recent times, and such as no mere compiler could have furnished.

Intelligence is supplied which could not have become known to any but the initiated. The author is acquainted, for example, with that negotiation of Urban VIII. in England, carried on by means of the Capuchin Rota, and which was so carefully kept secret.

The nuncio also speaks not unfrequently in the first person.

I conclude, then, that this work really proceeds from the hand of Caraffa, but that it was never brought to completion by him; whether because the author wanted time, inclination, or even it may be power, to do this, does not appear; but even his Bohemian report has something diffuse and formless in its character, to say the least. He may probably, after his return to Aversa, have proposed to employ some of his leisure hours in the arrangement of his materials.

But even in its present form this work is, at all events, worthy of our best attention.

The reports which it has embodied, and more or less carefully elaborated, are of high value. The historical remarks, also, are entirely distinct from those contained in the printed commentaries.

I extract a few notices which appear to me particularly worthy of attention.

1. Decline of the German principalities; for it is a matter of course that German and Austrian topics are much more minutely discussed in this place than Roman or ecclesiastical affairs.

["In former times there was so great an abundance, that the princes of Germany could with difficulty themselves know the vast amount of royalties, dues, silver, and other riches that flowed to them from all quarters; whereas they now can scarcely devise any means to procure them at all: they seem to have the means of living only from day to day, so that what one day yields, the next consumes. There is but little money gathered there, except from things renounced by creditors, and which are rather nominal than real. For so much negligence, so little economy, and such constant mismanagement, various causes are assigned. Some ascribe the whole to the liberality of the princes, some to the evil character of the times, some to the frequent wars, some to the seditions common among the citizens, while others finally attribute the blame to the counsellors, prefects, and vicars. And truly there are certain officials to be seen who constantly seek to grasp the very utmost they can wring from all around them, and who carry, beyond all measure, the advantages

extorted by governors: add to this, the absence of all good counsel the interests of individuals always preferred to that of the commonwealth,—things that were proved capable of destroying the great Roman empire, and wherefore should they not destroy the German? The ruin of Germany may further proceed from the indolence of the princes, and from their excessive sensuality, or from the small amount of their talents, or from the premature old age by which they are overtaken; or, lastly, from their being so averse to the labours of government that they are glad to make over the management of public affairs to others, although they frequently acknowledge the utter incapacity of these substitutes. Thus, after the manner of certain ancient Eritrei, they make a sort of secondary princes, differing from themselves in name only, but equal to them in administrative power, as was Joab with David, and others under other princes. These managers, being taken from the people, have abused, and do abuse, their delegated power, and being themselves ruled rather by passion than by the moderation of virtue, and given up as a prey to parasites and flatterers, have employed, and do employ, other worthless subordinate ministers, who for gain, from partiality to their kindred, or moved by ambition, have corrupted, and do corrupt justice; and neighbouring princes being led to follow this example, they have raised that which was but private interest into custom and justice."]

2. Election of a king of Hungary.

["The votes of the kingdom of Sclavonia and Croatia, which were almost all Catholic, being added to the diet, and that addition causing the Catholic party and adherents of his majesty to exceed by no small number the party of the heretics and dissidents, the rumour circulated respecting his majesty's wishes in regard to that election became daily better understood and more listened to. Yet the emperor's envoys, the better to assure themselves of the votes at the diet, thought it expedient, before proposing the election of the archduke, to make trial of their strength by the election of the Palatine, which was rendered necessary by the death of Thurzo. His majesty greatly wished to have a Catholic elected, and above all, he desired the above-named Count Esterhazy, although in conformity with the laws and constitutions of that realm he had proposed four candidates to the estates,—two catholics and two heretics, and the matter succeeded most happily, for the said count was elected by 150 votes, the opposite party not having more than 60. This experiment having been made, the emperor's adherents and friends were greatly encouraged by it; the ministers of his majesty, nevertheless, considered, that in addition to the 150 votes aforesaid, it would be well to gain over a good part of the 60, which had been adverse, by favours and gifts, that so the election might be decided to the greater satisfaction of the kingdom; and by expending, as was said, some 20,000 florins, the greater part of them were secured, as was experienced in the other affairs of the diet. The party of Bethlem, and his adherents, considering it certain that the emperor would desire to have the archduke elected king, although his majesty's will had not then been made publicly known, did not fail to do every thing possible for the counteraction of that purpose.

"I will here add an instance of boldness displayed by a lady on this occasion, from the extraordinary character of which, the efforts of the dissentient

party may be inferred. The mother of the Baron Bathiany, who is one of the principal nobles of Hungary, whether as to rank, possessions, or followers, had the boldness to represent to the empress, that she ought not to suffer this election to take place, since it might eventually prejudice her majesty's own interest, for should any thing befal the life of the emperor, she, as crowned queen of Hungary, would have the government of that kingdom during the interregnum, and until a new king could be elected. But the empress, dissembling with extreme prudence, replied that she thanked her for her care, but that after the death of the emperor, she, if she should survive him, would think of nothing but the interest of the sons of his majesty her husband; to whom she instantly repeated the above-named suggestion.

"But although the business of the election was now considered secure, it was nevertheless impeded for many days by the violent dispute that arose among his majesty's chief ministers: the archbishop of Strigonia and the new Palatine also taking part in it, with the chancellor and others who had interest in the matter, such as the Spanish ambassador and myself, as unworthy apostolic minister. The contest turned on the question whether the coronation should follow immediately on the election. Some thought it should, because thus the archduke would be formally assured in the kingdom, which he would not be if he were merely elected, as was intimated by the previous election of Bethlem Gabor; the Hungarians being extremely changeful men, and for the most part unbelievers and little to be depended on; secondly, they maintained that if the coronation were effected, it would be of considerable use in the first imperial diet, should the emperor attempt to have his highness elected king of the Romans; they alleged thirdly, that this was desirable in reference to the marriage projected with the Spanish Infanta, it having been declared in Spain that they would first have the archduke elected and crowned king of Hungary. Others, on the contrary, among whom were myself and the father confessor of the emperor, affirmed that this coronation ought not to take place just then, because the States of that kingdom would never permit his highness to be crowned, until he should first have promised and sworn to them, as well in regard to politics as to religion, all those things which his father had promised when in a much more perilous condition; wherefore, since the dangers then existing were no longer dreaded, and since time might still further ameliorate and strengthen the position of his highness, either by the death of Gabor, the more prosperous aspect of affairs in the empire, or other events, it would not be expedient to embarrass the conscience of that young prince by closing the door against the progress of religion, which he would desire to promote; and at the same time prevent him from acquiring a more extended political authority and dominion within that realm. Those of this opinion said secondly, and the people of the treasury more particularly, that heavy expenses would have to be incurred for the coronation, as also now for the augmentation of the court of his highness; wherefore, as the large expenditure of the journey to Ulm was inevitable, and must be provided for at once, it would be well if that of the coronation could be deferred to another time, no great injury being likely to result from this delay, for if Gabor desired to find a pretext, such as might arise from the death of the emperor, he would

do so none the less for the archduke being crowned; as he had done against the emperor himself, though he was elected and crowned; that with respect to his being elected king of the Romans, and to his marriage with the Infanta of Spain, it would suffice that the archduke were really king of Hungary, which he could certainly entitle himself, by virtue of his election alone. The contest standing thus, although the ambassador of Spain insisted further on the coronation, saying that the Spanish court would not otherwise have concluded the marriage of the Infanta with the archduke, as not esteeming the succession to the kingdom to be secured without it, yet his majesty with his accustomed piety declared that he would not have it performed, believing, in accordance with the counsels of his father confessor, that it would be against conscience, if the archduke should have to swear, what his majesty himself had been compelled to swear, in those great dangers which did not now exist."]

No. 113.

Relatio status ecclesiæ et totius diœcesis Augustanæ, 1629. [Report on the state of the church, and of the whole diocese of Augsburg, 1629.]

A document of no particular importance. It is principally occupied with the affairs of the city of Augsburg.

The activity, labours, and final expulsion of the Protestant "Pseudo Doctors" from Augsburg, is the chief subject of the author.

He hopes that when this has been completely effected by the emperor's sanction, obtained principally by the efforts of Hieronymus Imhof and Bernhard Rehlingen, the inhabitants would all soon become once more Catholic.

No. 114.

Legatio apost^ca P. Aloys. Carafæ, episcopi Tricaricensis, sedente Urbano VIII. Pont. M. ad tractum Rheni et ad prov. inferioris Germaniæ obita, ab anno 1624 *usque ad annum* 1634. *Ad C^tem Franc. Barberinum.* [Apostolic legation of P. A. Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, to the district of the Rhine and the province of Lower Germany, from 1624 to 1634, under the pontificate of Urban VIII. Addressed to the Cardinal Francesco Barberino.]

A very circumstantial report of 204 leaves; it is perhaps somewhat diffuse, but contains some useful matter.

We have, first, an account of the journey, and here much space is lost in mere trifling detail. Among other places the nuncio visits Fulda, and makes a great merit of having reduced the number of sixteen quarterings

(ancestors) required to qualify a man for the dignity of that abbacy to eight.

He is extremely minute in description of the dispute existing between Liege and the bishop, in which he took himself an active part: he transferred the seat of the nunciature from Cologne to Liege.

The most remarkable passage of this document is without doubt the description of the Catholic monasteries at that time existing within the limits of the nunciature.

We perceive from these details how entirely the higher branches of instruction were at that time in the hands of the Jesuits. They were the masters in Treves and Mayence. Paderborn, Münster, and Osnaburg, where a high school had been recently founded, were completely in their hands; but they taught only the classics (humaniora), philosophy, and theology. Judicial studies were entirely neglected. In Cologne, which still continued the first of these universities, medicine was taught by two professors only, who had very few attendants on their lectures. The principal evil in Cologne had formerly been that the professors were much too amply provided with prebendal stalls. ["By the wealth of these, they being supplied with means for an easy and pleasant life, rarely or never taught the sacred doctrines in their own person, but constantly used the vicarious labours of others. Thus the students were instructed without solidity or method, and fifteen years were not unfrequently suffered to pass before they had gone through a course of theology, which thing was heretofore of no small inconvenience to the arch-diocese of Cologne, and especially to the jurisdictions of Juliers, Cleves, and Mons, because parish priests and clergy proper to the cure of souls and able to repair the ruins of the Catholic religion, could not on this account be there appointed until after very long delays."]

This the Jesuit fathers reformed. The college of the Three Crowns, which was made over to them, enjoyed a high reputation; in 1634 it had more than 1,200 students. But the taste for a life of enjoyment above alluded to, was not so easily eradicated. The feasts of the masters increased the costs of promotion and encouraged luxury. ["Through Lent there are daily drinking-parties among the students."] Our bishop describes the Catholicism and good living of the Cologne people by no means badly. ["The people of Cologne hold most firmly to the religion of their ancestors, which they have never departed from since it was first adopted. It is true that some few families of the sectaries are tolerated in the city, but all exercise of their creed is forbidden to them, and they are heavily fined if they are discovered to hold private conventicles, or are caught listening to the bellowing trumpeters of Luther or Calvin. In the senate itself none may be elected who are not Catholics; but none of them who have been enrolled and come to the court, can express an opinion or give a vote, unless they have that same day been present at the sacred rites in the chapel nearest to the senatorial palace. By night the citizens themselves hold watch in the principal parts of the city, nor need any fear violence or insult, because, if clamours arise, they hasten thither to give aid; but robbers and assassins they place in bonds. All the streets are, moreover, closed at night with iron chains; nor do they permit free circulation, so that the people for the most part proceed very tranquilly. Among other advantages possessed by the people, there should first be

commemorated the fact, that each is permitted to purchase oxen and pigs at the beginning of winter, which he preserves in his house by means of smoke, drying them for the consumption of the year ensuing: of these they eat largely. An entire year is allowed them to pay the price, which is meanwhile advanced to the merchant by those appointed to that effect by the senate. Nor will any of the artisans, however poor, suffer a want of good faith to appear in this matter; because in that case they could never again enjoy that signal advantage in the purchase of their food thus afforded them by the public moneys. There are also public tables in the various districts, where all may eat together at a fixed and moderate price, when festivals held on the week-days occur."]

But it is not towns and universities alone that our author describes; princes and events are also depicted: Ferdinand of Cologne, ["in gravity of manners, piety of conduct, and cultivation of intellect he is second to none."] Frederic of Würtzburg, ["well versed in tongues, even of foreign lands, of a most prudent address, and endeared to all by a certain gentle gravity of manner."] Casimir of Mayence, ["a man eloquent in his German tongue, and who has filled the office of legate."]

Respecting the remarkable events of that period also, Caraffa supplies many remarkable notices. I know not whereon the opinion has been founded, that Wallenstein could have taken Stralsund, ["if, as many believe, he had not more desired to take money than the city."] He considers it a great misfortune that Tilly did not dare to throw himself on Saxony at the first movement made by that country. His description of the state of Cologne after the battle of Leipsic, and of the views first manifested by the French at that moment, is also very remarkable.

["By the blow received at Leipsic, the forces and the spirits of the Catholics were alike broken, and fear or want of ability in the defence of their fastnesses, suddenly opened a vast inlet for the victorious enemy, so that he could at once invade the very centre of the empire, with such force of arms, that Fulda, Würtzburg, Bamberg, Mayence, Worms, Spires, and other cities and towns, were in a short time either taken by storm or surrendered. Cologne remained the refuge of the exiled princes, and treasures were brought into that city, belonging as well to the church as to the laity, and comprising all that it had been possible to carry away before the outbreak of that vehement and sudden tempest of war. Here the princes with anxious and doubtful care took counsel whether, as the French ambassador had proposed, it were expedient that neither those princes nor yet the city itself should, from that time forward, turn their arms in favour either of the Emperor or King Gustavus. This, the ambassador of the most Christian king recommended to Cologne, but he affirmed it to be necessary that garrisons from the legions of his own sovereign should be introduced into that city, and also into other places belonging to the electoral princes; for that thus, King Gustavus, respecting Cologne, would turn his arms elsewhere; or if, notwithstanding, he should resolve on coming as an enemy, he would justly provoke the most Christian king, and the alliance being ended, would begin to experience his enmity and anger. Heavy indeed seemed that condition of admitting garrisons from the cohorts of a foreign king into the cities and strong places of the empire; but much more grievous were the other conditions, by which it was proposed that they should thenceforth assist neither

party, because, in a war so dubious, to give no aid to the emperor, but as it were to desert him, seemed wholly adverse to the most ancient habit and feeling of the princes and cities, as well as foreign to the principles of the empire itself. Yet that this was the only advice to be adopted, the only post of safety that remained, was equally the opinion of the apostolic nuncio at Paris, to whom I had written concerning the enormous blows inflicted on the Catholic religion, its temples and altars, by King Gustavus."]

There follows further a minute account of the catastrophe of Wallenstein, which I shall give elsewhere.

No. 115.

Relatione della corte di Roma del Sig^r K^r Aluise Contarini, dell' anno 1632 *al* 1635. (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report on the court of Rome by Aluise Contarini, 1632 to 1635.]

A very copious report in 35 chapters, containing 140 pages, and doubly important, because Aluise Contarini had proceeded directly from France to Rome, and was therefore more capable of forming a judgment respecting the very peculiar position assumed at that time in politics by Urban VIII.

He first describes the spiritual and temporal administration of the pope.

He considers it to be entirely monarchical. Of all the old congregations, one only, that of the Inquisition, assembled regularly. They have no other privileges than that people still drew up their carriages when they met them, that they were invested with the purple, and retained a voice in the election of the pontiff; but the pope is so little disposed towards them, that in affairs of weight, he would rather use the services of inferior prelates, whose hopes depended principally on himself, than of cardinals, who were already possessed of more independence.

But the more closely the rein is drawn, so much the more does authority become weakened. ["The ancient veneration is nowadays much diminished."]

The inhabitants of Urbino were more particularly discontented. ["The subjects of that duchy complain much of the change, calling the government of the priests a tyranny, they having no other care than that of enriching and advancing themselves."] The author perpetually complains that Urbino should have fallen into the hands of the pope, lamenting it as a great loss to Spain and Venice.

In a second part, he describes the personal qualities of those concerning whom he treats. ["Pope Urban VIII. was born in April, 1567 (others say 1568); thus he is approaching the 69th year of his age; but he preserves the force of his constitution, which is not subject to any malady, as well as the vigour of his intellect. He is of middle height and dark complexion, his hair is white, his eye quick, his utterance rapid, his temperament sanguine and bilious. He lives rigidly by rule. He regulates his actions in great measure by the motions of the heavens, with respect

to which he has great knowledge, although he has prohibited the study of them to all others under pain of the heaviest censures. His movements are sudden, and so violent, that they sometimes border on absurdity; for he cannot take patience and restrain them; but he says that this commotion of the bile from time to time is very useful, by stimulating the natural heat to the preservation of his health. He rides, takes pleasure in the country, walks, and is fond of exercise. He does not trouble himself when things go wrong; and all these things concur to make it probable that he will yet have some years of life, although he fell off very considerably during my sojourn at his court.

"He attained to the pontificate after an uninterrupted service at court of more than thirty years. He was first a prelate of the Segnatura, and afterwards governor of Fano. Soon after this second promotion, he bought offices at court, and ultimately the clerkship of the chamber; this he did with the help of his paternal uncle, Francesco Barberini, a prelate of little repute, but of great wealth, accumulated with Florentine parsimony. Clement VIII. employed him in various offices, but particularly in relation to the new cutting of the Po, and from this have arisen in great measure the present contentions with the republic respecting boundaries, which result in part from the knowledge he possesses of this matter, and in part from his resentment at the affair not having been conducted at that time according to his wishes. He was then, by the same Clement, sent as nuncio into France, first as nuncio-extraordinary for the baptism of the present king, and afterwards as nuncio in ordinary to his father, Henry IV., when he proved himself a most zealous defender of the ecclesiastical immunities. Paul V., successor of Clement, confirmed him in the said legation of France, and afterwards made him cardinal and legate in Bologna. On his return to Rome he was appointed prefect of the segnatura of justice, a very honourable office, and an employment of high importance. Finally, in 1623, he attained to the pontificate by means of very crafty practices, in the place of Gregory XV., being then in his fifty-sixth year, and now he is going through the thirteenth year of his reign, to the displeasure of the whole court, to which, no less than to sovereigns, short pontificates are the most advantageous, for in these there is more regard paid to every one, there is a greater abundance of favours, and the pontiffs do not proceed as if the papacy were an hereditary succession; the court, moreover, finds that in general there proceed more employment and better fortunes from the frequency of change.

"In every position, the pope always held a high opinion of himself, desiring to rule over others, and shewing contempt for the opinions of all. He seems now to proceed more liberally, since he finds himself in a position eminent above all others. He has great talent, but not sound judgment; talent, for in things that depend on himself alone, and which concern his person and house, he has always attained to the objects he has proposed to accomplish, without shrinking from those intrigues and artifices which are, indeed, entirely congenial to his nature, as was seen in his canvass for the papacy, during which he found means to reconcile in his own favour the two opposite factions of Borghese and Ludovisio, merely by making each believe him the enemy of the other. But in general affairs, wherein judgment is demanded, that the interests of the Apostolic See may be brought into harmony with those of other princes

the pope has been observed to be always deficient in it. This was made evident in the affair of the Valtelline, and in the war of Mantua, which would not have occurred if the pope had declared against the first innovator; in the loss of Mantua, attributed to the supplies received by the Germans from the Ecclesiastical States, and without which they must have raised the siege or perished; and in the act of conferring the prefecture of Rome on his nephew, thus depriving the Apostolic See of the presence of so many ministers of foreign princes, who form its finest ornament, while he burthened the nephew himself with a load of envy, vexations, and cares, the post, too, being absolutely untenable after the death of the pontiff. A further proof of his want of judgment may be found in the unworthy mode of treatment adopted towards the ambassador of your serenity, my predecessor, in suffering him to depart without satisfaction; as also in the last joint protection of France, first advised and consented to through Cardinal Antonio, his nephew, then retracted and forbidden, with a manifestation of excessive artifice, not to say deceit, which was evident to the whole world, and to the production of a division in his own house. I say nothing of the great injury received by the Catholic religion in Flanders and Germany under the present pontificate; the perils caused to Italy by his refusal of dispensation to the duke of Mantua, and still more by the pope's having conducted himself in a manner that has disgusted all princes, great and small, to such an extent that no one of them is friendly towards him, so that he is rendered incapable of exercising towards them those offices of authority and of paternal advice by which they might have been pacified and drawn together for the defence of religion; yet these offices have always been so carefully exercised by previous pontiffs and considered so peculiarly their own, that to maintain their title of common father, whence proceeds all the veneration professed for them, and to preserve union among the Christian princes, which is to them the source of great authority, they have exposed themselves to many hazards, journeyings, and perils, their name of father excusing them from attention to those punctilios which serve as so effectual an impediment to the intervention of other princes.

"The present pope has always professed to be neutral, making it his glory that he has enriched and aggrandized his house without bargaining for domains in the kingdom of Naples, or submitting to receive favours from great princes. His secret inclinations are, nevertheless, towards the French; their promptitude and determined boldness being most congenial to the character of his holiness, as was manifested by the great demonstrations he made when La Rochelle was taken. He recommended peace with the English, that France might hasten to the aid of Casale, then besieged by the Spaniards; advising the French at the same time to seize and retain Pinarolo for the requisite preservation of an equilibrium in Italy. He constantly discovered pretexts for deferring or diminishing the succours required by Germany, so that an opinion prevailed, and still exists, that his holiness was grieved for the death of the king of Sweden, and that he rejoices more, or rather fears less, for the progress of the Protestants, than that of the Austrians. It is also generally believed, that even though the pope should be led to some union with the Spaniards by Cardinal Barberino, who is altogether Spanish, it would most probably terminate in a rupture more decided than ever. And the cause is this; that as the

pope proceeds by artifice and intrigue, and believes that the Spaniards do the same, there must always be more apprehension of mutual deceptions between them than of the confidence proper to a sincere union."]

We do not think it necessary to repeat the description of the nephews given by Aluise Contarini. Even Francesco Barberino, although most of all beloved by the pope, and completely devoted to business, was yet entirely dependent on his uncle. ["There has never been a papal nephew more assiduous in the labours of the state than he, who never permits himself to take the slightest recreation; but it is also true that none has ever effected less than he has done."]

Contarini declines all description of the cardinals, remarking that a confirmed hypocrisy prevailed through the whole body. ["One cardinal, though in perfect health, shall make pretence, to facilitate his path to the popedom, of being most infirm; tottering in his walk, coughing at every word; and if he stir abroad, it is only close shut in his litter. Another, being an able statesman, shall nevertheless pretend to be averse from and ignorant of all business; while others talk, he is dumb; if questions are asked, he shrugs his shoulders; or if he reply, it is only in general terms."] One might be tempted to believe that we have here the original of the fable invented with respect to the elevation of Sixtus V.

Next comes the third part; and this describes political relations. It is full of the most acute, impressive, and animated observation; and as we have said, is for us the most valuable part of the report.

However well disposed to the French Pope Urban might be, he did not always comply with their requests as regarded ecclesiastical affairs. ["It must however be confessed that they have required very difficult concessions; such, for example, as the right of nominating to the abbeys of Lorraine, the annulling of the marriages of Duke Charles of Lorraine, and of Monsieur, with others of similar character."] Neither was Francesco Barberino so well disposed to the French party as his uncle: but though the French no longer hoped for any express declaration in their favour, they also knew that the pope would not act against them. Even this was a great advantage for their side, since being considered favourable to France, the opposite party did not trust him.

"But all the more dissatisfied were the Spaniards. They reproached Cardinal Borgia for having permitted Urban VIII. to be elected; and it was affirmed that this cardinal had been won over to do so only by the promise of manifold favours. In the negotiations relative to the Valtelline, in the general policy of the French, and in the position maintained by Bavaria, the Spaniards affirm that the influence of Urban's disinclination might be constantly perceived. Barberino, on the other hand, maintained that the concessions he had made to Spain had been met by no acknowledgment from them. It is obvious that the misunderstanding was mutual.

Contarini discusses the relations of Rome to Venice more fully than all besides. He considers the difficulties between them to arise chiefly from this; that whereas other states were either feared by Rome as more powerful than herself, or neglected by her as less powerful, Venice was regarded and treated as an equal.

It was already a source of displeasure to Rome that the English and Dutch should enjoy certain immunities in Venice. But if once the tem-

poral jurisdiction presumed to lay hands on the person of an ecclesiastic, a general storm immediately arose.

The ambassador is nevertheless of opinion that the Venetians must not permit themselves to be trifled with. The nuncio was enjoined to maintain the most friendly relations with all such Venetian priests as were favourites with the people, and had the largest number of penitents to confess. ["And your excellencies may rest assured that by means of such men, the nuncios contrive to extract the very marrow of all secrets."] So much the more needful was it that the republic should in no case relinquish her authority over them.

In addition to all this, there were moreover continual disputes about the boundaries. Urban VIII. was in no respect to be regarded as the promoter of Venetian interests. He was in particular disposed to advance Ancona to the prejudice of Venice.

No. 116.

Discorso della malattia e morte del Card^l Ippolyto Aldobrandino, camerlengo di S^ta Chiesa col fine della grandezza del Papa Clemente VIII. 1638. [Account of the illness and death of Cardinal Ippolyto Aldobrandino, chamberlain of the holy church, and of the close of the greatness of Pope Clement VIII. 1635.]

An extraordinary impression was produced in Rome by the sudden downfal of the Aldobrandini family, which had been so lately founded.

It was under the influence of this impression that the little work before us was written. ["That great genius has been overwhelmed by death"] it begins. Of the whole house, the daughter of Giovanni Giorgio Aldobrandino alone remained,—and would necessarily inherit incalculable riches.

The state of society in Rome is not badly depicted in the following passage. ["The Marquis Lodovico Lanti, Count Giovanni Francesco da Bagni, Berlingieri Gessi, and Bernardino Biscia, all four emulously hoping for the pontificate of their uncles, are desiring to receive the Princess Aldobrandina in marriage."] In the prospect of their uncle's elevation to the papacy, the nephews-presumptive were struggling for the hand of the richest heiress.

But neither the marriage they sought, nor the power of "the nephew," was to be attained by any one of them.

Ippolyta married a Borghese. Our author is in the utmost astonishment at this, because Paul V. had persecuted the Aldobrandini, and had imprisoned the father of Ippolita himself, yet now she gives her hand to his great-nephew.

In later life, however, as we know, she did in fact fall to the lot of a nephew to the reigning pontiff, Innocent X., to whom she was destined by the circumstances and interests of the Roman court.

No. 117.

Relatione di q. Zuanne Nani K^r Proc^r ritornato di ambasciatore estraordinario da Roma, 1641, 10 *Luglio*. (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report of Zuanne Nani, on returning from his embassy extraordinary to Rome, 10 July, 1641.]

Disagreements of various kinds were continually arising between Rome and Venice; in the year 1635, there occurred one of the most extraordinary kind.

A magnificent inscription in pompous terms, had been erected in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, by Pius IV., to record an achievement of the Venetians on which they prided themselves greatly, and which made a splendid figure in their annals, a victory, namely, gained over Frederick Barbarossa, and by which, as they affirmed, they had saved Alexander III. from destruction.

But the terms of this inscription had gradually come to be thought unwarrantable in Rome. That the phrase ["By the benefits of the Venetian Republic, the dignity of the pontiff was restored,"] should be exhibited, was held by the constantly increasing rigour of orthodoxy to be a kind of affront. The spirit of contention for rank then ruling the world, seized on this long past and almost forgotten incident, and the truth of the narration, as it appears in Venetian writers of history, began moreover to be generally called in question. Disputants appeared in print on both sides of the question.

This is a question that even to the present day has been more than once revived.

I cannot believe that any one possessing the slightest notion of historical examination and criticism can remain doubtful respecting it.

But however that may be, it was at all events not historical conviction alone, but political jealousy in addition, that induced Urban VIII. first, to alter that inscription, and finally, to erase it altogether.

It was in the same light that the matter was viewed by the Republic; the disputes respecting the boundaries, and those concerning the precedence of the new prefect becoming daily more embittered, Venice, for some time, sent no regular ambassador to Rome.

Accordingly, Nani, who went thither in the year 1638, was only ambassador extraordinary. He remained nevertheless nearly three years and a half, and his report shews that he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with the court.

The chief purpose of his mission was to prevail on the pope to support the Republic in case of her being attacked by the Turks, which at that time seemed highly probable.

It is an extraordinary fact, that this request came at a moment which made it particularly acceptable to the pope. He could oppose this necessity of the Republic to the perpetual demands of the house of Austria, then so hardly pressed by the Protestants and the French.

The ambassador would gladly have moved him to a mediation also between the belligerent powers; but the pope did not enjoy the general

confidence indispensable to such an attempt. ["There were so many causes of bitterness continually arising between the pontiff and the crowns, that his authority had become powerless, not to say hateful, among them."]

This ambassador also remarks the inclination of Urban to make a display of military force. Whoever desired to stand well with him must turn the conversation to his fortresses; to which he frequently alluded himself. He even declared that he could bring together more than 20,000 men within the space of twenty days. He further enumerated the territories that he possessed. For immediate necessaries he had laid by 400,000 scudi, and it was believed that of the five millions left by Sixtus V., three still remained in the Castle St. Angelo.

Let us now observe in what manner Nani describes the person and mode of administration adopted by Urban VIII.

["The pontiff is in the beginning of the 73rd year of his age, and at the close of the 17th of his pontificate; no pope has enjoyed so long a period of government for a space of 324 years. He is robust and vigorous, and is gratified at being so considered; indeed, if we except occasional attacks of internal disorders to which he appears subject, his constitution and health are such that he may still last many years. He adopts the most useful measures for the preservation of his health, and as he now feels himself becoming older, he applies less to business, with regard to which, however, he has rarely inflicted on himself more labour than was pleasant to him. The morning is passed in giving audience and other affairs, the afternoon is reserved for rest and conversation with those of his immediate circle, in which he is cheerful and facetious, as in more important discourse he is learned and eloquent. Even while giving audience, he willingly passes from the matter in negotiation, to subjects of an interesting or studious character, to which he is much devoted. He possesses great talents and great qualities, has a wonderful memory, with courage and energy that sometimes render him too firmly fixed to his own ideas. He has extensive powers of intellect, increased by experience of government and the world. He thinks very highly of his own opinion, and therefore does not love taking counsel, nor does he much regard the qualities of his ministers, who might nevertheless give increased force to his measures. He is not much disposed to confer favours, and is of hasty temper; so that even with the ministers of sovereign princes, he cannot always dissemble his impetuosity. He likes to be treated with delicate address, and if there be any method by which the mind of his holiness can be diverted from its determination, it is by this alone; or if one cannot always succeed by it, there is in any case one good result, that if he will not yield, at least he does not break off in anger.

"It were much to be desired that the present government had a more extensive and more efficient 'Consulta;' because, where discussion is wanting, reason will sometimes be wanting likewise; and it is certain that the ministers are but few, and still fewer are those who have any authority or weight at the palace. With the pontiff himself, no one is known to have influence, and his holiness places his own opinion above that of all: the others are wont either to applaud, or at least conform to it. In former times it was usual for the pope to have three or four cardinals near his person, with whom all more important affairs were dis-

cussed before they were determined on, and it was then held to be part of the nephews' secret policy to introduce their own dependants into the confidence of their uncle, to the end that these might lead or win him over on occasions where they could not themselves appear, or did not wish to reveal their inclinations.

"Barbarino has not chosen to circumvent the freedom of the pope in this manner, but reserving to himself exclusively the place immediately next the ear of his holiness, he compels all others to remain at a distance, and to submit their own opinions to his sole judgment, not seeming pleased that any should speak to the pope on business without having first communicated with himself. Yet he does not avail himself of this authority, which he alone enjoys, with that liberty which might perhaps be advantageous to the public good, and to his own interests; so that, not daring to lift a breath against the resolutions or opinions of the pope, he frequently assumes the appearance of being equally obstinate with his holiness himself, and by this means has subjected himself to the displeasure of kings and other sovereigns, with the dislike of their ministers, for not diverting or preventing many strange and disagreeable occurrences.

"Under the pontificate of the present pope, the cardinals complain accordingly, more particularly those created by him, of not being treated with openness or confidence. The cardinal-nephew employs the services of very few ministers, while the vast amount of business and other causes might seem to make him require many. Pancirola and Ricchi, auditors of the Rota, are those most admitted to his intimacy and most frequently employed.

"Pancirola is a man of advanced age and great experience; he was employed in Piedmont respecting the peace, even from the time when the wars of Mantua commenced. He is employed in affairs connected with the administration of the Ecclesiastical States, and as I have not had to transact any business with him, I have nothing to relate concerning his personal qualities.

"Ricchi is a man of high character, prompt and sagacious; he directs almost all affairs with foreign princes, and has more particularly the management of those pertaining to the Republic. He is entirely dependent on Barberino, a circumstance which renders him particularly acceptable to the lord cardinal; he has encountered many vexations from some of the foreign ministers, but is upon the whole greatly liked. He has no other experience than that derived from his present employment, which is an important one; my business has always been transacted with him, and your excellencies will remember to have seen him frequently described in my lettters, as well as in his official documents. In the management of affairs, he displays address and coolness, with equal ability and diligence. He speaks of the most serene Republic with all possible expressions of reverence and devotion. He has it much at heart to secure a certain matter touching the pensions of the cardinal his brother, respecting which I have written at other times.

"To these I will add Mousignore Cecca, secretary of state, because he is at present assisting in the negotiations of the league. He has not more than ordinary talent, but from long experience in his office, has a competent knowledge of business. He is considerably advanced in years, and

is believed to be near to the cardinalate; though not greatly beloved by the nephews, he is much respected on account of the regard borne to him by his holiness. When the present pontiff was nuncio at the court of France, Cecca was in the service of his secretary, and by a marvellous change of fortune, yet one not uncommon in the Roman court, he stepped into the place of his master, who is still living in no very prosperous circumstances, while Cecca enjoys an important office with good revenues, and has prospects of more than common advancement. There are none beside in the circle of Barberino possessing either credit or talents to merit observation.

"For the government of the state, there is a 'Consulta' of cardinals and prelates, which meets for the discussion of various matters twice in each week. The other congregations are those of the Inquisition, of 'Propaganda Fide,' of the Council, of the regular clergy, of ceremonial rites, and other interests of a similar character. But the whole affair resolves itself into mere talk, because the decision rests entirely with his holiness and the nephew. A congregation of state is held from time to time in the presence of the pope, for purposes of high importance; but none take part in these councils excepting the cardinals created by himself or others in his confidence, or who have served in nunciatures. Even this, too, serves rather for the ratification of decisions than for the determination of them by discussion, because nothing is deliberated on, or presented as a decree, except in conformity with the opinion either expressed or suffered to be understood as that of his holiness; and indeed the pontiffs are wont to complain that they have not any one in whom they may confide, all the cardinals living with their eyes turned on those foreign princes with whom their interests are connected."

No. 118.

Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di Mons^r Gio. Batt. Spada. [Relation of the most important events that have taken place in the government of Rome during the time of Monsignore Gio. Battista Spada.]

Respecting the latter days of Urban VIII., replete with pictures of life and manner, more especially of circumstances falling within the department of justice and the police of the States, and recorded with unquestionable authenticity.

We find the old contentions still prevailing among the ancient families of Rome, between the Gaetani and Colonnesi for example; not only was it difficult to effect any agreement between them, but many days were required even for drawing up the document, wherein the history of their quarrels was of necessity related, with a view to such agreement; so difficult was it to make a report by which one or the other would not feel himself insulted.

Disputes were also frequent between the French and Spaniards. They

would meet for example in taverns, each drank to the health of his own sovereign, offence was soon taken; but the weaker party remained moderately quiet, until being reinforced, it could meet its opponent on equal ground; then, assembling on the public places of the city, they would come to blows, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that the bargello could separate them.

But although thus divided among themselves, they all do their best to oppose the court, and rival each other in resistance to the policy of Rome.

The ambassadors were most especially difficult to manage; they gradually set up those pretensions which were subsequently the cause of so many serious disputes. They not only declared their palaces to be sanctuaries and free, permitting unlawful games to be established in them; but they even claimed the right of extending their protection to the neighbouring houses. Monsignore Spada naturally opposed these pretensions. ["For if so much courtesy had been extended to the lords ambassadors as that none should enter their houses or families, the extent to which they now desired to carry the matter was too great, being no less than that no execution should be permitted in the neighbouring houses, or even in the same cluster of buildings (isola)."]

Historically considered, the most important incidents here described are two attempts on the life of Urban VIII., which are given with the most satisfactory authenticity.

1. ["Concerning the trial of Giacinto Centini, nephew of Cardinal d'Ascoli, and of certain of his accomplices.—The substance was to this effect: it having been prognosticated that the cardinal would succeed to the present pontiff, Giacinto Centini, led away by this prophecy, and desiring to see it instantly fulfilled, had formed a compact with Fra Serafino Cherubini of Ancona, of the Friars Minor; Fra Pietro da Palermo un Eremita, who assumed the name of Fra Bernardino; and Fra Domenico da Fermo, an Augustinian, for the purpose of seeking to shorten the life of our lord the pope by diabolic acts; and to that effect it was resolved to make a figure of wax, representing the pope, which was executed; and after many invocations of demons, and sacrifices offered to the same, this was melted, destroyed, and consumed at the fire, with the firm belief that the said figure being so consumed, the life of Pope Urban must terminate with it, and thus make way for the succession of Cardinal Ascoli, uncle of Giacinto."]

2. ["The confession of Tommaso Orsolini of Recanate.—That by the instigation of Fra Domenico Brancaccio of Bagnarea, an Augustinian, he had gone to Naples for the purpose of making a pretended discovery to the viceroy of a supposed agreement among the princes for the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, wherein his holiness also was to take part, and the remedy proposed was, that either the pope or one of the confederates was to be put to death. This the aforesaid Father Bagnarea offered to do himself, provided they would furnish him with 3,000 scudi, which he would give to the sacristan of his holiness, who was now become incapable of labour; when he, Bagnarea, having succeeded to that office, would have put poison into the host, which his holiness would have to consecrate in the mass; or otherwise, if he could not succeed in becoming sacristan, he would have contrived that the apothecary Carcurasio, his relative,

should poison the medicaments applied to the setons of his holiness; but he did not proceed to the extent of describing all this to the viceroy, because, having intimated to him that the pope must be put to death, he saw that the viceroy did not entertain that proposal."]

No. 119.

Historica relatione dell' origine e progressi delle rotture nate tra la casa Barberina et Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza. (*In the Library of Vienna. Historia Prof N.* 899. 224 *leaves.*) [Historical relation of the origin and progress of those disputes that have occurred between the house of Barberina and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma and Placentia.] (Library of Vienna. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 leaves.)

This is the work of a partisan, given in the form of a letter, in which the origin of these contentions is wholly attributed to the ill-will of the Barberini. The monti of the barons are connected by this author, as well as others, with those of the state. The pope readily granted the necessary permissions, because he thus rendered the barons more subservient to himself. ["When such monti were erected, the prince became security, reserving to himself the right to demand their extinction at his pleasure."]

I do not find that this work, although voluminous, makes any important disclosures; and since we are not in this case in any want of such, it has no great value. The most remarkable part of it is, without doubt, the description of Pope Urban's anti-Austrian, and in a certain sense anti-Catholic tendencies.

["He would sometimes give it to be understood, that though the progress made by the Catholics against the heretics was very pleasing to him, yet that there was cause to fear lest this prosperity should some day turn to their injury, by the jealousies that would be excited throughout the world, lest the empire should absorb the last remaining vestige of liberty. A report was current in all the courts that it was to Urban the suspicions of Duke Maximilian were to be ascribed, and which caused a great schism in the union of those Catholic princes, who were exposed to the chances of reactions, for they supposed that once the heretics were subdued, the arms of Austria would be turned to the injury of those who had been ministers to the greatness of that house; and to say all, there were some who in those days boasted of knowing that the mission of Ceva, the confidential minister of the house of Barberina, sent into France with the title of nuncio extraordinary, had received in the most profound concealment a secret command to excite the French king to mingle in the commotions of Germany, to the end that, acting in concert with Bavaria, he might devise a method for raising up some barrier against the increasing power of the house of Austria."

This proves at least that such views were prevalent at the time.

No. 120.

Della vita di Papa Urbano VIII. e historia del suo pontificato, scritta da Andrea Nicoletti. (8 *volumes in folio MS.*) [The life of Pope Urban VIII. and history of his pontificate, by Andrea Nicoletti.] (8 volumes in folio MS.)

It is much to be regretted that there are so few good, or even available biographies of the persons most eminent in history.

The cause of this deficiency must not be ascribed to indifference to their memory; this was, indeed, most commonly very highly estimated, if not overrated, by those connected with them; it may be attributed to the following cause:—

At first, when the remembrance is still fresh, and materials might readily be gathered, certain scruples are felt with regard to contemporaries; the whole truth is not told; a multitude of individuals would be compromised, and numberless animosities called forth against the subject of the memoir himself.

At a later period, and when contemporaries also have disappeared, when courage might be found for speaking, the memory of the hero has also become faint, the materials are scattered, the interest itself has declined, and awakens only in the minds of those who desire to investigate the facts for historical purposes.

In this state of things, the following expedient was frequently adopted in Italy.

The materials existing were handed over to some trusted friend or servant of the house, who being well and personally informed of the general facts, then placed them together, arranged them duly, and formed them into a connected narrative; yet this was not intended for the press, it was preserved in MS. among the family annals.

In this manner the susceptibilities of the contemporary were spared; while yet the possibility was retained of reviving the rapidly fading memory at some future time, and presenting it in all the fulness of truth.

To this class of works belongs the biography of Andrea Nicoletti.

It contains the recollections of the Barberini family respecting the personal character and various transactions of Urban VIII. But the mass of the work, and that which gives the volume its bulk, is the collected correspondence, of which all is inserted, of the ambassadors belonging to the twenty-one years of Urban's pontificate.

This biography is, in fact, essentially formed of a compilation of the despatches from the different nunciatures.

Not the final reports, the "relationi," properly so called, but the despatches themselves, as was most fitting to a biography. The pope constantly appears in this work as himself directing, determining, and acting.

I have observed that similar compilations were attempted in Venice; but as the active proceedings of the republic do not appear, and only the mass of the reports presented is placed before us, without any of their effects becoming apparent, the attention very soon becomes distracted and wearied.

In the work of Nicoletti the case is totally different; the vocation of the papacy, the complicated political position of Urban VIII., the immediate bearing of each report on some important circumstance of general history,—all tend to produce unity of purpose, and awaken interest.

It is obvious that the notices here presented in relation to the period of the thirty years' war must needs have especial importance; and in fact they throw light on it at every point.

It must be allowed, that where the author attempts a judgment, or relates a fact from his own authority, we cannot follow him altogether without reserve. Here and there he may probably have been unable to procure authentic information; but the official is not to be concealed, even in the origin and first conception of such a work. I will cite but one example. In the 3rd volume of his work, p. 673, Nicoletti affirms that Urban VIII. had heard of the conclusion of peace between France and England with much bitter grief ("Il rammarico fu acerbissimo"), while from Aluise Contarini, who took a personal share in all the negotiations we learn that the pope had even advised those negotiations and that conclusion. The error of Nicoletti proceeds from the fact, that amidst the enormous accumulation of correspondence before him, this notice had escaped his observation, and that he judged the pope according to his own idea of what was demanded from Urban's ecclesiastical position. Many similar instances occur, but these do not prevent us from believing the author where he merely gives extracts.

It is the practice of Nicoletti to insert the papers in their whole extent, with such changes only as are demanded by the form of narrative. The utmost deviation that he can have made is to misplace certain particulars, or omit certain documents. Yet, from the nature of his charge, which merely consisted in arranging the papers given him, and from the character of the work, which was not intended for the public, this was not of necessity to be anticipated, nor have I found any trace of its being done.

Although I have proceeded diligently through all these volumes, and have not neglected the opportunity of making myself acquainted with historical materials of so much importance, it would nevertheless be impossible to give a more minute account of them in this place. Whoever has occupied himself with the examination of correspondence will remember how much he has been compelled to read before attaining to a clear perception of any one fact. For materials so diffuse, I cannot find space in this work.

There follows, however, the description of the last moments of Urban VIII., which is highly remarkable; as also of his personal character, as Nicoletti conceived it.

Volume viii., near the close:—["In those days (towards the end of June) the heat in Rome was excessive, and even much more perilous than common; nevertheless, the pope believing himself to be somewhat recovered from his malady, and knowing that seventeen churches were without their bishops, while Cardinal Grimaldi, who had returned from the nunciature of France, had not received the hat of his cardinalate, declared that he would hold a consistory on the approaching Monday. Cardinal Barberini thought that he might also induce him to complete the promotion

of some cardinals; for which cause he did not oppose his purpose by representing his dangerous state of weakness, and the slow fever that might be redoubled by that exertion, but rather applauded his intention and encouraged him, as though he had been in good health. The report of the intended consistory getting about, while the pope was believed by some to be dying, and by others even dead, but that his death was concealed, the greater part of Rome was seen to be alarmed, although all put on glad looks and pretended to rejoice at the restoration of the pontiff's health. But Cardinal Barberini perceiving afterwards that the pope would not proceed to the promotion of any cardinal, although eight were wanting to the sacred college, either because he was not satisfied with the persons proposed to him, or because he desired to leave that office to his successor, then made an earnest attempt to dissuade him by powerful reasons and pressing entreaties from holding the consistory at that time; and he laboured all the more eagerly because he saw that, besides the probable injury to the pope, he should himself be discredited and lose in the general esteem, since the cardinals of his proposing not being promoted, the report universally prevailing of his having lost favour with the pope on account of the wars, would receive confirmation, and the opinion that if Urban's life were prolonged, the cardinal Antonio would obtain the supremacy, would be strengthened. The pontiff not being moved by these arguments and prayers, Monsignor Roscioli, knowing that he should oblige Cardinal Barberini, and help to preserve the life of his holiness by dissuading him from the said resolution, and confiding in the good-will of the pope towards himself, determined to adopt every means, even using the names of the cardinals and of the whole city, to prevail on him for the abandonment of that consistory. Having taken therefore a befitting opportunity, he entered the apartments of the pope, and kneeling before him, declared that he did not propose to supplicate him in the name of his ministers, nor on the part of his nephews, or of the house of Barberini, but of the whole city of Rome; for that his holiness having been chosen for the welfare of the nations, and for the safety of the church, when abandoning the care of his own person by exposing himself, while still weak, to the danger of accident, abandoned at the same time the whole city and the government committed to him by the church, to the extreme grief of all: that his welfare or peril was of more consequence to Christendom in general than to the house of Barberini, or to his holiness himself; and that, therefore, if he would not defer the fatigue of that consistory at the prayers of his nephews, he should do so at least for the entreaties of all Rome, which implored him to comply. The pope, after reflecting for a time, replied that he did not desire to prolong his life further, knowing that the pontificate was a burthen no longer suited to his strength, and that God would provide for his church. After this reply, having remained silent for a time, Monsignor Roscioli perceived that the pope had his eyes full of tears, and raising them to heaven with sighs, he burst into fervent prayers to God, imploring the Divine Majesty to release him from this present life, wherewith he seemed to be grievously wearied.

"The Monday appointed for holding the consistory having arrived, a vast multitude of people assembled at the palace, curious to see the pope, whom but shortly before they had believed dead. Scarcely had he entered, before the cardinals perceived that his life was indeed approaching its end,

for he looked languid and pale, and had almost lost the power of utterance; towards the end of the consistory more particularly he appeared to have become almost insensible. This was attributed to the excessive heat of the season, increased by the crowd of people who had found their way in; but neither did the ministers nearest to the pope's person, nor Cardinal Barberini himself, escape reproach for not having prevented the pontiff from exposing himself to that fatiguing office, the people not knowing the efforts that had been made to divert him from this purpose: for any one seeing him in that state of suffering and weakness, would have been moved to pity, since it was manifest that the malady had shaken his mind and deprived him of all sound judgment respecting the affairs before him. After the propositions concerning the churches had been made, and after having given the hat to Cardinal Grimaldi, he left the consistory with his disorder greatly aggravated, as had been foretold.

"On the following day he performed an action by which he acquired the fame of great piety, and which is worthy of record as an example to all ecclesiastical princes. This was to summon before him certain theologians, who were very eminent in that science, and also for probity, being besides considered by the pope to be incapable of adulation. To these divines he first caused a full statement to be given of all the ecclesiastical estates and revenues wherewith he had enriched the house of Barberini during the time of his pontificate, commanding them to declare whether he had in anywise exceeded his power and authority; since he was prepared to take back from his nephews whatever might burthen his conscience before the tribunal of God. The theologians were Cardinal de Lugo, Father Torquato de Cupis, of the order of Jesuits, and some others. And the pope was encouraged to this act by the serenity he perceived on the countenance of Cardinal Barberini, when having summoned him first of all, he made him acquainted with his purpose; so that, notwithstanding the late shadows of doubt between them, he seemed almost disposed to take his advice on the subject. The cardinal applauded the piety of his holiness, and shewed particular satisfaction respecting that intention, hoping still greater blessings from the most bountiful hand of God, since all this was to be done solely for the satisfaction of the Divine Majesty. It is said that the unanimous opinion of the theologians was this; that his holiness, having enriched his nephews, might with a safe conscience permit them to enjoy all the wealth he had conferred on them, and that for two reasons: First, that having promoted many persons to the cardinalate without having provided them with revenues suitable to their position, the nephews would thus be in a condition to supply them according to their need. The other reason why the conscience of the pope should be tranquil was, that the nephews aforesaid having in that long reign, and during the wars, incurred the hatred and hostility of various princes, it was reasonable that they should be left in a condition to defend themselves and maintain their rank: it was even necessary to the credit of the Apostolic See that they should not be contemned, as frequently happens to those who are reduced from an eminent position to an inferior one: thus the being well provided with riches and with the goods of fortune, would but tend to make them more respected: besides which, the said nephews were by nature endowed with so much Christian charity, that they would apply those revenues to the benefit of the poor and for other pious uses. By

these and similar reasonings the pontiff appeared to be tranquillized.

"He proceeded then to prepare for death, which he felt in himself to be approaching; but amidst these thoughts and dispositions he yet shewed himself in all his conversations to be full of a just anger against the princes of Italy; feeling a deep grief that it must remain recorded of his pontificate how those potentates had leagued themselves against him, and had assailed the States of the Church with their armies. For this cause he sometimes broke out into bitter reproaches against them, as men without piety, without religion, and without laws; imploring on them the just vengeance of heaven, and that he might live to see them punished, or at least repentant. Peace had already been concluded with them, as hath been said elsewhere, being ratified and signed by his holiness; but in this the two cardinals Barberini were not included or named; whence their more faithful adherents were of opinion that while—on account of the life of the pope—the house of Barberini was still feared, all possible efforts should be made to have the said cardinals declared parties to and included in that peace, by the Italian princes. And Cardinal Bicchi, who went as plenipotentiary to those princes on the part of France, affirmed that, not being assured of the pope's death, they would shew no reluctance to negotiate and accept that treaty: but Cardinal Barberini forbade the attempt in express terms, commanding Bicchi to do nothing whatever in that behalf, even though the princes should of themselves propose the arrangement; nor would he listen to any counsels on that head, alleging as a reason, that the desire to be included and named in the articles of peace was no other than an admission on their parts that they were the authors and promoters of the war, to say nothing of the fact that it was not usual to name the ministers or agents in treaties of peace, but only the princes and chiefs who had taken part in the war.

"At that time there were, as we have said, eight vacancies in the sacred college of cardinals, for which cause, there was infinite agitation at court, so great a number being capable of occasioning no small change in the position of the established factions. The pope, as Cardinal Barberini frequently remarked to us, desired that the cardinals should possess a greater extent of influence and more abundant revenues, wherefore he proposed to reduce the sacred college, by an especial 'constitution,' to the number of fifty, for which reason it was that he had decided to make no further promotions. Barberini, however, knowing that the pope would not attain his purpose by leaving so many vacancies, but would confer great benefit on the faction of his successor, entreated him continually to yield to the general opinion, and promote as many persons as were then worthy of the purple; but all their efforts were vain; the pope replied, that he would not put it in the power of any of his successors to quote his example for creating cardinals at the close of life, thus privately and indecorously, even on his death-bed; that he had received an example from Gregory XV., which he desired to transmit with equal glory to his successors. Other personages then laboured to move him, more particularly Cardinal de Lugo, who sought to enforce the arguments of Cardinal Barberini by suggesting that the pope might confirm the consistorial decree of the three cardinals already elected, and which had been drawn up after the consistory in which the last promotion had

taken place; he affirmed that Cardinal Barberini, as vice-chancellor, was bound to lay this before his holiness, not that he might promote, as was the case of Gregory, but merely that he might declare the cardinals already created and reserved 'in petto,' an announcement which appeared reasonable to all the sacred college, and for which no new consistory was required. But the pontiff, either because he was displeased with Cardinal Barberini for having proposed persons not agreeable to his holiness, or that he believed he should thus have a more glorious memory, remained immovable to all entreaty, commanding that none should venture again to speak to him of promotion.

"The aspect of Pope Urban was extremely cheerful, yet full of majesty. There was a certain melancholy in his temperament, so that when it was necessary to bleed him, which usually occurred in the spring, there proceeded from his veins small particles, as if congealed by that humour. Nor without this could he have made so much progress in letters, since philosophers tell us that melancholy contributes to facilitate the acquisition of the sciences, and to their retention in the mind. The proportions of his body and limbs were nobly adjusted; his stature rather tall, his complexion olive, his figure rather muscular than fat. His head was large, giving evidence of a wonderful intellect and a most tenacious memory. His forehead was ample and serene, the colour of his eyes a light blue, the nose well proportioned, the cheeks round, but in his latter years greatly attenuated; his mouth was full of grace, his voice sonorous and very agreeable, so that with the Tuscan idiom which he retained all his life, there proceeded from those lips the sweetest words, full of eloquence, adorned with flowers of polite learning, of sacred letters, and of ancient examples. From the time of his elevation to the prelacy he wore his beard of a moderate length and square form, and this, with his grey hair, gave him an extremely venerable aspect. He was in truth so amiable, that, with the exception of a too great openness—unless when restrained by the importance of the matter in hand—there was no fault that the most observant critics could blame in him. And if he was sometimes excited to anger, he soon returned to his previous good humour. It was the opinion of sagacious persons, that with Pope Urban it was necessary to be profoundly learned, or else to possess little, perhaps no learning; for as he did not disdain to be won over by the acquirements of the speaker in the one case, so in the other he so greatly compassionated the condition of the person, that he would himself assist and console him: but this always supposes that the latter was not presuming or arrogant, abusing the humanity and good disposition of the pope, who was ever most harsh and inflexible towards the proud and arrogant, as he was gentle and benevolent towards the respectful and modest. . . . He was most considerate towards his aforesaid servants, and towards his own relations, choosing such times for employing them as were regulated rather by their convenience than by his own: nor did he disdain occasionally to listen with patience to expressions of feeling or of complaint from them. In his maladies also, he seemed to grieve more for the vigils and fatigues of his attendants, than for his own illness and pains. He was not, indeed, very patient of clamours and loud lamentations, but he disliked to refuse or to see any one leave him dissatisfied. He was most cheerful and pleasant with his more confidential servants, and would sometimes jest with

them and indulge in witticisms. . . . He never forgot his old friends, even when absent or dead, and his benevolence, in this respect, was admirable, whence he commanded Cardinal Biscia, a cardinal of his own creation, and one of those in whom he most confided, that he should be careful to give him frequent intelligence of them; and if they were dead, that note should be taken of their descendants, to the end that they might be provided for as opportunity should offer.

"There was the utmost plenty of all things in Rome during this pontificate, and the pope was accustomed to say that he had derived his birth from Florence, but had received all his greatness from Rome. He desired that every one should enjoy the prosperity of his pontificate,—that the saleable offices of the chancery should produce large gains to their purchasers: thus he was most liberal in transacting the affairs of the dataria; he wished that the artisans should make large profits at their trades, but lawfully, and without fraud; to merchants of all sorts he was equally favourable,—whence it followed that money circulated so freely during his pontificate, as to make all persons, of whatever profession, content and satisfied. He gave especial orders for the supply of corn, and endured the expense willingly in consideration of the abundance maintained. His greatest enjoyment was to know that the husbandman was not deprived of those gains which he considered the risk of life and means incurred by those who toiled on the vast extent of the Campagna, and were exposed to its insalubrious air, to merit: then, when it appeared to him that the sea-coast was principally useful for agriculture, he turned his thoughts in that direction, and frequently talked of draining the Pontine Marshes, to recover those immense districts now under water, and that entirely for the public benefit: but other cares would not permit him to enjoy the completion of so glorious a design. Neither would he permit that the price of grain or other food should be fixed; but to maintain the abundance aforesaid, he would have all free, thus preventing monopoly. Hence, the merchants, filling their granaries, vied with each other in selling cheaply, and the city of Rome became rich.

"That literature should flourish during his pontificate cannot be matter of surprise, since he had no more agreeable recreation than the society of the learned, whom he always received with kindness and treated liberally. He was also a great lover of the other noble professions, as painting, sculpture, and the various fine arts, so that he did not disdain frequently to visit their professors; more especially one day, when going to visit the seven churches with all the sacred college, and having arrived at Santa Maria Maggiore, and offered his prayers in that basilica, he entered with the aforesaid train of cardinals into the house of the Cavaliere Giovanni Lorenzo Bernino, which stood near, to examine certain renowned works of sculpture from his chisel.

"Having been compelled by various causes to impose many burthens and taxes, he was sometimes seen to weep over such measures, saying that he would willingly give his own blood or that of his kindred rather than hear of the afflictions suffered by the nations and by Rome, or the embarrassments of the apostolic treasury. And to Monsignor Lorenzo Raggi, treasurer of the same, who went to receive audience during his last illness, he said that he desired to live two months longer, but not more, and that for three reasons: first, that he might have a longer time

for repentance and to seek the forgiveness of God for his sins; next, that he might complete the restoration to the castle of all the money taken out of it for the war of Castro; and thirdly, that he might see the building of the walls enclosing the Borgo and Trastevere completed, and the city of Rome secured.

"If the heroic actions of the pope, from the weakness of my pen, shall be set forth without eloquence, without dignity of style, and in fine, without due proportion to the worth of so great a pontiff, they have, nevertheless, been recorded with pure and sincere truth, which was particularly enjoined and inculcated by those who held supreme authority over me; that is to say, *that I should write simply as an historian, and should wholly abstain from all adulation and vanities, also from rhetorical amplifications, attending more to things than to words.*

"But we return to consider his application to sacred matters. Beside that he caused the Roman ritual to be corrected and reprinted, he did not neglect to give many regulations for the pontifical chapel, although, either from the negligence of the ministers or from the pressure of other affairs, the principal things only have been retained and observed; and it is certain that he also reformed the use of indulgences, that he might close the mouths of the heretics.

"Finally, if Urban had not engaged in war,—or, to speak more exactly, if he had not been provoked and drawn into it by force, which even greatly hastened his death, there could not have been desired a pontiff more glorious, nor a sovereign of more exalted qualities, by means of which, for many years of his pontificate, he attached to himself the affection of all Christendom, so that to this day his memory is blessed by the nations for those happy years, during which they enjoyed tranquillity and peace."]

SECTION VI.

LATER EPOCHS.

In the preceding section we have thrown together whatever has immediate reference to Urban VIII.; there still remain some few writings which connect his times with those directly succeeding.

No. 121.

Relatione della vita del Card^l Cecchini, composta da lui medesimo. [Life of Cardinal Cecchini, composed by himself.] (Barberini Library, pp. 275.)

These are personal memoirs, which do not throw much direct light on important matters of state, but which present a very interesting example of the life of an ecclesiastic; private, indeed, but always passed in the midst of important events, and under remarkable circumstances.

The author informs us that he composed these memoirs for his own

gratification: ["Among those things that afford to man the highest pleasure, one is the remembrance of past events."]

Cecchini left Perugia for Rome in the year 1604, being then at the age of fifteen.

He had placed his hopes on the Aldobrandini family, with which he was remotely connected; but Clement VIII. died too soon for his interests, and after his death, the power of the Aldobrandini departed. It is true that Cecchini might have flattered himself that he had found a new source of hope, seeing that in Perugia he had formed an acquaintance with Scipione Caffarelli, the same who, under Paul V., contrived to make his position of nephew to the reigning pontiff so extensively advantageous; but Caffarelli did not choose to remember this acquaintance, and the youth was compelled to seek protection elsewhere.

But it was then his good fortune to attach himself precisely to the two prelates (Monsignori) who afterwards attained to the highest dignities, Ludovisio and Pamfilio.

The opinion that Ludovisio would obtain the tiara very early prevailed in Rome. Thus when Ludovico, nephew of the cardinal, was admitted to the prelacy in 1619, many regarded him as the future "cardinal-padrone." All eyes were directed towards him; his friends and dependants were already labouring, each to supplant the other. Cecchini himself complains that some had attempted to displace him, but that he contrived to retain his position; he was even enabled to render his patron important services; being a kinsman of the Aldobrandini, he was in a condition to effect an alliance between the two houses. Cardinal Aldobrandini promised his vote to Ludovisio.

The requisite measures were soon taken with a view to Ludovisio's elevation. That cardinal long hesitated whether or not he should accept a pension of 1,200 scudi offered him by the Spaniards, after the conclusion of peace with Savoy; fearing lest he should incur the enmity of the French. Cecchini was called on to speak of this matter with the French ambassador, and remove from his mind all suspicions that might arise from that cause.

Under these circumstances, Cardinal Ludovisio came to the conclave held in Rome after the death of Paul V., already expecting to be chosen. Cecchini hastened to meet him. "I conduct the pope to Rome," he exclaimed in his joyous zeal. "We have but to be on our guard against the cardinal of Aquino," replied Ludovisio, "and all will be well." ["Ludovisio felt so secure of the pontificate, that he asked me in jest who was to be pope, and when I replied that the pope was not in Rome, but that I was conducting him thither, he answered me with the utmost confidence, 'Defend me from Cardinal d'Aquino, and we shall do well.'"]

All succeeded to their wishes. Ludovisio was really elected. The nephew embraced Cecchini for joy, and made him his auditor.

The latter was thus brought into contact with the supreme power. He was not without a certain share in public business, or was at least admitted to the knowledge of affairs, but his next important occupation was still the arrangement of the cardinal's money matters; the revenues from Avignon and Fermo passed through his hands. The cardinal did not wish to have the exact sums that he expended made

known, for he was in the highest degree magnificent in his habits. When Ludovisio became grand chamberlain, Cecchini was raised to be auditor of that office.

The most singular abuses are here brought to our notice. Certain orders, called "non gravetur," were issued in the name of the cardinal-nephew, and whoever possessed these was secured from arrest,—people sought to defend themselves from their creditors by a "non gravetur;" there were even artisans who were thus protected. But our author relates things much worse than this. Under Pope Paul V. a suit had been instituted against the Prior and Prince Aldobrandini. Cecchini declares that the fiscal-general employed false witnesses to obtain sentence of condemnation against them. It was not their death that was desired; the object proposed was to force the Aldobrandini into resigning certain castles and domains to the Borghese family. Under Gregory XV., the fiscal-general was imprisoned for this affair. ["Pietro Maria Cirocchi, who was fiscal-general under Paul V., was imprisoned by Gregory XV. for many imputed crimes: among the chief of these was this, that in the criminal process instituted against the Prince and Prior Aldobrandini, in which they were condemned to suffer loss of life and goods, he had caused the examination of false witnesses, as without doubt he did; and the said sentence was pronounced for no other end than that of forcing Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to yield the castles of Montefortino and Olevano, which he had bought of the duke of Zagarolo, to Cardinal Borghese, in return for which, the said condemnation of the nephews was to be remitted; and he agreed to do it, they being also sent prisoners to the Castle St. Angelo, where they remained four months."] Acts of baseness that are hateful as they are atrocious,—the duty of the historian forbids him to be silent respecting them; but we must not fail to remark that Cecchini was naturally an adherent of the Aldobrandini family.

On the death of Gregory XV., Urban VIII. was elected pope. Cecchini had previously found an occasion for rendering him an important service, though it was only by remaining silent. In a moment of violent anger, and while yet cardinal only, Urban had once said that a certain something should be borne in mind, to Cardinal Ludovisio's cost. Now there was nothing that would so fatally have injured Urban in the conclave, where Ludovisio was so powerful, as this menace; but at the entreaty of Magalotto, Cecchini remained silent on the subject.

This pontiff appears in extremely characteristic colours on another occasion in this biography.

Urban VIII. felt deeply mortified by the protest of Borgia; he attributed to the cardinals Ubaldini and Ludovisio some share in this matter, and desired to punish them for it. He would have thrown Ubaldini into prison, had not the fiscal steadfastly opposed himself to that purpose; but the cardinal was at least compelled to absent himself, nor would the pope suffer even Ludovisio to remain in Rome. He therefore called Cecchini, who was still in the service of Ludovisio, to his presence, and bade him notify to the cardinal that he must depart for his bishopric of Bologna within fourteen days. He announced this determination with expressions of the most violent anger. "For a good hour,"

says Cecchini, "was I compelled to listen to him; while the pope threatened, with the most insulting expressions, that Borgia should be punished also, I dared not interrupt him, and he repeated that Ludovisio must depart, or that he should be driven out by the sbirri." On this occasion also it would have been better for Cecchini to have held his peace, but he thought it necessary to report what had passed to his patron, and the character of this court is intimated by the fact, that in doing so he injured himself with every one. Ludovisio thought that Cecchini ought not to have submitted patiently to the violent language of the pope, but should rather have brought matters to an open rupture. Cardinal Barberini was displeased, because Cecchini had not first spoken of the matter to him, the cardinal-nephew; but most of all was the pope himself enraged, and the more so as the affair had become to a certain extent misrepresented in travelling round to him again. He caused the luckless Cecchini to be once more summoned, and made a scene in which his old anger against his enemies was mingled with regret for the violence of his late expressions; repentance for what he had done, and now wished undone: the conviction of his omnipotence as pope, with the consciousness that the other had, after all, not acted wrongfully, were very strangely blended together. But Urban VIII. was a man who was sure to recover himself after a time. Ludovisio left Rome, and soon afterwards died. Cecchini, it is true, lost the post he had previously held, but he obtained a new one, and this even furnished him with occasional opportunity for approaching the pontiff. "Monsignor Cecchini," said the latter one day, "forgive us; we went too far with you." Cecchini says that the tears rose to his eyes on hearing this, and that he replied with the most profound devotion. The pope's master of the household paid him a visit that same day, declaring that his holiness had for four years been awaiting that hour, and rejoiced from his heart that it had at length arrived.

Cecchini then again attached himself principally to the Aldobrandini; we find him actively occupied with the marriage of Olympia, the rich heiress of that house. Cardinal Ippolyto had died without having definitively arranged that matter, and it was feared that the Barberini would not allow so rich an inheritance to escape them. Olympia was obliged to feign sickness. With aid from the general of the Jesuits, whom it was necessary to consult on all occasions, they contrived to bring about her marriage with the young Borghese; this was in accordance with the last wishes of Cardinal Ippolyto, and took place six days after his death.

But the Barberini did not suffer Cecchini to drop on that account; when they had made inquiry as to whether he were in any manner connected with the Farnesi also, they employed him to promote the measures adopted for the defence of the city.

Cecchini soon discovered that a new impost laid on the wines of Roman growth was causing extreme dissatisfaction. He declared to Cardinal Barberini that this was a tax which the Romans never had endured, and which had caused them to revolt against Eugenius IV.; he succeeded in fact, although there had already been a monte founded on the proceeds, in prevailing on the cardinal immediately to summon the contractor. This man willingly resigned his contract, perceiving that there would be

great difficulties in levying the amount. Cecchini hastened to the Capitol, where the people of Rome were holding an assembly, and at once imparted his intelligence. At first he was not believed, but he caused the contractor to come forward, by whom the statement was confirmed. All cried "Viva Monsignor Cecchini! viva Papa Urbano!" The people kissed his hands and his clothing.

But Cecchini had not yet attained his highest position. He had the good fortune to see another of his old protectors, and perhaps the most earnest of all, Cardinal Pamfili, ascend the papal throne.

In the first days of the new pontificate, the Barberini were in favour with Innocent X. Cecchini received an invitation to appear in the presence of the pope with the two cardinals. "Has Cardinal Barberini told you any thing?" inquired Innocent. "No." The pontiff turned first to Francesco and then to Antonio, bidding them to speak. Both declined to do so. "We will no longer keep you in suspense," said the pope at length; "we have made you our datary; you are indebted for this to the cardinals Barberini, who requested this favour from us, and we have willingly granted their request."

But this office had much that was unpleasant attached to it. The pope was changeful, obstinate, and distrustful. We learn from other sources that the administration of Cecchini was not wholly free from blame. Donna Olympia Maidalchina could not endure him, if for no other reason than that her sister-in-law, Donna Clementia, also received presents from him: but of these things I have already spoken; they possess a certain importance in relation to the government of Innocent X., since they occasioned the most revolting and disgraceful scenes. Cecchini was rejoiced that Donna Olympia had at length been expelled the court. It was during the time of her disgrace, and shortly after the death of Panzirolo, who died in November, 1651, consequently about the beginning of 1652, that he wrote this little work.

It appears to me that the prevalent character of this performance is entirely modern. I find evidence of this, not only in its modes of thought, but even in its various expressions; they are those that might depict the daily life of the Roman prelate in our own times, or in those immediately preceding them.

No. 122.

Diario veridico e spassionato della città e corte di Roma, dove si legge tutti li successi della suddetta città incominciando dal primo d'Agosto 1640 *fino all' ultimo dell' anno* 1644, *notato e scritto fedelmente da Deone hora Temi Dio, e copiato dal proprio originale.* [A true and dispassionate diary of the city and court of Rome, wherein may be read all the events of the aforesaid city, commencing with the 1st of August, 1640, to the end of the year 1644, noted and written faithfully by Deone, now Temi Dio, and copied from the original itself.] Informatt. Polit. vol. xl. to the close of 1642; vol. xlvii. to the end of 1644; vol. xlii. continuation, 1645-47; vol. xliii. 1648-1650. (Altogether more than 2,000 leaves.)

I have not succeeded in finding any other information respecting the author of this unusually extensive diary, than that occasionally communicated by himself.

We discover from this, that he was in the Spanish service, and was employed in affairs arising between the people of the Netherlands and the Roman See, more particularly with the dataria. I should judge this writer to have been a Spaniard, and not a native of the Netherlands. During the carnival he translated comedies from the Spanish into Italian, causing them to be acted by young people before a very brilliant company. He entertained a religious veneration for the Spanish monarchy, to which he belonged, and often speaks of the "holy monarchy," but for which, the bark of St. Peter would soon be overwhelmed. He sets his face against all dissidents and apostates with the most violent and undisguised abhorrence. The Catalans, who for a certain time had maintained themselves in independence, he considered to be a nation of barbarians; and when any of their number applied to him for a recommendation to the dataria, he bade them first become good servants of the king before begging favours at his hands. He finds it still less endurable that the Portuguese should have set up a king for themselves: his book is filled with invectives against that nation. He considers that at least all those belonging to it who had settled in Rome were inclined to lapse into Judaism. Yet, bad as matters were, he did not despair. He still hoped that Holland would once more submit to the king of Spain, and that in his own day. Heresy he thought had its stated periods, and must be suffered to come to an end. He was an enthusiastic and orthodox devotee of the Spanish monarchy.

Every fourteen days, this determined servant of Philip IV. dictated a letter or report of the remarkable occurrences taking place within that period, which he then transmitted to one or other of the Spanish grandees. They were originally "avvisi," so common at that time; written in a collected form, they constituted a journal.

That before us is composed entirely in the spirit proper to the author. The disposition of Urban VIII. to France, and the whole character of the political position he had adopted, were regarded with infinite displeasure, and most unfavourably construed. Pope Innocent X., on the contrary, who pursued a different policy, was viewed with much more friendly eyes.

There is no subject which this author does not handle: ecclesiastical and literary affairs; histories of the religious orders and of courts; the most intimate domestic relations, and the most extended foreign policy; political considerations in general, and accounts of cities in particular.

If we look more closely into the sources of his information, we shall find them, I think, to be principally the following:—In the antichambers of the cardinal-nephews, all who had business in the palace were accustomed to assemble on certain fixed days. A general conversation ensued: each communicated the intelligence he possessed: nothing was likely to attract great attention that had not been discussed there; and, so far as I am enabled to conclude from intimations given here, our author derived the greater part of his information from this source.

He proceeds to his purpose with great probity; takes pains to obtain accurate information; and frequently adds notices previously omitted.

But he was also in occasional contact with the pope, the cardinal-nephew, and the most influential statesmen; he is most scrupulous in specifying whatever he received from their conversations, and it is sometimes sufficiently remarkable.

We cannot affirm that the reading of so diffuse a performance is altogether very interesting, but we derive from it an acquaintance with persons and things which becomes gradually almost equal to that afforded by personal intercourse, so frequently and in positions so varied are they placed beneath our notice.

But it would not be possible to give insertion to extracts that would present even a moderately sufficing idea of a work so voluminous; we must content ourselves with those passages to which I have already alluded.

["1. One of the most beautiful monuments of this former mistress of the world is an ancient relic, of a round form and very great circumference, made of the finest marble" (a mistake, without doubt, for the monument is of Travertine); "it is near St. Sebastian, and is called Capo di Bove. Bernino, a famous statuary of the pope, had thought to turn this to his own purposes; he is planning a gorgeous façade to the Acqua Vergine, called the Fountain of Trevi, and obtained a brief from the pope empowering him to cast that most beautiful structure to the earth, which he had commenced doing; but when the Roman people perceived that, they prevented him from proceeding, and the work has been stopped, that there might not be commotions.

"2. On Tuesday morning the Roman people held a general council in the Capitol, which was the most crowded ever seen, from the fact that it was joined by many of the nobles who had never presented themselves on former occasions. The business proposed for discussion was this: that the Roman people being oppressed by the taxes which Pope Urban had imposed, they should petition His holiness to take off at least the tax on ground corn, and the rather, as this had been imposed only for the dura-

tion of the war then proceeding, but which had now ceased. The petition was agreed to, and six Roman gentlemen were deputed to present it at once to the pope. Then there appeared Don Cesare Colonna, uncle of the prince of Gallicano, who demanded audience from the Roman people on behalf of the Signora Donna Anna Barberina. He was directed to come forward, and having mounted the temporary rostrum, drew forth a memorial which he said was from Donna Anna Colonna (Colonna-Barberina), and demanded that he might read it. It was read, and was to the effect, that the pope ought not to be asked for the repeal of taxes lawfully imposed for a legitimate purpose by Pope Urban, whose zeal for justice, and many services rendered to this city, forbade them to abrogate what he had decided. All were amazed at such a proposal for impeding the relief required by the people, but it was at once comprehended, that the good lady concluded this tax likely to be repealed at the expense of the riches held by the Barberini. The reply returned to Colonna was, that the senate and people did no more than lay before his holiness the necessities of the people: and with this he ran in all haste to Donna Anna, who stood waiting for it at the church of the Ara Cœli.

"On Wednesday, Cardinal Colonna having heard of the extravagant proposal made by his sister, sent to the Roman senate, assuring them that he had no part whatever in that absurdity, but was ready to aid the just petition of the people. On Friday morning the Roman people again convoked a new council, when a report was presented, to the effect that his holiness had been pleased to take off the tax on ground corn, taking the property of Don Taddeo Barberini for that purpose. Thus the contrivance of Donna Anna Barberina was very shrewdly devised."]

No. 123.

Del stato di Roma presente. [Report of the present state of Rome.] (MS. of the Vienna Library. Foscarini Papers, No. 147.) Also under the title of *Relatione di Roma fatta dall' Almaden.* [Report on Rome prepared by Almaden.]

I will not venture to decide whether this belongs to the latter days of Urban VIII. or the earlier part of Innocent X., but it is of great importance for its elucidation of domestic affairs relating to the former period; as, for example, the state of the Tiber and Arno, the increase of the maluria (aria cattiva), the revenues of the Romans, financial affairs in general, and the condition of families. This little work may possibly proceed from the author of the above diary; there are certain intimations that might lead to such a conclusion.

But I will not give extended extracts, because I think I have seen an old printed copy in the possession of the late Fea. I will but quote the passage which follows, and to which I have referred above (vol. II. p. 377).

["Gregory XIII., considering the large amount of money sent from Rome and the Ecclesiastical States in payment for corn which came by sea from Barbary and other places, this too being frequently

heated and spoiled, or else arriving too late, nay sometimes failing altogether, commanded that, to obviate all these inconveniences, the country should be cleared of wood for many miles around, and should be brought into cultivation, so that Rome has from that time rarely needed foreign corn, and the good pontiff Gregory in so far obtained his intent. But this clearance has opened a passage to the pestilential winds, which occasion the most dangerous insalubrity, and cause a disease called by Alessandro da Cività, the physician, in his treatise on the diseases of the Romans, 'Capiplenium,' a most distressing complaint, even more troublesome to foreigners than to natives, and which has increased since the formation of so many waterworks; because Rome, being already low and thus humid from its position, has been rendered more so by the abundance of waters for the fountains. Moreover, as Gregory XIII. cleared the country below Rome and towards the sea, which was rich and well calculated for the cultivation of corn, so did Sixtus V. clear that above the city, though less fertile, that he might destroy the haunts of the robbers who infested the highways; and truly he succeeded in his object, for he rooted out all the assassins."]

The author approves the proceedings of Sixtus V. because they procured a free passage for the Tramontana; but how many evils have since been attributed to the Tramontana!

No. 124.

Compendio delli casi più degni e memorandi occorsi nelli pontificati da Gregorio XIII. fino alla creatione di Clemente IX. [Compendium of the most important and most remarkable events occurring in the pontificates from Gregory XIII. to the accession of Clement IX.] (50 leaves.)

The author declares that he saw the clouds which darkened the Quirinal on the death of Sixtus, Aug. 1590. Since then this little work extends to 1667, it is obvious that it cannot proceed from one sole author; it must have been continued at a later period with a similar purpose to that with which it was commenced, namely, the formation of a collection of Roman anecdotes and remarkable events. We read in it, for example, of the French monks in Trinità di Monte having quarrelled with those from Calabria and elsewhere, and having driven them out, so that the latter built "Andrea delle Fratte" which was then still surrounded by gardens; of how the Jesuits aroused all other orders to the performance of their duties; of miracles that were performed, together with notices of buildings erected by the popes.

But there is much in all this that deserves attention. The following narrative, for example, describing the death of Bianca Capello.

["The grand-duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capelli, desiring to poison her brother-in-law, Cardinal Ferdinand, in a certain confection, the grand duke Francesco, her husband, ate of it first; when she perceived this, she ate of it also herself, and they both died immediately; so that Cardinal Ferdinand became grand duke."] And the next, relating to the

removal of Cardinal Clesel from Vienna, to which the Jesuit-confessor of Ferdinand II. would never consent. ["One day Verospi found an opportunity for being alone with the emperor, and free from the Jesuit's presence; then, with much address, he made the emperor understand that he could not withhold the said cardinal from the pope, who was his sole and proper judge. He so wrought on the emperor as to make him weep, and the cardinal was at once consigned to him."] We find traits of manners also. A rich prelate inserts a clause in his will to the effect that his nephew shall inherit his property, only in the event of his dying a natural death; otherwise, it was to go to pious institutions. Again, Duke Cesarini would never pay any debt until preparations were made for selling the pledge that he had given for it. . . . An Orsino threatened to throw a creditor, who entreated for his money, from the window; the creditor implored that he would first let him confess to a priest; but Orsino replied that none should come into his presence without having confessed beforehand ("che bisognava venirci confessato"). A necromancer arrived in Rome in a carriage drawn by two dogs; these were reported to be a pair of devils, who conducted him wherever he pleased to go: the courier, from Milan, affirmed that he had left him in that city, yet now found him in Rome. The supposed wizard was therefore arrested and put to death.

Were these notices the work of writers possessing higher powers of mind, they would be invaluable, and would have placed the life and manners of those times before us, without the necessity of studies so toilsome as that of the above-named diary.

We will now proceed to the writings immediately relating to Innocent X.

Remarks on "Gualdi, Vita di Donna Olimpia Maldachina." [Life of Donna Olympia Maldachina, by Gualdi.]

When we learn that Gregorio Leti, with whom we are sufficiently acquainted, was the author of the work before us, we find little motive remaining for a discussion of its credibility; there are the strongest presumptions against it.

But since a French translation of it appeared in 1770, and one in German in 1783, since also the German Schröckh considers that its principal facts at least may be relied on, from the circumstance that they have never been contradicted, it may not perhaps be superfluous to say a word on that subject. The author, on his part, affirms boldly that he will relate nothing which he has not himself seen, or of which he has not procured the most authentic information.

But from the first outset he pronounces his own condemnation by a narrative, to the effect that the Maldachini family, which he considers to be of Rome, having once undertaken a pilgrimage to Loretto, were joined at Borgheto by the young Pamfili, who fell in love with Donna Olympia, the daughter of the house; that he married her on the return of the family to Rome. But Olympia was very soon more intimate with her husband's

brother, at that time a young "abbate," and afterwards pope, than with her husband himself. To this intimacy the influence subsequently possessed by Donna Olympia over Innocent X. is attributed.

But we may confidently affirm that of all this, not one word is true.

The Maldachina family was not Roman, but from Acquapendente. Donna Olympia was a widow when she was married to Pamfili. Paolo Nini, of Viterbo, the last of his race, was her first husband, and as she inherited his wealth, she brought a rich dowry into the house of Pamfili: it was on this wealth, and not on an imaginary intimacy with the pope, that the influence she enjoyed in the family was founded. When this marriage was concluded, Innocent X. was very far from being "a young abbate." On an inscription placed by the head of the house in the Villa Maldachina at Viterbo, we find it notified that he had adorned this villa in the year 1625, before his sister had married into the house of Pamfili. In Bussi's "Istoria di Viterbo," p. 332, the whole inscription is given. The marriage then could scarcely have taken place until 1626, at which time Giambattista Pamfili, afterwards Innocent X., was already fifty-four years old, and for twenty years had been no longer an abbate, but a prelate. He was at that very time occupied in various nunciatures. If any conclusion may be drawn from his own expressions, the merit of Donna Olympia in his eyes was that she then, as well as subsequently, assisted him from her own possessions. He was thus enabled to maintain that splendour of appearance which was then essential to advancement. It was in accordance with this beginning that their whole connection afterwards proceeded; since Donna Olympia had promoted the rise of the prelate, she had some share in securing his elevation to the papal dignity, and desired to obtain a certain amount of the advantages resulting from it.

In the circumstantial diary above alluded to, which follows Donna Olympia step by step, and wherein all the mysteries of the papal household are discussed, not the slightest trace of an illicit intimacy between the pontiff and his sister-in-law is to be discovered.

This little work of Leti's is also a romance, composed of apocryphal assertions and chimerical stories.

No. 125.

Relatione degli ambasciatori estraordinarj a Roma al sommo pontefice Innocentio X., Pietro Foscarini K^r, Zuanne Nani K^r Proc^r, Aluise Mocenigo I fu di q. Aluise, e Bertucci Valier K^r. 1645, 3 *Ott.* [Report of Pietro Foscarini, knight, Zuanne Nani, knight procurator, Aluise Mocenigo, (?) Aluise, and Bertucci Valier, knight, ambassadors extraordinary to the supreme pontiff Innocent X. 3 Oct. 1645.]

After the death of Urban VIII. a complete change ensued. Innocent X. was not liked by the French, and would on his part gladly have sided the emperor had he possessed the power to do so: towards the

Venetians he was very friendly. He may, perhaps, have shewn a certain degree of indecision in his policy, from the irresolution natural to his character. The ambassadors considered it, therefore, doubly imperative on the republic to avoid all quarrels arising from private grounds, and not to throw away the papal favour on account of a dissolute monk.

The previous history of Innocent X. is related in the manner following :—

[" The present pontiff, Innocent X., formerly called Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Pamfilio, was born of the house of Pamfili, which originated from Ugubbio, a city of the state of Urbino. His family came to settle in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII. ; the Pamfili allied themselves with the first houses of the city, living always in high repute and honour. The mother of his holiness belonged to the family of the marquis of Buffolo, a noble and princely house, of which the pope now makes great account, more than one of its members being in his service at the palace. His holiness was brought up by his paternal uncle, Cardinal Gerolamo Pamfilio, who lived in great credit, and was himself near being pope. He was created cardinal by Clement VIII., while auditor-dean of the rota, and was illustrious for his virtues and the blameless purity of his life. His holiness is in his seventy-second year, of height above the common, well proportioned, majestic in person, full of benevolence and affability. Thus, whenever he comes forth from his apartments to hold consistories, appear in the chapels, or on other occasions, he willingly and promptly gives audience to all persons, of whatsoever condition and however poor and miserable, who present themselves before him : he receives their memorials with great patience and charity, endeavours to relieve every one, and comforts all : his subjects heartily applauding him, and finding a great difference between the present pontificate and that preceding. The pope was first consistorial advocate, and next, auditor of the rota, elected by Clement VIII. He was sent nuncio to Spain by Gregory XV., and was employed under Urban VIII. in the French and Spanish legations of Cardinal Barberino, with the title of datary. He was elected patriarch of Antioch by the same Urban, was sent nuncio into Spain, and afterwards promoted to the cardinalate on the 9th of November, 1627. As cardinal he had the reputation of being severe in character, inclined to rigour, exact in all ecclesiastical affairs. He was always chosen for the most important congregations, and may be said to have exercised all the principal offices of the Roman see to the general satisfaction : modesty, patience, integrity, and virtue, having always made their abode in his mind ; his purpose ever being to offend none, to be friendly to all, and to forgive injuries. He enjoys good health, and has a tolerably robust constitution, is temperate in his diet, loves exercise, attends in the chapels and at other services with great majesty, and performs all his ecclesiastical duties with extreme pomp, decorum, and punctuality, as also with particular enjoyment to himself. He proceeds with the gravest deliberation in all important affairs, and will have time to examine and determine them. In all his past life he was accustomed to rise late and go late to bed ; he pursues a similar method in his pontificate, so that he rarely retires before midnight or rises until some hours after day. He was formerly much inclined to make great account of the sovereigns, and wished to give them all just satisfaction on every occasion : he affirm

himself to remain in the same dispositions, nor will he shew partiality to either of the two crowns, desiring to be the affectionate father of all. He feels that he has not been well treated, either by the one or the other, and has spoken his sentiments very freely on that matter with us. He believes that each complains merely to advance his own interest, although both know well the necessity that exists for his maintaining his independence, to which he is bound as well by his natural love of peace, as by the position of sovereign pontiff in which he is placed. He encourages himself in these views, receiving great support from his confidence in the most serene Republic, which he believes capable, by its influence, counsels, and friendship, of proving his most effectual safeguard: indeed a person of great eminence, and in whom we entirely confide, has admitted to some of us, perhaps by order of his holiness, that the pontiff might be easily disposed to ally himself with your excellencies by a particular treaty, when he thought the state of public affairs favourable. Whereunto a reply was made in general terms, but with respect, that no bond could more effectually unite princes than sincerity, concord of hearts, and uniformity of purposes and interests."]

No. 126.

Relatione dell' ambasciatore Veneto Aluise Contarini fatta al senato dopo il ritorno della sua ambasceria appresso Innocentio X. 1648. [Report presented to the senate by the Venetian ambassador Aluise Contarini, on returning from his embassy to Innocent X. 1648.] (22 leaves.)

This pontificate also was far from turning out so advantageously as had been expected. To the first and somewhat honourable report, are already added by Aluise Contarini, the son of Niccolo (the earlier Aluise was a son of Tommaso Contarini), many particulars that are much less favourable.

In his youth Innocent X. had preferred knightly exercises and light amusements (passatempi amorevoli) to study. He had acquired but little consideration during his nunciature in France; and for his perpetual evasions and refusals he had received the byname of "Monsignore Thatcan't be" (Mr. Non-si-puol). In Spain, on the contrary, his frugality of words had obtained him the reputation of being a wise man.

What made him pope? Answer: three things,—he talked little, dissembled much, and did—nothing at all.

["He now shews but little disposition to confer favours, is difficult and punctilious. . . . He is considered by all to be slow of apprehension, and to have but small capacity for important combinations; he is, nevertheless, very obstinate in his ideas; he seeks to avoid being thought partial to any sovereign."] A friend to repose and to justice, not cruel, and a good economist.

The immediate circle of the pope: Donna Olympia, dear to him because she had brought a large dowry into the house and assisted him with it. ["A woman of masculine mind and spirit; she proves herself to be a woman only by her pride and avarice."] Pancirolo: ["Of pleasing

manners and vigorous intellect; courteous, both in look and word."] Capponi: ["He conceals his malice of purpose beneath a smiling countenance."] Spada: ["He plumes himself on his valuable endowments of mind."] We perceive that our author does not always express himself in the most respectful terms. With a pope of Innocent's character, the want of a nephew was doubly felt.

Then follow certain features of his administration: ["There is a remark current among the courtiers to the effect that whoever has to treat with the pope believes his business all but completed in the first audience; in the second he discovers that it has yet to be commenced; and perceives to his amazement in the third, that the thing has gone against him. . . . . The pontiff considers that prince contemptible who neglects to keep a good amount of ready money at hand to be used in case of emergency. To save himself from expenditure, he is content to endure the most opprobrious buffetings of adverse fortune; the yearly supplies of Rome being diminished by the failure of those resources which had in fact been utterly destroyed by the results of the Barberina war. His holiness knowing the supply of corn in particular would be scanty, has repeatedly intimated his intention of advancing a large sum of money to make up the deficiency; but his very nature revolting from the disbursement of money, he has been labouring to fulfil his intent by other means, and has done it very inadequately. . . . The municipalities are all so exhausted and ruined by the Barberina war, that it is impossible they should ever recover from its effects. The private revenues of the pope are 800,000 scudi, consisting of the gains from compositions with the dataria, and from the vacancies of offices in that department as well as in the chancery, together with those proceeding from a kind of 'monti vacabili,' of the auditor and treasurer of the camera, clerks of the camera, and other offices of similar character. This entire amount, which flows into the privy purse, and not into the public treasure, is at the pontiff's absolute disposal; he may expend the whole at his pleasure, and give it to whom he pleases, without fear that any amount of it will be demanded by his successor."] His buildings on the Capitol, at St. Peter's, and the Lateran: ["In the latter, while he renewed the three naves of the church on a new model, he permitted all the essential parts of that beautiful and well imagined entablature to remain untouched."] In the Piazza Navona: ["By the casting down of certain buildings that were near St. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli, the place assumed the form of a square."]

It will be remarked that Contarini, notwithstanding the unfavourable impression produced on him by the court, was yet on the whole impartial, and is extremely instructive.

No. 127.

Memoriale presentato alla S^ta di N. S^re Papa Innocenzo X dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio, 1648. [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent X. by the deputies of the city of Fermo, touching the commotion that occurred there on the 6th of July, 1648.]

In the "Historia delle Guerre Civili di questi ultimi tempi," Ven. 1664, by Majolino Bisaccioni, will be found, as we have already observed, together with the most important events, with facts concerning Charles and Cromwell, and with accounts of the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, a ["History of the Civil Wars of Fermo,"] an account of a tumult, that is, wherein the papal governor, Visconti, was killed.

The memorial before us is that with which two deputies, Lorenzo Nobile and Lucio Guerrieri, appeared before the pope, to implore forgiveness for that offence.

According to their narration, which is much more authentic, and more life-like than that of Bisaccioni, and which affords us an insight into the domestic condition of cities at that period, the corn harvest had failed, and bread was unusually dear, yet the governor was determined to export corn from the district of Fermo notwithstanding. He would listen to no warning. With his carbine at his side, and pistols on the table before him, he declared that he would rather die as became a governor and a soldier, than yield to the pressure. He forbade the meeting of the council, to which deputies had come from the neighbouring communes, and drew together his forces. But these troops of his "came from the fields they had reaped, from the barns wherein they had thrashed the corn." They knew the privations to which the country was exposed, and instead of assailing the insurgent people, they adopted their party. The governor saw himself compelled to yield, in despite of his boastings, and the corn was suffered to remain within the territory of the city.

But scarcely was quiet restored, when a body of Corsican soldiers, called in by the governor, appeared at the gates. The people would not be persuaded but that Visconti still proposed to carry through his purpose by means of these troops. An insurrection ensued: all exclaimed, "We are betrayed! To arms!" The alarm bell was rung, the palace was stormed, and the governor slain.

The deputies protested their fidelity, and deplored the occurrence. . . At which the nobles more particularly were troubled: ["To see a prelate who had been given to them by your holiness for their government, thus slain by men of the people, while they could do nothing to prevent it."

No. 128.

Relatione della corte di Roma del Cav^re Giustiniani data in senato l'anno 1652. [Report from Rome, presented to the senate in the year 1652, by the Cavalier Giustiniani.] (Copy in the Magliabechiana Library, Florence, 24—65.)

From admiration and hope, the Romans soon passed, under Innocent X., also, first to doubt and disapprobation, and finally to complaint and reproach.

Zuan Zustinian (for thus it is that the Venetians write and pronounce this name) proceeded, after many other embassies, from Vienna to Rome, where he resided from 1648 to 1651. With the events of these years his despatches are filled, and it is to that period that his report refers.

His description of the court is by no means cheering.

He affirms that whatever good qualities the pope possessed were turned to the advantage of Rome, or at most of the Ecclesiastical States; while his faults were injurious to all Christendom. But even in the States of the Church, crying evils resulted from the practice adopted of remitting the severest punishments for money. ["I am assured, on the most unquestionable authority, that during the seven years of this pontificate, there have been extracted from the compositions with persons under criminal process no less a sum than 1,200,000 scudi, which make nearly 2,000,000 of ducats."] The influence of Donna Olympia Maldachina is here described as a sort of public calamity. ["A woman of great spirit, but her sole title to influence is that of a rigid economist. When offices fell vacant at court, nothing was decided without her good pleasure; when church livings were to be distributed, the ministers of the dataria had orders to defer all appointments to them, until notice having been given to her of the nature of those benefices, she might then select such as best pleased her, for her own disposal; if episcopal sees were to be conferred, it was to her that the candidates applied; and that which most effectually revolted every upright mind, was to see that those were preferred who were most liberal in giving."]

The author proceeds thus throughout his work; but I cannot be quite certain that the report is really genuine.

It is not to be found in the Venetian archives. In the Magliabechiana at Florence there are two copies, but they do not agree perfectly throughout. I have confined myself to the more moderate of the two.

I was fortunately not reduced to this report for materials; since the diary above named (see No. 122), with the notices supplied by Pallavicini in his life of Alexander VII, offered much better resources.

No. 129.

Relatione dell' ambasceria estraordinaria fatta in Roma alla S^tà di N. S^re Alessandro VII. dagli Ecc^mi SS^ri Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, e Sagredo per rendere a nome della Ser^ma Republica di Venetia la solita obedienza al sommo pontefice l'anno 1656. [Report of the extraordinary embassy of Signors Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, and Sagredo, sent by the most serene republic of Venice to render the accustomed homage to his holiness our lord the sovereign pontiff Alexander VII., in the year 1656.]

The same Pesaro, in whose embassy it was that the dispute arose between Urban VIII. and the republic, and who had from that time been considered an adversary of the clergy, was placed at the head of this embassy of congratulation, and was entrusted by his colleagues with the preparation of the report; and, whether because his opinions had from the first been very moderate, as he affirms, or that the years which had passed since his previous embassy had produced a change in his views, it is certain that his report is extremely reasonable, impartial, and instructive.

It is true that he expresses disapprobation of Innocent X. and his government, but not in terms so extremely severe as those used by others. ["In addition to the insatiable cupidity prevailing in that house, there was a further evil arising from the want of ministers capable of administering so important a sovereignty; for the suspicious character of that pointiff rendered him incapable of putting trust in any one. Thus it came to pass that almost every thing was regulated by the immoderate demands of a woman, by which there was afforded ample scope to satirical pens; and good occasion was offered for making the disorders of that government seem even worse than they really were."]

Now, however little this may sound like eulogy, yet it is a very mild judgment, as we have said, when compared with the violent declamations of other writers.

But the principal object of this report is the new pontiff, Alexander VII.

The opinion of Pesaro, and the conviction of all else at that time, was that the elevation of Fabio Chigi was attributable to the fame of his virtues, and the reputation he had gained in his nunciatures; but that the Medici had not been sincerely gratified by the promotion of one of their subjects to the papacy. ["A more righteous election could not have been hoped for, even from a senate of men, who, although they may sometimes have their minds distracted by worldly affairs, yet could not fail to be finally influenced by that Holy Spirit which they suppose to be present at an act of such high moment."]

He describes his early progress, and gives a general sketch of his first measures as pope: "He appears to be but slightly acquainted with financial affairs, although profoundly skilled in those relating to the

church; he is by no means immoveably attached to his own opinions." Pesaro speaks also of his connections, but we need not repeat what we have already said on that subject; affairs very soon took a different direction from that which had been expected.

["The world is in too much haste, as it seems to us (remarks Pesaro), in exalting to the skies these opinions of the pope respecting his kindred: to judge properly, there must be time for observing how he may withstand the pretences of affection to which he will be subjected."] Even then, so many representations were made to the pontiff from all sides, that it seemed impossible for his firmness to avoid being shaken.

But this mission had another and more important object than that of congratulating the pontiff on his accession; it was charged to entreat the court of Rome for assistance in the war of Candia.

The envoys enlarged upon the efforts made by Venice to withstand the enemy, upon the means they had adopted for defraying the costs of the war: they had taken up loans at heavy interest, some by way of life annuity, others perpetual; they had effected sales of allodial and feudal domains; had extended the dignities of the state, which had hitherto been closely restricted, to large numbers; nay, they had even conferred on many the honours of Venetian nobility, although conscious that its value was maintained by the rarity of the grant. But all their resources were now exhausted; nothing was to be hoped from the other potentates of Christendom, who were too completely occupied by dissensions among themselves: their only refuge was the see of Rome.

The pope did not hear all this without marks of interest; he replied by an eloquent eulogy on the republic, who had opposed the fury of the barbarians, not with iron only, but with gold; with regard to the principal question, however, he declared that he was not in a condition to help them. The papal treasury was so completely exhausted, that he did not even know by what means he was to provide the city with bread.

The envoys did not yet resign their hopes; they represented that the danger was so pressing as to justify his having recourse to the ancient treasure laid up by Sixtus V. ["Before the urgency of events that may arise becomes more pressing, and for the support of religion; but most especially for that of his own ecclesiastical dominions."] The pope was particularly impressed by the consideration, that the enemy would be emboldened by perceiving that a new pope also refused the succour so greatly needed. Alexander was fully convinced that something must be done; he suggested that a certain portion of their ecclesiastical property might be confiscated.

How remarkable it is that measures of this kind should be first recommended by the Roman court. Innocent X. had already proposed to the Venetians the abolition of two orders—those of the "Canons of the Holy Spirit," and of the "Cross-bearers" (Crucifieri): it was the design of that pontiff to form secular canonries from their revenues. But the Venetians were afraid, in the first place, that the Roman court would reserve to itself the patronage of these canonicates; and secondly, they considered these institutions as a refuge for the poor nobility. This proposal Alexander now renewed.

["The pontiff, seeming to reflect on what could be done for our relief, began by saying; that for some time past, the Apostolic See, considering,

not the abundance only, but the superfluity of religious institutions, had become convinced, that some of them, degenerating from the first intentions of their founders, had lapsed into a total relaxation of discipline, that it was equally advisable for the church as for the laity to adopt the expedients used by prudent husbandmen, when they see that the multitude of branches has impoverished their vines, instead of rendering them more fruitful. That a commencement had been made in that matter by the suppression of some orders, but that this was not enough; rather it was obviously necessary to restrict this great number, and reduce them to such as retain, or can at least be brought back to the primitive form of their institutions. That to open a way for this purpose, there had been suppressed a great number of very small convents, wherein the rigour of monastic seclusion had been suffered to relax with but little observation; and that it was proposed to continue the work by proceeding to the final abolition of certain others, which, by their licentious mode of life, filled the world with scandal and murmurs, instead of presenting good examples, and affording edification. But he further said that he proceeded slowly, because he desired, in a matter of so much importance, to obtain the good-will of the secular princes, who, not having well examined the motives of the Apostolic See for this resolution, had given evidence of some dislike to the execution of the papal briefs: but that hoping to find all eventually ready to help forward a resolve so well matured, he placed it meanwhile before the most serene republic for consideration. The Venetian territory, he further remarked, abounding in this kind of religious orders, an easy method was presented of promoting the upright intentions set forth by him who has the supreme direction of the church, and at the same time of obtaining a considerable sum in aid of the present war against the infidels: that none could know better than ourselves to what an extremity of dissolute excesses the canons of San Spirito in Venice had proceeded, the serene republic having been compelled to restrain the disorders of that convent: that, not content with a total departure from all conventual observances, the brethren had furthermore so indecently abused the wealth which might have been made to serve for the maintenance of a number fivefold larger than their house contained, as to be always deeply in debt: that the same might be said of the Cruciferi, among whom there was scarcely a vestige of monastic life discernible. His holiness accordingly thought it desirable that these two orders should be suppressed, and that measures might be taken into consideration with regard to the rule of their possessions, the produce whereof might be converted to the uses of this war, since the same was directed against the most terrible enemy of the Christian name."]

This time the envoys were inclined to the opinion that such a proposal was not to be rejected. They computed the large capital that would result from these sales, compared with the small, and soon to be extinguished annuities, and the advantages to be secured to the cultivation of the country by the secularization of estates so important. Their mode of considering a question then so new, and which was afterwards so universally treated, may deserve to be given in their own words.

["In effect, when we have made the suitable assignments to the monks, which, for both orders, will not amount to more than 10,000 ducats per annum, should their estates, returning a revenue of 26,000 ducats, be

sold, as might be expected, for 600,000 ducats, the public will have but two per cent. to pay in annuities,—nay, rather less. And the arguments usually put forward against transactions of this kind fall to the ground in face of the annual provision to be made for the surviving brotherhood. Moreover, by thus dismembering from the ecclesiastical body so vast an amount of property, situated in the best parts of the Venetian dominions, the laity will enter into possession of the same without offering wrong to the piety of those great souls who had the firmness to deprive their descendants of so rich a possession to found and establish religion in these lands; for if now these benefactors could see how well religion is rooted among us, they would give no other expression to their sentiments than this, that if it had been satisfactory to them to be the founders of so many monasteries for the retreat of holy men, no less would they rejoice to know that these same riches, seeing that religious orders superabound, should be converted to the repulsion of that impious enemy who is menacing to destroy the piety, which they, with their own inheritance, had laboured to promote."]

After the affairs of Venice, which here again present an aspect of great importance, the concerns of Europe generally are discussed.

The undertakings of Charles the Tenth and Gustavus produced a powerful impression in Rome, and money was collected in aid of King Casimir.

But a thing still more sensibly felt by the court of Rome was that the French were not only disinclined to make peace with Spain, but that Mazarin even allied himself with England—a cardinal with Protestants, the most Christian kingdom with a usurper who had expelled the legitimate princes; and that he should do this, without any necessity, without being driven to it by any pressing danger,—this shocked the Curia extremely.

Were it not for these troubles, the pope would direct his every effort for the entire restoration of Germany—where his personal reputation stood so high—to the Catholic faith. The conversion of the queen of Sweden excited the hopes of all on that subject.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations making for the reception of that queen, They could in nowise approve the unsettled life she led ["incompatible perhaps with her age and with her maiden state,"] as they very discreetly express themselves, yet they render full justice to the vigour and boldness of her determination.

["You have here in few words what we have thought it suitable to relate,"] says Pesaro at this point of the narration.

To this concluding phrase he further subjoins the good advice, that the best possible understanding should always be maintained with the pope.

His holiness had expressed himself explicitly as to the satisfaction it would give him, if Venice would consent to the readmission of the Jesuits at his request. The ambassador is disposed to think that this should be conceded.

["It appears to me that the time has come for deciding whether this return is to be permitted, or whether—to avoid occasions, arising from time to time, for becoming on bad terms with the pontiffs, by reason of these Jesuits—the subject should be consigned to perpetual silence.

. . . . . We may perhaps find a motive for complying with the desire of the pope in this respect by considering that these men, being, as they are, very active instruments for supporting the rights of the church, all reigning pontiffs will be likely to renew the request for their readmission, and the constant rejection of the same at the commencement of each pontificate may give occasion to ill-will."]

No. 130.

Vita, attioni, et operationi di Alessandro VII., opera del C^le^ Pallavicini. 2 vols. fol. (*Bibl. Cors.*) [Life, acts, and proceedings of Alexander VII., by Cardinal Pallavicini. 2 vols. folio.] (Corsini Library.)

In the Barberini library in Rome, a MS. was one day placed in my hands, with the title "Alexandri VII. de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi." It contained about 300 leaves, and was as full of corrections as only an autograph could be; but, by an unhappy chance, the whole was in utter confusion. The bookbinder had arranged the sheets, which were to have been read separately, in groups of five. It was almost impossible to make any thing of it.

It begins thus: ["Although it has been usual, both now and in former times, that a man should record the transactions of his own time, yet many of these works have been the less approved or trusted, because of the difficulty experienced by the writer in divesting his mind of hope, fear, love, or hatred, clouds which obscure history, the light of truth."] Wherever I examined this MS., I found interesting notices, derived from good authority, respecting the youth of Alexander, the invitation of his kindred to Rome, the arrival of Christina, &c.; but was it possible that the pope, amidst the occupations of the supreme power, could yet have found time, not only to write his own life, but also to correct the style throughout with so much diligence?

It soon became evident that, notwithstanding the title, this could not have been the case.

The author affirms, among other things, that he was enabled to undertake this work by an intimate acquaintance with the pope: ["It was a

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After some further researches, a biography of Alexander VII., attributed to Cardinal Pallavicini, was found in the same library. It is true that it was written in Italian; but the question was worth the trouble of collating the two for the purpose of solving it.

The first glance shewed that the Latin and Italian were the same work. The first paragraph runs thus: ["It is the opinion of many that no history should be written but that of things long past, and with respect to which, hope and fear, love and hatred towards the persons commemorated, have no longer place, nor can obscure the truth."] The second passage that I have quoted is thus expressed in Italian: ["Because it fell to my lot, in the less advanced fortune of this prince, to hold with him the most intimate intercourse of friendship and confidence of communication, now by word of mouth, and now by the pen, for the space of full thirty years."]

And thus it proceeds. The Latin copy was clearly proved to be a translation of the Italian, only somewhat freely rendered, and with a slight change in the mode of thought.

But the resemblance was unfortunately closer than I could have wished; for as the Latin copy, as announced in its title, was but a fragment, so was the Italian also throughout in a most dilapidated condition. After some intimations of Alexander's early youth, the narration proceeds at once to his election, and the first measures of his pontificate.

To seek earnestly, yet with insufficient results, does but increase the eagerness of inquiry. I sought through all quarters, and ultimately found another copy in the Albani library, but this also is equally imperfect.

And now I believed that I must needs content myself with this, since in an anonymous life of Pallavicini, I found a fragment only of this history cited, the very books, that is to say, which were already known to me; but at last I was so fortunate as to meet with a more complete copy (it is that of which the title is given above), in two folio volumes.

The work here bears the name of Pallavicini on its front, and proceeds without interruption to the second chapter of the sixth book; in this state it is that we first attain a full perception—as will be at once perceived—of the value attached to this book in relation to the history of the period.

The first book contains the early history of Alexander VII.: ["Race, parentage, birth, and childhood of Fabio Chigi; studies, and occurrences of his boyhood; his philosophical and legal studies; his private friendships."] These chapters were all comprised in the Latin and Italian copies, but to which the Corsini copy further adds: ["Pious actions and exercises; vicelegation of Ferrara under Sacchetti; nunciature of Cologne."]

In the second book, the government of Innocent X., and the part which Chigi took in the administration, are described in fourteen chapters, which bring the narration down to the time of the conclave.

The third book treats of the commencement of Alexander's pontificate; describes the state of Europe generally, with that of the Ecclesiastical States; alludes to the first financial measures, and refers to those respecting the "monti vacabili." The writer further discusses the conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden, which he does minutely, and with manifest pleasure. I hold the opinion, that when it has been affirmed, as

for example, by Arckenholtz, "Mémoires de Christine," iv. 39, the Pallavicini wrote a "Historia di Christina regina di Suezia," this assertion has rested merely on an imperfect acquaintance with these fragments. In the Latin copy, Christina's conversion is accounted for in the manner following:—

["Perceiving in the works of Cicero, on the 'Nature of the Gods,'* that there could not be more than one true religion, but that all might be false, she laboured in thought on that passage for many days. She was also brought to doubt whether any true difference existed between good actions and bad, freely performed, unless as one might be beneficial to the world and the others injurious, which would decide their nature. She doubted also of Divine Providence, its regard or indifference to human actions; and as to the Divine Will, whether it required a certain worship and settled faith. There was no author of repute who had written on these subjects, whom she did not examine; no man eminently learned in these matters through the northern lands, with whom she did not seek to converse; and she was inclined meanwhile to the opinion that it was sufficient to follow in public the religion of one's country, and for the rest to live according to nature. Finally, she came to this opinion,—that God, the best of beings that is, would be rather the worst of tyrants, if he had crucified the whole human race by bitter stings of conscience which were yet false; if, after giving to mortals the common idea that their sacrifices are pleasing to him, and their vows accepted, he were then to render no regard to these things."]

In the fourth book, of which a part only is given in the Latin and older copies, the author begins with the summoning of the papal kindred to Rome. ["Motives which induced the pope to summon the nephews. Remarks concerning this in Rome."] So far is it from being true that "the pen dropped from Pallavicini's hand" on approaching this subject, that he describes it, on the contrary, at full length, and discusses the opinions prevailing in Rome respecting it. Next follows the position of Queen Christina in Rome, with the support accorded to her by the pope. ["The queen, who had lived with that prodigality which impoverishes without deriving either pleasure or honour from its expenditure, and consisted not in giving, but in permitting herself to be robbed, had pledged all her jewels at the time of her residence in Rome, with the hope of future remittances, on which account she had not a scudo to provide for her intended journey. But as necessity conquers shame, she was at length compelled to do herself violence, and request aid from the pope, but in a manner that should be as far as she could devise from begging; and because letters do not blush, she wrote to beg that his holiness would cause some merchant to lend her money, with a promise of entire restitution."] The pope did not think it would redound much to his honour to make himself surety for the whole burthen of her debts without any advantage to himself. He preferred therefore to send her through an ecclesiastic, who was in his confluence, probably Pallavicini himself, a purse of 10,000 scudi as a present, together with certain medals in gold and silver, which had been struck at the time of the queen's entry into Rome in honour of that occasion. ["'Excusing the smallness of the sum

* See Cicero, lib. i. c. 2.

by the exhaustion of the treasury,' the queen in thanking him wept more than once, from the mixture of feelings that arise on such occasions."] To the reinstation of the Jesuits in Venice, Pallavicini also devotes a circumstantial elucidation, entirely in the spirit which we have already observed him to display in his history of the Council of Trent.

The fifth book is occupied by the history of the year 1657: promotions of cardinals; buildings in Santa Maria del Popolo, and della Pace, as also on the Piazza di S. Pietro; Queen Christina in France, and the affair of Monaldeschi, whose death is here described in the following manner:—["While Christina was residing at Fontainbleau, Ludovico, the brother of Sentinelli, and rival in the favour of his mistress of Giovanni Rinaldo Monaldeschi, a principal gentleman of these parts, conveyed to her certain notices, transmitted to him, as is said, from Rome, by the aforesaid brother, which revealed proceedings of Monaldeschi, convicting him, as she thought, of breach of trust; for which cause, having first drawn a confession from his lips, she gave him but one hour to provide for his conscience by the aid of a priest, and then, a thing which would scarcely have been permitted in Stockholm when she governed there, she caused him to be put to death by the very hand of his rival."]

In the sixth book the author returns to the internal affairs of Rome. He concludes with the arrangements relating to the Prelature, for which Alexander demanded a fixed amount from the revenues.

But even this, the most complete copy of the biography, is far from comprising the entire life of the pope.

No. 131.

Paolo Casati ad Alessandro VII., sopra la regina di Suecia. (*Bibl. Alb.*) [Paolo Casati to Alexander VII., respecting the queen of Sweden.] (Albani Library.)

Malines and Casati were the two Jesuits despatched by the general of the order to Stockholm for the conversion of the queen.

A private letter from Malines, in regard to this undertaking, will be found in the Mémoires of Arckenholtz, vol. iv., Appendix, No. 27.

But a much more circumstantial, and, so to say, official account of this matter, was presented by Casati to Alexander VII. It was written with his own hand, was addressed "Alla Santità di N^ro^ Signore Alessandro VII.," dated from the Collegio Romano, Dec. 5, 1655, and signed, ["The most humble and most obedient son in Christ of your holiness, Paolo Casati, of the Company of Jesus."] We have here a far more minute and satisfactory account of the particulars.

["In obedience (he begins) to the wishes of your holiness for a short memorial of what passed in regard to the queen of Sweden's resolution to renounce her kingdom for the purpose of becoming Catholic, I am compelled to go back a step that I may explain the cause thereof,—*in conformity with statements received from the mouth of the queen herself*; to whom I am assured that it cannot be other than pleasing to know that your holiness is truly informed of the whole matter."]

But the notices given by this author respecting earlier times are not of much importance, since he has no acquaintance whatever with Swedish affairs; he becomes worthy of attention only when he discusses the interests of religion.

["Having acquired thus much knowledge, she began to reflect that many tenets of the Lutheran sect, in which she had been educated, could not be sustained, and beginning to examine them, she found many discrepancies. Thus she began to study matters of religion and points of controversy with more diligence, and finding that the faith in which she had been brought up had no semblance of truth, she applied herself with extraordinary curiosity to gain information respecting all, and to weigh the difficulties of each. In this occupation she employed the space of five years, suffering much disturbance of mind, because she could find no settled point of conviction; and judging every thing by mere human reason, she thought that many things might be simply political inventions, intended for the restriction of the common people. The arguments that any sect used against its adversary, she acquired the habit of turning against itself; thus she compared the works of Moses among the Hebrew people with the proceedings of Mahomet amongst the Arabs. From all which it resulted that she found no religion which appeared to her to be true. And I have heard her more than once accuse herself of having been too profane in desiring to investigate the most sublime mysteries of the divinity, for she did not permit one mystery of our religion to escape her examination, while she sought to give rest to her mind by the final discovery of a religion. Then, since she read every book treating on that subject, she sometimes encountered many assertions of the ancients, the gentiles, and the atheists; and although she never fell into such blindness as to doubt the existence of God, or his unity, which she held to be greater and clearer than all else, yet she suffered her mind to be disturbed by many difficulties, of which, at various times, we discoursed largely. But, finally, she could arrive at no other conclusion, than that it was expedient to proceed in externals as others did, believing the whole to be a matter of indifference, and that it signified nothing whether she followed one religion or sect or another; it was sufficient, she thought, if she did nothing contrary to the dictates of reason, or for which, having done it, she should have cause to blush. By these principles she governed herself for a certain time, and she seemed even to have found some repose for her mind, particularly after having discovered that other persons (summoned indeed from distant lands) whom she believed to be learned and wise, were of opinions but slightly different from her own,—they being without the pale of the true Catholic religion, which they considered to be mere childishness. But the Lord God, who desired to have mercy on this queen, nor would suffer her to perish in the errors of her intellect, since she had the most perfect will and desire to know the truth, and in doing as she did, allowed herself to be guided by the light of sound reason; for she has frequently assured me that she never suffered herself to do any thing for which she ought to blush (that being her form of expression). God, I say, began to make her perceive that when the eternal safety of the soul is in question, every other interest must give way, and that error in a matter so momentous is of eternal prejudice; accordingly, she reverted

to the thought that there must be some religion, and having granted that man must have a religion, then among all that she knew in the world, none appeared to her more reasonable than the Catholic. Wherefore, reflecting more attentively upon that subject, she found that its tenets and institutions were not so absurd as the Lutheran ministers (they call them pastors) would make people believe."]

Now as we cannot give place to the whole work, the following minute description of the first introduction of the Jesuits to the queen may be permitted to suffice.

["Departing from Hamburg, after staying two days at Rendsburg, we joined ourselves to the Signor Senator Rosenhan, who was returning to Sweden, and with him we proceeded as far as Roschilt, where the kings of Denmark are buried, with the exception of Saint Canute, whose head is at Ringstede. The senator then went direct to Elsinore to cross the straits, and we to Copenhagen. This acquaintance with the Senator Rosenhan was afterwards very useful to us in Stockholm, causing us to be less suspected; and the queen remarking to him one day that she did not know what to think of those two Italians, he told her that there was nothing to fear from us, that we were good people, and he always treated us with great courtesy. We had also the good fortune to be in company for some days on our journey with General Wachtmeister, grand equerry of the kingdom, who was in like manner of no small use to us; for when we arrived in Stockholm, on the 24th February, according to the old style, and I having sought on the day following to speak with John Holm, gentleman of the chamber to her majesty, that I might be introduced, to present the letter given to me in Rome by the father vicar-general, but not being able to find him, the said General Wachtmeister was, that evening, the occasion of her majesty's hearing that I had arrived. And the manner was this:—While the queen was at supper, two gentlemen complained that it was very cold, and the general reproached them, declaring that two Italians who had come thither in his company had shewn no such fear of the cold. The queen hearing this contest, and inquiring the cause of their contending, heard that two Italians were come, and asked if they were musicians; but the general replying that they were two gentlemen travelling to see the country, her majesty said that she would by all means like to see them. We were immediately informed of all this, and advised to go to court on the following day: on the following morning we were accordingly conducted thither by Signor Zaccaria Grimani, a Venetian noble, and who introduced us to pay our respects to Count Magnus de la Gardie, her majesty's prime minister, that through him we might obtain the honour of kissing the hand of her majesty. He received us with much courtesy, and assured us that her majesty would have much pleasure in seeing us. It was then the hour of dinner, and her majesty came out into the 'Vierkant,' when we were directed to approach her majesty, and having kissed her hand, we made her a short compliment in Italian (for so she had commanded, although she had caused us to be informed that she would reply in French, since she understood it), suitable to the character we had assumed, and she replied with the utmost urbanity. Immediately afterwards the marshal of the court, and with him all the other gentlemen, set forward towards the hall wherein the table was laid for dinner, and I found

myself immediately before the queen. She who, during the night, had thought over the matter of the two Italians, and reflecting that it was precisely the end of February, about which time it had been written to her from Rome that we should arrive, had begun to suspect that we were the persons whom she was looking for; thus, when we were but little distant from the door, and that nearly all the company had already gone out of the Vierkant, she said to me in a low voice, 'Perhaps you have letters for me?' and I, having replied without turning my head that I had, she rejoined, 'Do not name them to any one.' While we were discoursing after dinner on the matters that had occurred, we were joined by a person, who made us various compliments in French, and then proceeded to inquire if we had letters for her majesty. I began at once to give ambiguous replies, that we were not there for business; that we had no letters of recommendation, &c., until at length he repeated in order all that in our short and fortuitous colloquy, the queen herself had said to me. I then perceived that he could not be sent by any other than herself, yet for the greater security, I asked him his name, and hearing that he was John Holm, I gave him the letter. The following morning, nearly two hours before the usual time for going to court, John Holm gave us to know that her majesty would speak with us. We went immediately, and had scarcely entered the Vierkant, where there was then no one but the officer on guard, than the queen came forth, and appeared to be surprised, either because none of the gentlemen were yet there, or because we had been the first to arrive. She put some few questions to us concerning our journey; then hearing the officer, she asked him if any of the secretaries had yet appeared. He replying that they had not, she commanded him to go and call one of them, when he did not return for an hour. When he was gone, her majesty began to thank us in the most courteous terms for the pains we had taken in making that voyage on her account; she assured us that whatever danger might arise to us from being discovered, we should not fear, since she would not suffer that evil should befal us; she charged us to be secret, and not to confide in any one, pointing out to us by name some of those to whom she feared lest we might give our confidence in process of time. She encouraged us to hope that if she should receive satisfaction, our journey would not have been made in vain; she questioned us respecting the arrival of Father Macedo, and how we had been selected to visit her court; and related to us in what manner the departure of Father Macedo had taken place."]

No. 132.

Relatione della corte Romana del Caval. Corraro. 1660. [Report relating to the court of Rome, by the Cavalier Corraro. 1660.]

Very brilliant hopes had been conceived of Alexander VII. Court and state awaited their restoration from his hand; and the church expected a renewal of the primitive discipline: even among the Protestants, there

were many who were well disposed towards the new pontiff. The amazement and anger were therefore general when he began to govern precisely as his predecessors had done; the good opinion that had been entertained of him was abandoned for the most violent ill-will.

The first ambassador sent to Rome by the Venetians, after the embassy of congratulation above mentioned, was Geronimo Giustiniano. His despatches belong to the year 1656. He died of the plague.

His successor was Anzolo Corraro, at that time podesta of Padua. He delayed his journey so long that another was already chosen in his place; but he thereupon hastened to Rome, where he remained from 1657 to 1659.

The report which he presented on returning from the papal court was by no means a favourable one. The pope and his family were loaded with censure.

A particular circumstance has meanwhile rendered it unnecessary that we should give a more minute account of this report.

This is no other than the fact, that the work produced so profound an impression as at once to have found its way into public notice.

A French translation appeared at Leyden: "Relation de la cour de Rome faite l'an 1661(0), au conseil de Pregadi, par l'excell^me^ Seigneur Angelo Corraro," chez Lorens, 1663. This represents the Italian original most faithfully in all the passages which I have compared, and is not rare, even at the present time.

It was printed at that moment when the contentions between the Chigi and Crequi caused the general attention to be directed towards Rome. The publication was both calculated and intended to inflame the public indignation against the pope. It was dedicated to Beuningen, who had not yet said "Sta sol."

No. 133.

Relatione di Roma, dell' eccelent^mo^ Sig^r^ Nicolo Sagredo. 1661. [Report from Rome, by the most excellent Signor Nicolo Sagredo. 1661.]

This is a report of which I have seen no authentic copy, and which is also found under the name of Anzolo Correro.

But since no doubt can exist of the preceding report being by Correro, whose activity in the war against the Barberini is expressly mentioned in it; while in that before us, on the contrary, the author declares his wish, that, released from his twenty-seven years' wanderings, he might now devote himself at home to the education of his children; which would by no means apply to Correro, whose previous office had been that of podesta in Padua; so I have no hesitation in deciding that the name of Sagredo is the true one. Sagredo, as we know, had already been once sent to Rome, and afterwards to Vienna. He now went to Rome for the second time. Upon the whole, he was indeed one of the most frequently employed statesmen of Venice, and ultimately became doge.

This report is not nearly so severe as the last; but neither is its tone

that of eulogy: it has indeed the impress of entirely dispassionate observation.

With respect to the promotion of the nephews, Sagredo remarks, that Pope Alexander was even then constantly exclaiming against the riches of the Borghesi, Barberini, and Ludovisi, althou h he was already taking care to neglect no opportunity for increasing the wealth of his own family.

His description of the pope runs thus:—[" Placid and gentle of disposition; but in matters of business neither easy to deal with, nor particularly ready of comprehension; he is by nature irresolute in questions of importance, whether from fear lest they should not succeed, or because he is unwilling to endure the fatigue of carrying them through; he fancies himself pierced by every thorn, however distant."]

He thought he had done enough for the Venetians by the suppression of the two orders previously mentioned, and eventually the Candian war did not appear even to him of a very perilous character. He was much more nearly affected by the fact, that Parma and Placentia were supported in their claims on the Ecclesiastical States by France. Neither was the Portuguese affair settled. [" The absolute want of bishops in that kingdom, and the ruined state of the revenues in all the churches, being made manifest, not only have many clamours been occasioned, but most earnest entreaties have been made on the part of Orsino, the cardinal-protector, to the effect that this should be remedied; but the pope has never been prevailed on to do it."]

Moreover we find the papacy already at variance with most of the Catholic states. There was not one which the judicial or pecuniary claims of the Curia had not utterly revolted.

Among the affairs then proceeding in Rome itself, our author chiefly specifies the architectural undertakings of Alexander. He informs us that in the general opinion, the "Cattedra di San Pietro," in the church of St. Peter, was greatly preferred to the Colonnade. The embellishments of the city were occasionally carried forward in a somewhat arbitrary manner. [" Many streets of the city have been rendered straight by the casting down of houses and palaces; the columns and other impediments that stood before the doors of individuals have been removed; and at the instance of the Jesuits belonging to the Collegio Romano, the Piazza Colonna has been enlarged by the destruction of that most noble pile, the Salviati Palace. The projections and signs of the shops have been restricted within due limits; all works, that while they doubtless increase the beauty of the city, yet as the weight of them falls on private purses, they cannot fail to excite many murmurs: the seeing one's own nest thrown to the earth, and being compelled to contribute large sums for the adjustment of streets which produce no advantage to those who thus pay for them, is but ill compensated by the pretext that their dwellings will have a more agreeable appearance or enjoy a finer view; nor are they thus consoled for the burthens they suffer, and the force by which they are compelled to consent to these changes."]

No. 134

Relatione di Roma del K^r Pietro Basadona. 1663. [Report from Rome, by Pietro Basadona. 1663.]

In the manner of Corraro, who is however greatly exceeded. I will give place to some few passages.

First, in relation to the dispute with France, without doubt the most important event that took place during this embassy. [" With regard to the present commotions, I know that I have sufficiently extracted the marrow from the bones on that subject (dispolpate le ossa di tal materia): but I must not conceal the fact, that if the imprudent pride of the Chigi family has caused them to fall into the ditch, their ambitious blundering has miserably entangled them in it. These people persuaded themselves that Rome was the world; but the king of France has given them to know, and that at their own cost, that they had not studied geography well. Much gossiping has caused the general feeling to be pretty well known in respect of the insolence of Cardinal Imperiale and Don Mario concerning the immunities of the French ambassador. I will not say that they were blameless, but I can positively affirm, that to their ill-will there was conjoined some fault of chance, which not unfrequently diminishes or increases the effect of human labours. This it is in part which has constituted their guilt, and now compels them to make full satisfaction to such claims as the king of France may legitimately found on the affronts that he has too certainly received in the person of his ambassador. And since I knew the truth of this matter, so did I use indefatigable efforts to cool down the rage of Crequi, and apply the balsams of negotiation to this schism, before it had extended to what was manifest ruin. But there were too many fancies in the heads of those Chigi (teste Chigiarde), and too much obstinacy, to permit their condescending to a suitable humiliation towards the king, whose bravadoes they would not believe, considering them a mere pretence, and nothing more than a little ephemeral French heat. And this went so far, that his holiness told me the Roman hearts were not to be frightened by the rhodomontade of a French stripling. To which I replied, that it was sometimes more dangerous to have to do with hare-brained boys than with older and wiser heads, since the first would rush to the very edge of the precipice for the gratification of some favourite caprice; moreover, that to play with those who, if they have whims in their heads, have also armies at their side, and millions under their feet, was not a fit game for the popes, who have nothing but their two raised fingers.* I also represented to him, more than once, when it became obvious that the king was in earnest, that the States of the Church were but too completely ruined by the fourteen millions spent in the Barberini war; that the millions in which the treasury is indebted exceed fifty; and that, in fine, his holiness could not provide arms without ruining himself, could not fight without destroying himself, while the enemy could ruin him even without fighting. But all these, and a hundred other powerful reasons, were equally vain, he having too much affection for his kindred to

* " Le due dita alzate," alluding, as the reader will perceive, to the two fingers raised by the pontiff in the act of benediction.—Tr.

send them away, and being, besides, too much displeased about the matter of Castro. And one day that I found him in the vein, he said to me in these precise words: 'Every one cries out that Castro must be given up, but no one says that Avignon ought to be restored; every one declares that the king must receive satisfaction for the affronts offered him, but no one utters a word of the compensation that should be made to ecclesiastics for the injuries they have endured; and if it were true, as it is known not to be, that Cardinal Imperiale and our brother Mario had given orders for what was done with respect to the ambassador, and that so the king might pretend to satisfaction as against those two, why should Castro be brought into the question? and then if Mario be innocent, why should we send him away from us?'"]

Thus does the whole report proceed. It is filled with self-sufficient invectives, and betrays profound contempt for the whole ecclesiastical system—a tone of feeling entirely modern. The possibility of the French becoming masters of Rome was already contemplated. The reader is sometimes tempted to doubt whether such statements ever could have been ventured upon before the senate. But the improbability is greatly diminished, when we consider that the most violent attacks were just then made on the Roman see from all quarters (the fiercest satires were then appearing, —"Le putanisme de Rome," for example, wherein it was directly declared that the pope must be allowed to marry for the prevention of other evils, and that the papacy might be made hereditary), and if we remember that this was the period when the credit of the Roman court began to decline in the general estimation. Our author was, upon the whole, well acquainted with the court and city. He also deserves to be heard in person with relation to the Ecclesiastical States.

["It is an obvious truth, that the Ecclesiastical dominions are utterly borne down by their burthens, insomuch that many proprietors, finding it impossible to extract from their lands sufficient to pay the public impositions, increased beyond all measure, have made necessity their counsellor, and throwing up their estates, have gone to seek the good fortune of being allowed to live in countries less rapacious. I do not speak of the duties and imposts on all things eatable, without any exception, but the personal taxes, tolls, donations, subsidies, and other extraordinary oppressions and extortions, studiously invented, are such as would excite compassion and amazement, if the terrible commissaries, whom Rome despatches into the subjected cities with supreme authority to examine, sell, carry off, and condemn, did not exceed these, as well as all belief. There is never a month that these griffons and harpies, wrapped in the cloak of commissioners, are not sent flying to their different posts, either for the buildings of St. Peter, or to gather pious bequests; or else they are commissioners of the 'spoglia,' or of the archives, or of some dozens of other Roman tribunals: by which the already exhausted purses of the helpless subjects are pressed to the last coin. Accordingly, if we except Ferrara and Bologna, towards which there is some measure used, and which are favoured by nature and art with the richest lands, and with an industrious trading community, all the other cities of Romagna, of the March, of Umbria, the Patrimony, Sabina, and the Territorio di Roma, are miserable in every respect. Nor is there to be found (oh! shame on the Roman governors) in any of these cities, the manufacture of wool or of silk, to say nothing

of cloth of gold, two or three little villages of Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino, and Norcia, alone excepted; although from the abundance of wool and silk, every kind of profitable manufacture might be introduced. But the Ecclesiastical territory is as an estate leased out to tenants, and those who rent it do not think of improving, but only of how they may best press forth whatever can be extracted from the poor ill-treated soil, which, exhausted and dried up, cannot offer to the new tenant any better return than sterility. And then the papal treasury seems to be consumed in an all-devouring abyss. It was thought proper to take arms twice, as if the first error, which cost two millions, was a thing fit to be imitated. There was some pretence of defending the state, although every consideration of prudence commanded that an accommodation should have been sought at the very first, that France might be deprived of all pretext for demanding heavier terms. By a calculation which I made of the reduction of interest in the luoghi di monti from four-and-a-half per cent. (or in our mint seven per cent.) to four, I found that at half a scudo per cent. on fifty millions of debt, the treasury would gain 250,000 scudi per annum, which at four per cent. would form a capital of six millions and a half."]

No. 135.

Vita di Alessandro VII. Con la descrizione delle sue adherenze e governo. 1666. [Life of Alexander VII. With a description of his adherents and government. 1666.]

This is not a biography, at least not such a biography as Pallavicini wrote; but a general description of the transactions of this pontiff, according to the impression produced by them in Rome: the author was a well-informed, and upon the whole, conscientious contemporary.

["He is in truth of a pious mind," he remarks of the pope; "religious and devout, he would fain work miracles for the preservation of Christianity. . . . But he is indolent, timid, and irresolute, and very often does ill, by doing nothing."] He denounced all nepotism in the first instance, yet afterwards carried it to extremity. Financial affairs were all in the hands of the nephews—they enriched themselves greatly. The contentions with Crequi were entirely to be attributed to them. The pope retained only the management of foreign affairs for himself; and to these he did not give sufficient attention. He had literary meetings in his apartments, which occupied much time. In the evenings, Rospighosi had audience for one short hour. Business proceeded in fact but very indifferently. The pope replied in general terms only to the different applicants; yet he had no minister to whom the parties seeking could be referred.

The conclusion is not of the most cheering character. The author sums up his relation in the following words: ["Ambition, avarice, and luxury rule the palace; and yet piety, goodness, and zeal govern. Alexander VII."]

No. 136.

*Relatione di Roma di Giacomo Quirini K*r 1667 (8), 23 *Febr.*
[Giacomo Quirini's report from Rome.]

Giacomo Quirini was at the court of Rome three years and a half under Alexander VII.; he was afterwards accredited for a certain time to Clement IX.: his report relates to the whole of this period.

He first describes the last years of Alexander VII., not with the animosity of his predecessor, it is true, but essentially to the same purpose.

[" In forty-two months during which I served Alexander VII., I perceived that he had but the name of a pope, not the exercise of the papal power; as supreme head, he thought only of securing his own tranquillity; he rejected all business with fixed determination; and the virtues by which he was so eminently distinguished as cardinal,—his readiness of mind, discrimination of judgment, promptitude in difficulties, freedom in resolve, and extraordinary facility of expression, were all entirely destroyed."] He also describes the abuses of nepotism. From the building of the colonnades of St. Peter's, for which Bernini has been blamed, he predicts evil as follows: [" It will depopulate the Leonine city for ever; the houses being levelled, the waters required for the fountains will increase the humidity, while the fires (hearths) will have been taken away; the result of which will be malaria."] He investigates the abuses of pensions, and the mode of bestowing places, with especial reference to Venice, whence the sum of 100,000 ducats was yearly sent to Rome. It is remarkable that Alexander VII. on his side was greatly dissatisfied with the cardinals: he complained that they attached themselves to the party of the princes even in the affair of Castro; that they could never aid him even by useful advice. [" He bewailed himself, because there was neither learning nor virtue among those purple prelates; nor did they ever suggest expedients or measures that he had not first thought of himself."] It was a decay and degeneracy pervading all things.

The conclave was mastered by the subserviency of Chigi to the "Squadrone volante." It was afterwards seen that Chigi had proceeded very prudently in this: to that subserviency he was indebted for the share of power accorded to him by Clement IX.

Quirini declares Clement IX. to have been physically weak, and worn by various diseases, but firm, nay, obstinate in his opinions: he would sometimes prohibit his ministers from speaking again on a subject respecting which he had taken his resolution. A musician named Atto, a native of Pistoja, well known in Venice, was admitted to a confidential intercourse with the pontiff. The determination of Clement to remit a portion of the taxes, Quirini considers heroic. [" He displayed heroic piety, by taking off two giulios per measure from the tax on ground corn, thus depriving himself of 2,000,000 of scudi."]

He next comes to the family of Clement IX., more particularly Cardinal Rospigliosi, whom he describes as follows:—

[" Although the promotion took place on the day before my departure

only, the abbate Rospigliosi attaining the cardinalate just as he had finished his thirty-eighth year, yet having known him at two separate times in Spain, and transacted business with him in Rome on various occasions when he was cupbearer to Cardinal Chigi, I can relate thus much to your excellencies from distinct knowledge, that the pope, speaking to me frequently during the audiences, permitted himself to allude with a just warmth to the abbate as a prudent minister, and in attributing merit and worth to him did but speak as all by common consent were doing; and in this I think it certain he is not deceived, for no nephew of a pope has ever appeared on the scene more highly informed than he, who was always employed during the long nunciature at the court of Spain; he was, besides, sole director in the office of secretary of state in Rome, dictating all letters and replics to the affairs of foreign princes. Then, on occasion of the troubles respecting those most injudicious determinations adopted towards the ambassador Crequi, he was first sent to St. Quirico, and afterwards to Leghorn, but rather to be the bearer of the palace flatteries than to satisfy the ambassador-duke; and when that affair was finally adjusted, he was sent to France in the legation of Chigi to arrange the formalities of the treaty; whence returning to Rome with the title of internuncio, he passed into Flanders. When Pope Clement was raised to the pontificate, the hope and opinion were entertained that he would be able to conciliate all differences, at once preserving the advantages of peace and averting the perils of war; then Rospigliosi received full powers for the adjustment of all disputes between the two crowns. In these journeys and employments, as well as in his earlier days, he lavished much gold with great generosity; but having fallen grievously sick at Susa, he thought proper to squander a vast amount with extreme prodigality, insomuch that the apostolic treasury was burthened to the extent of 140,000 scudi. He is upon the whole of a character naturally melancholy; a man of few words and retired within himself. During all these years of intercourse and meetings in anti-rooms, he has evinced indifference to all, seeming to feel a cordial friendship for and confidence in none, being too reserved, rather than frank in discourse. And now, in consequence of the sufferings that he has endured, he sometimes remains fixed in a sort of mental abstraction, and halts in the business before him; then he seeks to divert his mind by visits, and mingles in the movements of the court. On this account the cardinal Azzolini now directs the office of secretary of state, signing the orders to the legations, as well as those to the nunciatures of princes. Up to the present time, he has been provided by the munificence of the pope with 3,000 scudi of pensions, and with abbacies formerly held by the pontiff himself; he has derived 4,000 scudi from the death of Cardinal Palotta, and has 12,000 from the legation of Avignon as cardinal-padrone."]

No. 137.

Relatione della corte di Roma al re Chistianissimo dal S^r di Charme. 1669. [Report from Rome, presented to his most Christian majesty the king of France, by the Seigneur de Charme. 1669.]

This report has been printed both in French and Italian, yet it contains very little deserving attention, and this is, perhaps, the very reason why it was printed.

The embarrassments of the apostolic treasury are discussed here also: the little that had been accomplished by the restrictions imposed on his nephews by Clement IX. is alluded to; it is affirmed that no congregation could do any thing effectual, and that a general bankruptcy was to be apprehended.

The remarks of Grimani respecting the want of able men, with his observations on the uprightness of intention, but absence of energy conspicuous among the Rospigliosi; on the state of the prelature and that of the country, are here confirmed.

He adds certain reflections, of which we perceive that many have been taken directly from Grimani.

I have myself felt a doubt whether this work proceeded from a French ambassador; but if it did, it must have been from the duke de Chaulnes, whom we find to have been ambassador to Rome during the negotiations relative to the Spanish succession (Négotiations relatives à la succession d'Espagne, p. 579); but in any case, it was obviously written by a contemporary who was not without good information.

No. 138.

Relatione della corte di Roma del Sig^r Antonio Grimani, ambasciatore della republica di Venetia in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX. 1670. [Report of Antonio Grimani, ambassador from the republic of Venice to the court of Rome during the pontificate of Clement IX. 1670.]

We have seen that Quirini expressed himself doubtfully with regard to the virtues of Clement IX. The experience gained from Alexander VII. had probably rendered him cautious. Grimani, on the contrary, breaks forth into unbounded praise, at least with respect to moral qualities. ["In good sooth, meekness, modesty, affability, moderation, clemency, candour, and purity of conscience, are his especial gifts."] He declares that he had never known a better man.

He first discusses the moderation with which Clement had endowed his nephews, yet it is obvious that in Rome there were many things said to the contrary. Grimani is even of opinion that the people of Pistoja would avenge themselves at some future time on the nephews for the unexpected neglect with which they were treated.

But amidst these conflicting statements, thus much remains certain,—that Clement adopted no effectual measures for the abolition of other abuses. Men soon exclaimed that if another Sixtus V. did not appear, the pontificate would incur the danger of utter ruin.

Grimani points out the principal evils,—the sale of offices, which resulted in the absence of all able and useful men, and the ruinous financial arrangements; he also specifies the neglect of the religious orders. ["The monks are now held in so much contempt, that they have desisted of their own accord from appearing at court, to save themselves from the insults of the lowest hangers-on about the palace. Bishoprics and the purple are considered to be debased when conferred on the regular clergy, and in all competitions, coarse, ignorant, and even vicious priests, will obtain the prize in preference to a learned and upright monk. The nephews have no regard for the regular clergy, because they cannot receive so much court from them as from the priests. If burthens are to be imposed, the monasteries are first thought of; if reforms are to be effected, it is not the priests who are referred to, but the monks. In fine, they deprive men of all inclination for study, all care for the defence of the church from those false doctrines which the enemies of Rome are constantly disseminating; those enemies too increasing daily, while the number of learned and exemplary monks is as constantly diminishing; from all which the court itself may soon come to suffer no little injury. Wherefore it is my opinion that the pontiffs would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by conferring on them from time to time certain offices of dignity; and thus they could the better do, from the fact that the number of monks being so great, they would be able to select from them such men as might be required. By this means, men of distinction would be led to enter the orders, whereas, nowadays, the very bankrupt traders think scorn of covering their shoulders with the robe of the monk; nor are any seen to enter the monasteries but people of the working classes."] Yet unhappily, no remedy was to be expected from Clement IX.,—he was too lukewarm, too easy in temper.

After this description of the pope, the ambassador proceeds to his nearest connections, and first to Cardinal Rospigliosi, of whom hopes had been entertained "that it was he who should redeem Israel" ("quod esset redempturus Israel"). He points out how and wherefore this hope had been disappointed. ["There are three things, in my opinion, which cause the aforesaid cardinal to walk with leaden foot, and to be accused of mental indolence and want of application. The first is his great anxiety to do every thing well, and to please all the world, a thing which can hardly be done by a man who is not absolute master. The second is, that his will is restrained and rendered uncertain by the pope, who, although he loves this nephew, nay, regards him with extraordinary affection, yet likes to do every thing in his own way. Whence, Rospigliosi, fearful of having his decisions rendered null by the negation of the pontiff, and desirous, on the other hand, of contenting the applicants and parties interested, is deterred from arriving at any conclusion whatever. Thirdly, the very extent of his own capacity is injurious to him, more particularly in matters which depend on himself; for although he abounds, as is said, in those qualities required for maintaining the post of papal

nephew, yet a real penury in practice results from this abundance, because he loses the greater part of the most precious hours in meditating and sifting the materials before him, which, while he is pondering and labouring to choose so as not to miss the best selection, the time flies, and the occasion for acting flies with it."] Rospigliosi must, however, not be refused the justice of an admission that he did not enrich himself, ["having neglected many opportunities for enriching himself, when he might have done it without scruple, and with a clear conscience."] It was indeed believed that he favoured Chigi, principally to the end that he might one day become pope by his aid; but the ambassador contradicts this assertion. The extent to which the character and habits of thought, distinguishing the pope and cardinal-nephew were reflected in the inferior members of this government, is remarkable. They were not destitute of good intentions or of ability, yet, from one cause or another, they produced no effectual result. ["For the current affairs of the day, the cardinal employs two ministers in particular. The one is Monsignore Agustini, a prudent man and of exemplary life: it may be said of him as of Job, 'an upright man and one that fears God' ('vir simplex et timens Deum'); but slow withal; procrastinating and irresolute, so greatly desirous, moreover, of doing well, that he will not act at all, from the fear of doing ill. With this character, he has found means to get so completely into the favour of the cardinal-padrone, that the latter extols him in all places as an oracle, and esteems him the most able minister of the court, although those who continually hear him in the congregation form a different opinion of him, holding him to be but a very ordinary kind of person, the pope also being of the same opinion. The other is Monsignore Fiani, on whom the office of secretary of the Consulta was conferred; a trust which imperatively demands the most perfect confidence on the part of the cardinal-padrone. Rospigliosi has therefore done wisely to select this man, who knows the duties of a friend, and who has all the capacity for government that can be desired; but he is almost unfitted for the exercise of his office, being very infirm, and much afflicted by gout; he therefore also protracts all business, to the extreme annoyance of the court, where he is but little liked, in part perhaps because he is reported to have a ready hand for receiving presents; but my opinion is, that this report is the mere malignity of evil speakers."]

It is not necessary to repeat the further particulars given respecting the papal family, which never attained to any permanent influence. The brother of the pope, Don Camillo Rospigliosi, deserved, as our author says, to have been canonized even during his life, had that been a thing customary. He had five sons, of whom two only require to be named here; the second, Don Tommaso, who had already turned his thoughts towards effecting improvements in the manufactures of the Ecclesiastical States; and the youngest, Giambattista, ["a youth of most comely aspect, and of acute and penetrating mind,"] who married a Pallavicina of Genoa, and founded the house of Rospigliosi. It will suffice to give a general description of the new relations in which these nephews were placed. ["Among all the popes who have occupied the Vatican, there has perhaps never been seen one more prudent or moderate in his deportment towards his nephews than Clement IX., who enjoyed their society, but would never suffer himself to be ruled by them: on the contrary, the more affection he displayed for them, the more he kept them

back, excluding them from all share in his more secret thoughts. And the excellence of the nephews themselves came in aid of the pope's good intention to remove from the church that scandal so long subsisting of the delegation of almost all the authority vested in the Vatican to the nephews of the pontiffs. Wherefore, it may be said with good cause, that never have kinsmen of the pope been seen in Rome more modest, more humble, more charitable, or more disinterested than the Rospigliosi; and what is more important, all endowed with such piety and excellence, that one must be devoid of human feeling not to love them; nay, we may even affirm that the pope never loved them to the extent of their merits, since he treated them rather as strangers than as kinsmen, and never confided to them any matter of importance; and hereby he was himself rendered unhappy, because on the one hand he voluntarily deprived himself of that satisfaction so needful to princes—the relief of unbosoming himself with his own family; and, on the other hand, was prevented from unburthening his mind with his immediate attendants, who were, for the most part, untaught people, and of very slight capacity. It is believed that the pope does not entrust the more important matters of the court to any one but Cardinal Chigi, who being crafty and dexterous, has found means to ingratiate himself most completely with the pontiff."]

Then follows a description of the cardinals, and of the ambassadors residing at the court; but the persons thus described are of no great importance, and the interests treated of were too fleeting and transient to warrant our giving them any further attention.

No. 139.

Relatione dello stato delle cose di Roma del mese di Sett. 1670. [Account of the state of Rome in the month of September, 1670.] (Altieri Library, 9 leaves.)

To the Venetian reports, and those purporting to be French, some that were Spanish are also added: the account before us was unquestionably drawn up for Spain. Allusion is made in it to another, which had been sent to the Spanish court, and the notices contained in which were on that account omitted in the one before us.

Clement IX., ["whose disposition is most gentle, so that none present themselves at his feet to whom he would not fain do some kindness. . . . . He is very economical in expenditure, and exceedingly parsimonious in giving to his kindred."] Cardinal Altieri: ["He does every thing himself, and is little influenced by others. Ages have passed since a papal nephew was seen in Rome of greater weight, of higher ability, or of more integrity."] We remark, that under this pontificate also, the greater part of the officials were permitted to retain their employments unchanged.

But the most important circumstance communicated by this author, is the division of the court. Chigi, Barberini, and Rospigliosi were connected in the closest intimacy with Altieri. This league had been effected principally by the Spanish ambassador. Opposed to it stood the faction of the "squadronisti," that is to say, the cardinals created by Innocent X.,

who had exercised so powerful an influence on the last papal elections, and had placed their dependants in the public offices during the last two pontificates. To this party belonged Omodei, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Borromeo, and Azzolino. Into the disputes of these two factions the queen of Sweden entered with extraordinary zeal. We know the high estimation in which she held Azzolino. In this document she is called his faithful servant. She is charged with planning a thousand intrigues to promote the views of the "squadronisti."

No. 140.

Memorie per descrivere la vita di Clemente X., pontefice massimo, raccolte da Carlo Cartari Orvietano, decano degli avvocati consistoriali e prefetto dell' archivio apostolico di castello S. Angelo di Roma. [Memoirs towards a life of the supreme pontiff Clement X., collected by Carlo Cartari of Orvieto, dean of the consistorial advocates, and prefect of the apostolic archives of the Castle St. Angelo in Rome.] (Altieri Library, 211 pages.)

Composed immediately after the death of the pope, and completed in October, 1676; the author expressly imposes on himself the duty of avoiding all flattery and speaking only the simple truth. ["From these sheets, flattery, my irreconcilable enemy, shall be entirely banished; I shall restrict myself exclusively to the pure and candid truth."] But this work, as the author had proposed, was a collection of materials only, to be used by some future biographer.

It would at first appear as if this declaration had merely proceeded from modesty on the part of the author.

The father of the pope, the old Lorenzo Altieri, with whom Cartari had been well acquainted, is most agreeably described, as a man of powerful mind and majestic deportment, but very modest withal, as was manifest from his countenance. Although only a collector of materials, our author has not abstained from subjoining a conceit, altogether in the spirit of that age. ["He was adorned externally by his beautiful grey hair, as intrinsically by his purity of life, and the rare piety with which he was wonderfully endowed."]

Emilio Altieri was born in 1596; received the degree of doctor in 1611; passed a certain time in study under Pamfili, who was afterwards pope, and in 1624 accompanied Lancellotti, bishop of Nola, whose Instruction is still extant, to Poland. On his return, he was appointed bishop of Camerino, in the place of his brother Giovanni Battista, who had entered the college of cardinals. It has been asserted, though Cartari has no word respecting it, that Emilio himself had even at that time been selected for the cardinalate, and would have been more cordially received than his brother, but he had the self-command to leave Rome at the decisive moment, and thus resigned the place to his elder brother. Pope Innocent X. sent Emilio as nuncio to Naples, where he is said to

have contributed largely towards the settlement of the commotions excited by Massaniello. Alexander VII. appointed him secretary to the congregation for bishops and monastic clergy, a position which all had found to be exceedingly tiresome. It was not until his seventy-ninth year that he was effectually promoted. On the 29th November, 1669, Clement IX. appointed him cardinal; but this pontiff had not even time to give him the hat: without having yet received that sign of his dignity, Altieri proceeded to the conclave, which ended by the election of himself as pope, on the 29th April, 1670. He refused this dignity for a certain time, declaring that there were persons of higher merit that might be chosen, and even naming Cardinal Brancacci; but eventually he consented to ascend the papal throne.

So far was the new pontiff advanced in years, he had not even a near relation by his side; but it was necessary that he should select a kinsman to share with him the weight of affairs.

[" His holiness was in the eightieth year of his age; wherefore, on that account, and after the example of his predecessors, who, well knowing the heavy weight of the pontificate, had esteemed it necessary for their own relief to depute some portion of it to a cardinal, with the title of general superintendent of the Ecclesiastical States, he was pleased on that same day to declare the cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, his connection, to be charged with that laborious office, changing his name for that of Altieri."]

Proceeding to the transactions of this pontificate, we find that the author gives his first attention to those which took place in Rome itself.

The arrival of the ambassadors from Ferrara and Bologna to proffer their allegiance; the discovery of the monument of Constantine at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's; the decoration of the bridge of St. Angelo with ten angels of Carrara marble; the building of the Altieri Palace, on which nearly 300,000 scudi were expended, which could not, however, be called a loss, because they went to the benefit of the poor; the erection of a second fountain on the Piazza di San Pietro, but which the pope did not see completed. These are the principal circumstances on which Cartari dwells. Speaking of the palace, he also describes the library: [" In almost the highest part of the said palace, there was a space reserved for the library, equally noble in extent, and delightful for the charming view to be obtained from it of the city and country surrounding: here magnificent ranges of shelves are filled, by the generosity of Cardinal Altieri, with precious books in all sciences, amounting to the number of 12,000."] Well do I know that place,—how often have I mounted those steps! He then speaks of the fountains: ["The fountain of Paul V. was transported by means of wonderfully powerful machinery,—I might almost say in one piece, from the position where it formerly stood, to that where it is now to be seen, corresponding to the lateral entrances of the theatre; and as an accompaniment of the same, he ordered that a second should be constructed exactly similar in front of the Cesi gardens, as was done."] But the most remarkable fact that he relates on this subject, is that respecting that pretended mosaic of Giotto, the " Navicella di San Pietro." It had suffered frequent change of place after the destruction of the old basilica, where it originally stood, having been removed by Paul V. to the palace, by Urban VIII. into the church, and being taken by Innocent X.

again into the palace. Alexander VII. once more found it unsuitably placed there; but despairing of effecting its removal as it was, he decided on having it taken to pieces, the small stones belonging to each figure being put into a separate bag. Under Clement X., Cardinal Barberini proposed that it should be restored after a copy taken in the pontificate of Urban VIII. It was then once more put together, and placed in the lunette over the middle entrance of the vestibule: but how this was managed we must let Cartari tell in his own words. ["As the recess was not large enough, it was suggested that the figures might be left in their proper form, but that the spaces between them might be lessened; and this was very diligently accomplished."] We perceive from this, that those who attribute the work in its present form to the new master, are not without some ground for their opinion.

The author at length applies himself to affairs of state; but respecting these he is very defective. He asserts that Clement X., notwithstanding his financial necessities, would never proceed to any new reductions of the "monti," from consideration to the numerous families, and still more to the many pious institutions which must suffer by such a measure. He preferred to make retrenchments, and even the cardinal-nephew also proposed to resign his own emoluments as "sopraintendente dello stato." The Curia still contrived to send money to Poland, then hard pressed by the Turks: 30,000 scudi at one time, at another time 16,000, and again a third sum of 70,000, were forwarded to that country. The cardinals had themselves made a special collection.

This is all I find respecting foreign affairs; but neither are those concerning the States of the Church very profoundly treated. ["Some effort was made to procure the free introduction of foreign merchandise, and all exemptions from the regular customs-duties were recalled: regulations were made respecting the "officii vacabili" of the dataria, and the proceeds of the same; the tax of a quatrino imposed on artists, was repealed; and it was enacted that the Romans and other nobles of the Ecclesiastical States might engage in commerce without prejudice to their nobility."] This is in fact all that he tells us of essential importance.

The transactions of the papacy in reference to the internal state of the church are scarcely even alluded to.

No. 141.

Clementis Decimi Pontificis Maximi vita. [Life of the supreme pontiff Clement X.] (Altieri Library, 288 pages.)

It was the opinion of Cartari that many would be found to write the life of Clement X., and it is to these persons that he dedicates these materials. An author did, in fact, soon appear to undertake that office; but this was a Jesuit, writing at the command of his general Oliva. He was supplied with his materials by Cardinal Pauluzzi Altieri.

This author does not mention Cartari; it is nevertheless manifest that he had his work before him. He frequently does nothing more than translate and amplify that writer.

But if Cartari was careful to avoid flattery, the Jesuit is equally careful

to infuse it. He sets forth the opinion that in the year of Clement's birth,—when the Tiber had produced violent inundations, this took place. ["As though the river of the imperial city had foreseen the increase of the Roman glory that was to proceed from the infant then born."]

But he has also occasionally made more useful additions. He relates that characteristic trait of Clement's having voluntarily given way to his brother.

In subsequent chapters he also enters on the affairs of the church. ["During his reign, the realm of Hungary saw numbers return to the way of truth; so that he made the country, to use the words of Cardinal Francesco Nerli, almost wholly Catholic."] This is indeed a strong hyperbole, for not only was Hungary at that time far from being so nearly Catholic, but Clement X. had contributed very little towards promoting even what Catholicism there was. ["He laboured with judicious industry for the propagation and preservation of the true religion in Ireland. . . . Bohemia and the realms attached to her saw many, and among them great princes, retrace their steps to the Vatican. The Tyrol (Rhætia) also beheld many, as did the valleys on her confines: a great body proceeded from Holland, and still more from France."] But the Jesuit's assertions are mostly in general terms only.

While he lauds the justice and love of his subjects displayed by Clement, he excuses him for having raised contributions to support the Poles against the Turks by taxes on the clergy, and for having taken up new loans; he maintains that the pope had repealed oppressive taxes, and in their stead had laid imposts on luxuries,—foreign wines and tobacco for example: he extols the extreme moderation shewn by Clement in regard to his kindred. About the building of the Altieri Palace, there should not be too much said: people should rather remember how few estates the Altieri family had acquired. ["Within how small a space are those towns and villages comprised which are subject to the Altieri princes, while the rule of others was most widely extended."]

No. 142.

Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di Papa Clemente X. [New government of Rome, under the pontificate of Pope Clement X.] (Barberini Library, 17 leaves.)

The family connections of Pauluzzi are here discussed, with his singular elevation to the position of papal nephew.

The brother of the pontiff, and chief of the house of Altieri, had left an only daughter, and had commanded, that the husband whom she might marry should take the name of Altieri.

A nephew of Cardinal Pauluzzi married this heiress of the house of Altieri, and the two families were thus united.

All the other connections, the Gabrielli for example, who would else have been the nearest, were compelled to retire.

This government seems upon the whole to have been less lenient, even

from its commencement, than the preceding one had been, and this proceeded from the fact, that Clement IX. had loaded with debts even those portions of the revenue which had previously always been reserved. The disbanding of the little army had already begun. The author is of opinion that even the trifling diminution of the taxes effected would cause the whole state to be disarmed.

Even this writer complains of the forms of administration, and of the recklessness which had then become habitual with the authorities of the Ecclesiastical States. ["Perceiving themselves to be detested and abhorred, they harden themselves all the more, and, drawing their hats over their eyes, they look no one in the face; but making every herb help to increase their pack, they care for nothing but their own interest, and are without a thought for the public welfare."]

No. 143.

Relatione dello stato presente della corte di Roma, fatta all' ecc^mo principe di Ligni, governatore di Milano, dall' ill^mo S^r Feder. Rozzoni, inviato straord^rio da S. E. alla corte appresso Clemente X. [Report on the present state of the Court of Rome, presented to the most excellent prince de Ligni, governor of Milan, by the most illustrious Federigo Rozzoni, ambassador extraordinary from his excellency to Clement X.] (24 leaves.)

Written somewhat later than the preceding report.

The position of parties had already changed. Rospigliosi and Chigi were neglected by the reigning house, which was seeking an alliance with the Squadronisti.

The relations subsisting between the pope and Cardinal Altieri are described in the following manner:—

"The pope has no power of application whatever, partly because of his declining years, but partly also, because it is natural to him to regard his own repose, and to retire from those heavy cares which might disturb the serenity of his mind, which is solely bent on living in tranquillity. Thus he cannot be made acquainted with the proceedings of justice, or of other political affairs relating to the court and the Ecclesiastical States. Wherefore, the having recourse to him avails nothing to those who are oppressed by his ministers; and to give himself a better excuse for not interfering in these matters, he frequently affects illness; but not on that account abstaining from his private 'conversazioni,' which he holds every day after dinner, with the playing of cards, and enjoyment of music and singing.

"He leaves the government of the church entirely to Cardinal Altieri, and does not meddle with it except when required to give his assent by voice or writing; in all besides, he has so completely resigned every thing to his decision, that he has frequently shewn fear of him, giving alms, granting favours, and doing other things in secret. But the appointment

to benefices and bishoprics, with the selection of those who are to be raised to the purple, remains exclusively with the cardinal, who is a man of cool temper, not easily roused to anger, and even when offended, not seeking to avenge himself. He is well calculated to sustain the post he occupies, and is, in fact, determined to know and to direct all affairs, whether great or small, not of the court only, but of the whole Ecclesiastical dominion. This is attributed by some to a great avidity as respects his own interests, concerning which he is most vigilant, never suffering any occasion whatever to pass without making profit of it. At a fixed hour of each day, he gives audience to all the ministers of the court and their secretaries, himself imparting to them their orders and instructions, —not in general only, but also in particulars, in such sort that the judges, and even the governor himself, are not permitted to exercise any discretion of their own in their different charges.

"The principal minister of the aforesaid cardinal, both is and has been the abbate Piccini, a man of poor capacity and inferior parentage, who was chamberlain to Clement X. before his elevation. Thus, by the access that he has to the cardinal, or, as some say, by the power he has of determining his resolutions, he has got together an annual income of 12,000 scudi, and a capital of 200,000, having filled his head with smoke as completely as he has filled his purse with gold. But the favouring gale that he has enjoyed has ceased just now, some say from political causes, and not because his high influence has been diminished by the union of the four royal ambassadors; although the said abbate Piccini and the commissioner of the treasury, called Monsr. Zaccaria, are more intimately about the person of the cardinal than any others. But as to all this, it is merely an affair of interest, to which this cardinal desires to appear indifferent. Thus he would fain suffer the blame of that avarice with which the common opinion loads him, to fall on the shoulders of these two ministers or interpreters."]

No. 144.

Relatione della corte di Roma del N. H. Piero Mocenigo, che fu ambasciatore a Papa Clemente X., fatto l'anno 1675. [Report from the court of Rome, by N. H. Piero Mocenigo, late ambassador to Pope Clement X., presented in the year 1675.] (44 leaves.)

Piero Mocenigo had previously been in England; he then proceeded to Rome, which presented him, more particularly in a commercial point of view, with so totally different an aspect. He was here involved in rather earnest contention with the house of Altieri, having assumed the office of leader to the ambassadors, whom the Curia sought to deprive of some of their immunities. We cannot wonder that he does not seem to have been much edified by what he perceived, and by all that he experienced.

He divides his report into three parts:—

1. ["The character of that court, its authority, as well spiritual as

temporal, with additions respecting the treasury and forces.'] ["The whole thought of these rulers," he begins by observing, "is absorbed by their determination not to leave their own house exposed to the persecutions and scorn that wait on poverty. Thus the pole-star of that court is private interest, and the application they affect to business and the public weal is a mere specious appearance."] The result of the favour shewn to the great families now, was, that not only the middle classes but even the inferior nobility were deprived of all advancement,—not possessing sufficient wealth to raise themselves by their own power, yet feeling too much independence of spirit to debase themselves by imitating the subserviency of the really indigent.

"This country," observes Piero Mocenigo, "is the very home of flattery; there are nevertheless many who console themselves for their disappointed hopes by slander and evil-speaking; and they propound this maxim,—he will never be mistaken who judges the worst."

The more important congregations were those of the Inquisition, of Ecclesiastical Immunities, of the Council, of the Propaganda, the Bishops and Monastic Clergy, and the Index. When the court desires to refuse any request, it refers the affair to these congregations, which cling fast to their canons and to the practice of past ages; the merest trifles are thus magnified into importance; but if the court be favourably disposed, it then takes the matter into its own hands.

It is more particularly in secular affairs that this absolute power of the court is displayed. Cardinals would never have sanctioned the declaration of war. (We may add that for a considerable time this had no longer happened.)

The condition of the country became daily worse. In the course of forty years, as the author was informed, the number of inhabitants had decreased by one-third. Where a hundred hearths had formerly been counted, there were now found no more than sixty; many houses were pulled down, although this was forbidden by the Consulta; less land was daily cultivated; marriages decreased; parents sought refuge for their children in the cloister.

He estimates the interest of the public debt—of the monti and "officii vacabili" that is—at 2,400,000 scudi; and the deficit at many hundred thousand.

2. ["The present government of Clement X., his household, the sacred college, and correspondence with princes."]

Clement X.—It is true that he gave audience at stated hours to the datary, the secretary of briefs, the secretary of state, and Cardinal Altieri, but he merely went through the formality of signing papers; disagreeable things were concealed from him,—an object to which Cardinal Altieri gave his whole attention. The ambassador affirms that the pope had no knowledge whatever of the affairs of the world,—he had never been employed as nuncio. We know that this is false. ["It is said in Rome, that the pontiff's business is to bless and to consecrate,—that of Cardinal Altieri, to reign and govern."]

Cardinal Altieri: "His constitution is delicate. . . . his character is ardent, impetuous, and impassive; he is accustomed to the Roman courtesy of refusing nothing, but on the contrary, to shew the utmost readiness of agreement, with many obliging words, on first hearing a request;

but after he has considered the matter, he retracts, nay, will even deny the promise given and display marks of anger. . . . He is elevated by slight hopes, as, on the contrary, he is depressed by unimportant fears."] In these expressions, we clearly perceive the operation of personal dislike.

It is in a similar spirit that the other persons here described are treated. Laura Altieri, to whom the family owed its prosperity, was, according to our author, not content with her position in it, and for that reason was never permitted to approach the pope; but I do not fully believe this assertion.

The remarks of Mocenigo, when describing the union of the court with the Squadronisti are less liable to suspicion,—we have already seen how the way was prepared for this. Barberini, Chigi, and Rospigliosi were now but slightly esteemed: the Squadronisti particularly insisted on the independence of the Curia on foreign courts. They had drawn the Altieri completely to their party. The author affirms that the perplexities in which the court became involved were to be attributed to them.

He enters more minutely into the detail of these embarrassments, but with the irritable manner usual with him.

According to him, the court was obliged to propitiate the emperor from time to time by spiritual presents, Agnus Dei, &c. It had so many contentions with France, that to see the French involved in war, was a cause of rejoicing to Rome. How then could the pope negotiate a peace? Spain complained of this among other things, that robbers from Naples were received into the Roman states, and were suffered to sell there the property they had stolen. ["But they give no ear to these complaints, because it is thus that the quiet of the frontier is secured; the bandits engaging themselves to maintain peace in those confines."] Mocenigo declares that Rome neglected to press the Poles earnestly to the war against Turkey, merely to avoid being compelled to give aid; that it would not acknowledge the title of the czar, and therefore entered into no relations with him, although they might have derived so important an assistance from such a connection, against the hereditary enemy. ["From the fear of involving themselves in the obligation to remit and contribute large succours, they suffered the proposals made by a Polish envoy to fall to the ground; these being, that the king of Poland would pass the Danube, enter Bulgaria, and promise to carry the war into the heart of the Ottoman empire."] I notice this only because we learn from it that such hopes were entertained even at that time; but what the Roman court could have done towards the matter, it is not easy to perceive, more especially if the papal treasury and dominions were in the condition described above. Mocenigo says, further, that the court would not concede to the king of Portugal the patronage of his churches situate beyond the seas, nor an "indult" to the duke of Saxony for appointing to the vacant bishoprics in his own territory. These claims to ecclesiastical independence were now put forward in Tuscany also, and even in the smaller principalities.

The annexation of Castro to the treasury turned out to be a positive loss. The debts thus undertaken required 90,000 scudi for their interest; while the farmer of the revenue paid only 60,000. The people of Rome declared that it was not thus a prince should reckon.

3. Corrispondenze colla Republica.—This was but very short, and principally in relation to personal contentions. "Impiego scabrosissimo" [a most difficult employment]. All in the same spirit.

They had already been prepared in Venice for a report in this tone. Even before Mocenigo's return, there had appeared a ["Letter written to Venice by a person well informed respecting the embassy (another hand has here added, 'infamous embassy') of the Signor Mocenigo,"] wherein the little man with the great wig, who is for ever talking of England, is somewhat roughly dealt withal. He was described as "now sitting closeted day and night with a scribe, that he may blacken the court of Rome in his report:" ["a government, than which there has not been a better for the secular princes from the times of St. Peter till now,—conciliatory, moderate, and given to no cavils."]

It is certain that Mocenigo has gone too far; but we are not on that account to reject all that he has said.

Every one, after all, impresses the mode of his own opinions on the affairs that he describes. It is for the reader to see that he makes the right distinction between object and subject.

No. 145.

Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma. [Treatise on the government of Rome.] (MS. Rome.)

This document will be found among writings relating to 1670–80, and belongs to somewhere about that time. It is as cheerless as ever were the bewailings of Sacchetti. 1. ["On the wretched state of the people; and how they always, in every pontificate, can find means to bestow 100, or even 150,000 scudi on one house, but cannot make it possible to take 50,000 scudi from the burthens of the overloaded people; and the worst of all is, that they will not allow their subjects to fill their purses by seeking from lawful trade those gains which others unduly appropriate to themselves by favour of the authorities."] 2. ["Concerning the great poverty, and the great luxury of the land."] A mere rhetorical contrast. 3. ["On the corn-laws and the wine-trade."] This relates principally to abuses arising from the duties and regulations respecting corn. ["The ministers of the sovereign choose to play the part of merchants. Hence proceed the many bankruptcies of the true merchants, and of dealers in corn; the many embarrassments of families and pious institutions, whose principal possessions consist of lands; hence, too, the quantity of grain left to spoil in the granaries of those who would not submit to the extortions of so detestable a traffic."] 4. ["Of the delays of justice, and of the interests due from the monti."] Even the "Depositarii de' Monti" are accused of dishonesty and arbitrary proceedings. 5. ["Touching irreverence in the churches,"] which he says were treated like theatres. 6. ["On the luxury and splendour of banquets in the palace."] 7. ["Concerning the abuse of religious ceremonies."] The author disapproves of the frequently repeated "Sanctissimus;" it revolts him that people should dare to say, as in the procession of Corpus

Christi, "Sanctissimus, sanctissima portat" ["the most holy (pontiff) bears the most holy (symbol)."] 8. ["On ecclesiastical immunities."] He bewails the fact that an asylum was granted to criminals in the churches. 9. ["On the neglected state of the public ways."] This is a well-meant report, and is upon the whole a true description; but the views of the writer are not very extensive.

No. 146.

Vito del servo di Dio Papa Innocentio XI., raccolta in tre libri. [Life of the servant of God Pope Innocent XI., comprised in three books.] (MS. Rome.)

A very beautiful copy on 144 leaves, probably prepared for special presentation to some later pontiff.

The first book is occupied by the early life of Innocent XI. The author has not spared his labour in the search of authentic information respecting it. He denies that the pope had made a campaign in his youth: the question had been asked of his holiness himself. He affirms also, that it was Cardinal Cueva (to whom the young man had been recommended by the governor of Milan) who had directed the attention of the future pontiff to the advantages presented by the career of the Curia.

The second book comprises the earlier administrative measures of Pope Innocent, his financial arrangements, the repeal of useless appointments, decrease of interest on the monti,—even as touching corporate bodies, the restriction of usury, which was carried on with particular activity in the Jewish quarter (Ghetto), and the imposition of new taxes on ecclesiastical fees. His maxim is said to have been that ["he was not the master of things appertaining to the Holy See, but the administrator, and under the rigorous obligation to distribute them, not in accordance with preferences for kindred, but in conformity with the laws of justice. . . . . He said of himself, that from his elevation to the cardinalate, he had begun to be poor, and as pope, he had become a beggar."] The author alludes, moreover, to English affairs, and does not hesitate to say that King James desired to render all England Catholic: ["Proposing to send back his people into the Roman fold, he began by employing Catholic ministers."]

In the third book, the part taken by Innocent XI. in the Turkish war is discussed, and his personal qualities are described. He is here presented as he really was,—energetic, impartial, and honourable. His conduct and proceedings are described with much penetration, and infinitely better than in the small work of Bonamicus, which we find in Lebret, and which is really nothing more than a hollow panegyric.

Remarkable instances are also given here of the opposition aroused by the practical measures of this pontiff. How innumerable were the objections put forward against the proposal of a bull for the abolition of nepotism. ["The unthinking populace, seeing many offices in the palace suppressed, while the duties attached to them were united to those of

other ministers, without considering the motives, cast reproach on the character of Innocent, as incapable of rising to his sovereign condition."] This disaffection was made manifest, now in one way, and now in another.

No. 147.

Memoriale del 1680 *al Papa Innocenzo XI., concernente il governo e gli aggravj.* [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent XI. in the year 1680, concerning the government and the public burthens.] (Vallicella Library.)

The holy zeal of the pontiff, as this document assures us, was acknowledged by all, but unhappily the effect of his endeavours was a general discontent. By the reduction of the monti, many families had been ruined; the cardinals were not listened to; no favours were granted to the temporal princes; the prelates were bereaved of their hopes; the poor were deprived of alms; all Rome was one great scene of misery.

Who could believe this? Scarcely does a pope give ear to the incessant complaints respecting nepotism, and abolish the abuse, than the people demand its restoration! Therefore, says our "Memorial," after adducing certain reasons, ["it is a great favour of fortune for a prince to have kinsmen who are good and capable of governing; for these, having more powerful motives for taking interest in his reputation and glory than any mere minister can have, may also give him their opinions with greater frankness and sincerity."]

No. 148.

Ode satirica contra Innocenzo XI. [Satirical ode against Innocent XI.] (Library at Frankfort-on-the Maine, MS. Glauburg, No. 31.)

In writings such as those above cited, the expression of disapproval is still subjected to moderation; but whether some previous fault really committed, or a mere rumour, gave occasion for censure, certain it is that it found a voice in the most vehement outbursts, as in the passage following:—

["I do not find a more wicked monster even in ancient annals, nor one who, clothed in hypocrisy, more deeply tinged with blood his beak and wings. He was zealously rigid with others, but nevertheless permitted his kinsmen to buy up corn at two scudi the rubbio, and to sell it again at nine."]

No. 149.

Discorso sopra la soppressione del collegio de' secretarj apostolici fatta per la S^ta di N. S^re Innocenzo XI. [Discourse on the suppression of the college of apostolic secretaries decreed by his holiness our lord Pope Innocent XI.]

In despite of this violent opposition, Pope Innocent proceeded with his reforms. This "Discourse" describes the manner in which they were conducted in certain individual cases.

We are first made acquainted with the origin of these secretaries, whom we find from the time of the schism, and with the abuses attached to their existence. These proceeded principally from the fact that no share in the administration was connected with the office. ["The possessors of these offices have not, in fact, any administrative duties or services to perform for the despatch of business; while the secretary of briefs, as well as the secretary of letters and mandates to sovereigns, being conversant with the business, are wont to be deputed at the good pleasure of the pope, and out of the limits of the college. Neither does the office bring with it an assurance of the prelacy, being conferred on laymen, for the most part incompetent, and frequently even on mere children, in the manner of those other popular offices, which are constantly on sale, and exist only for pecuniary purposes."]

The rates of interest being enormous, the treasury had to pay 40,000 scudi for the 200,000 which it had received. Innocent resolved to suppress the college, and commissioned a "congregation" to estimate the claims of the shareholders.

The pope wished to pay back no more than the treasury had actually received, but the shareholders required at least as much as would equal the current price of the offices. The congregation could not come to any decision.

Our author is of opinion that the pope was not bound to pay more than the nominal price,—he considers this to be decided by the practice of the Roman see.

Other writings are to be found which treat of this subject; for example—"Stato della camera nel presente pontificato d'Innocenzo XI.;" but they consist of calculations, which are not capable of being made useful in extracts.

No. 150.

Scritture politiche, morali, e satiriche sopra le massime, istituto e governo della compagnia di Gesù. [Political, moral, and satirical writings on the maxims, institution, and government of the Company of Jesus.] (Corsini Library.)

A collection of all sorts of writings, concerning the Jesuit order; some of which, as for example, "A Consulta of Acquaviva," are satirical and mere invention, while others are entirely in earnest, and are derived from the best sources.

The most important is ["In the name of Jesus. A discourse respecting the Jesuit fathers and their mode of governing."] This of itself contains nearly 400 leaves. It was written about the time when Noyelle was general, consequently between 1681 and 1686. It is certainly unfavourable to the order, yet is so treated that we perceive in every word the evidence of profound knowledge on the part of the author, of all connected with the society from the middle of the century. He adopts the following method.

I. First, he arranges the defects, which he notices under different heads. ["Of some of their maxims."] The opinion, for example, that their order is the chief and principal of all; that all their prayers are heard, and that all who die members of their company were sure of salvation. 2. ["Of their greediness and avarice."] Touching their tricks for obtaining bequests, a multitude of stories of their dexterous proceedings for extracting presents from the people; of their trafficking, and many worse things. The larger part of his attention is given to their trade, of which they found the circle too narrow, being principally Rome and the Ecclesiastical States. 3. ["Of their government."] Concerning the abuse of the monarchical power,—the deposition of Nickel, see p. 120. 4. ["Peculiar characteristics of the government."] For example, "Flagello sordo," which means the penalties inflicted on those who were punished without having their crime properly specified; denunciation without previous warning; the superiors also availed themselves occasionally of inferior officers as superintendents, which was subversive of all order. 5. ["Government in respect to their inmates and pupils."] Their dishonouring punishments. 6. ["The multitude of their rules."] They frequently contradicted each other,—there was no one who knew them all.

II. The author then seeks, after some repetitions as to the cause and effect of these evils, to point out some means of cure. It is remarkable that among the latter, he considers the most important of all to be the appointment of a vicar-general, which had been so often demanded, but to which the order itself would never agree. ["To constitute a vicar-general for the provinces of Spain, Germany, France, and the Indies,—to subject the too plethoric body to phlebotomy,—to have fixed laws for well-defined offences."]

He then reverts to his old method of enumerating the faults of the

institution under various heads. A multitude of particulars are thus brought into discussion, bearing marks of a more or less assured authenticity. The most important of all is perhaps the last section, ["Of their Indian missions."] This is derived from the correspondences preserved in the papal archives, and is treated with great care, insomuch that each original is separately indicated. The acts of disobedience against the pope of which the Jesuits had been guilty in India are here adduced,—even so long before the times of Père Norbert.

This work is without doubt unfavourable to the Jesuits, but is at the same time extremely instructive. It unveils the defects of the institution with so shrewd a penetration that we obtain a much clearer insight into the nature of its internal economy than could otherwise have been possible. It cannot be described as directly hostile, since it acknowledges the good existing in the order. But we are enabled to perceive from this work the heavy storms that were gathering in the depths of men's minds against the Company of Jesus.

No. 151.

Relatione di Roma di Gio. Lando K^r^, inviato straordinario per la ser^ma^ rep^ca^ di Venetia ad Innocentio XI., et amb^r^ straord^rio^ ad Alessandro VIII. in occasione della canonizzatione di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani. [Report from Rome by Giovanni Lando, envoy extraordinary from the most serene republic of Venice to Innocent XI., and ambassador extraordinary to Alexander VIII., on occasion of the canonization of St. Lorenzo Giustiniani. 1691.] (17 leaves.)

It is to be regretted that we have no report in relation to the important government of Innocent XI. which is worthy of the name, or from which we might gather an impartial elucidation of the results produced by the efforts of that pontiff. The affairs of the republic were managed in the first years of Innocent's pontificate, 1678 to 1683, by Cardinal Ottobono, a Venetian, and afterwards Pope Alexander VIII., but who never returned to Venice, consequently never reported. To him succeeded Giovanni Lando, but without any proper official character. It is true that Lando, nevertheless, presented a final report, but not until after the conclave which followed the death of Alexander VIII. had already assembled; moreover, his report unluckily departs from the tone usually adopted by the Venetian ambassadors.

He begins by exalting the divine right of the papacy, and laments that its rule is not universal,—nay, the number of heretics was even greater than that of the Catholics. Have not even the accursed Quietists set up their machinations and workshops in Rome? At the Roman court they would not believe that they were themselves to blame for this, and yet that was the case. They would still shew far less regard to a man who laboured to benefit the church by profound learning, or by the example

of his holiness of life, than to the Canonists, who wrote in defence of the papal dignity. Yet their encroachments were directly producing the effect of causing the secular princes to set themselves in opposition to the Roman court.

After having first attempted to define the limits of the spiritual and temporal power, he at length slowly approaches the affairs of the world. Of the condition of the Ecclesiastical States he gives a deplorable account. ["Desolated of her children, ruined in her agriculture, overwhelmed by extortions, and destitute of industry."] He estimates the debts at 42,000,000. Alexander VIII. had lessened the expenditure by 200,000 scudi per annum, and had thereby restored the balance between the payments and receipts. In the Dataria the pope had, as it were, a vein of gold; but that money could by no means be kept in Rome; in small portions it came in, but was poured out in a full stream. Innocent XI. had certainly despatched 2,000,000 of scudi to Hungary in aid of the Turkish war. Of those 42,000,000 of debt, perhaps 15,000,000 had been used for the benefit of Christendom in general.

He considers still that Rome is nevertheless the common country of all; it yet formed the gathering-place of all nations, although each one came thither merely for his own interest. Of Germans and French but few were to be seen, because their promotion did not depend on the Roman court; and the Spaniards were only of the inferior classes. If each prince of Italy were also to possess the power of appointing to the ecclesiastical offices in his own dominions, the Roman court would soon fall into utter decay. But Italy, as a compensation, enjoyed all the patronage of the papacy. ["The whole court, all dignities, all employments, the whole ecclesiastical state, remains at the disposal of Italians."] And how much was involved in the maintenance of this, considering the insecurity of succession in all Italian houses, the safety of Italy was absolutely dependent on the union between Venice and Rome. He takes occasion to enlarge on the necessity for a good understanding between these two states. But he thinks that much might yet be conceded by Venice; the protection extended to turbulent friars, and certain jurisdictional pretensions, were taken very ill at Rome.

Now these are all very good and useful observations, as will be at once admitted,—they indicate rectitude of intention on the part of the speaker; but those who, like ourselves, are seeking for positive information respecting the administration, cannot be satisfied with them. Of the two popes with whom he served, Lando, upon the whole a singular writer, and one who, among all the figures of speech, likes none so well as the "anacoluthon," has told us only what follows. ["When I reflect on what I have heard affirmed without reserve against Innocent XI., who was accused of not giving audience, of harshness and cruelty, of being the inflexible enemy of princes, of delighting in controversy, of being irresolute and yet obstinate, of destroying bishoprics and ecclesiastical property generally: because he had suffered many years to pass without providing incumbents,*— when I reflect that this pontiff was charged with having

* The reader will find in the obscurity of manner pervading this passage, which obscurity has yet been partially removed in translation, a complete justification of the author's remark that Lando was addicted to the use of the figure anacoluthon. —Tr.

suppressed the monti, yet not relieved the state by any advantage resulting from that suppression, of having upheld the extortion, as they call it, of the corn-laws, of being too indulgent to the Quietists, and many other things; there was no one who did not exclaim against him, and the unthinking vulgar then thought that there was nothing commendable in that pontificate, although it was most remarkable for a constant alienation of the papal kindred, and an unspotted disinterestedness, having left untouched whatever was in the treasury, save only what was used for the wars against the infidels; and so they desired a pope who, if even a little too indulgent to his own family, would also be a little so to others, and who should be endowed with such virtues as they then believed the more necessary, because they supposed them to be wanting in their then pontiff. But afterwards, when I saw that Alexander VIII., having been once elected, was also maligned, and although he was all humanity, easy of access, gentle, compassionate, pliable, considerate towards princes, averse to intrigues and disputes, upright in business and contracts of all kinds, a benefactor to the state, which he relieved from imposts to the amount of 200,000 scudi, and from the vexation of the corn-laws; who fell like a thunderbolt on the Quietists, and silently put an end to that most troublesome affair of the right of asylum in the ambassadors' precincts; who also promoted the war against the Turks, and arranged important affairs of every kind during the very brief period of his pontificate: yet because he, on the other hand, did shew affection to his kindred; because he was more disposed to entrust important charges to them than to others; because he wished to provide for them with a certain liberality, though much less than had been exercised by many before him; and because in that respect he gave evidence of some human feeling and indulgence for his own kin, so he too was made the very mark of their malignant invectives, and so continued even to his death. But these invectives were equally unjust in the one case as the other."]

Finally, he refers to his own services, telling us how in the course of his official duties he had written more than 700 despatches.

Among all these, there may possibly be discovered the facts that we mainly seek here. They are to be found partly in Venice and partly in Rome.

No. 152.

Confessione di Papa Alessandro VIII. fatto al suo confessore il Padre Giuseppe, Gesuita, negli ultimi estremi della sua vita. [Confession of Pope Alexander VIII., made to his confessor, Father Giuseppe, a Jesuit, in the last moments of his life.] (MS. Rome, 21 leaves.)

It is seriously affirmed by G. B. Perini, a writer in the Vatican archives, that among other papers of the time of Alexander VIII. he found also the document now before us. He wrote this assertion on the 9th of April, 1796, when no one could have had any motive for slandering a pope who had already had so many successors. This little work is thus worthy of

our attention, notwithstanding its ominous title. And what is it that the pope herein confesses?

He begins by declaring that since the year 1669 he had never regularly confessed; but, assured of absolution by voices from heaven, he will now do so. And hereupon he confesses to such acts as the following:—He had made use of the permission, granted him at one time by Pope Clement, to sign papers in his stead, for making the most unwarrantable concessions; he had incited Innocent XI. to take the measures adopted by that pontiff against France, and yet had secretly conspired with the French against the pope. When himself exalted to the papacy, he had knowingly and deliberately promoted unsuitable and unworthy, nay, profligate men; had thought of nothing but enriching his kindred, and had moreover permitted justice and mercy to be sold even in the very palace, with much besides of the same character.

It soon becomes obvious that no confession of a pope is to be found here; that would be a totally different matter, would reveal particulars altogether unlike these. I believe it to be one of those satirical writings of which many appeared at that time. It may, perhaps, represent an opinion then prevalent respecting Alexander, but by no means the truth. It became mingled very probably among the documents of that period, and being then found in that position by some zealous official of the archives, was received as genuine. In the Venetian archives likewise I met with some papers that were manifestly not authentic.

No. 153.

Relatione di Domenico Contarini K. Roma, 1696, 5 *Luglio*. [Report by Dominico Contarini. Rome. 5th July, 1696.] (Venetian Archives, 18 leaves.)

Contarini had already been accredited to the French and imperial courts before he was despatched to that of Rome. He was originally sent to Alexander VIII., but this pontiff was even then so ill that he could not be presented to him. His report is consequently in relation to Innocent XII.

Antonio Pignatelli, born 1615, was descended from the ducal family of Montelione, in the kingdom of Naples, and was early admitted to the prelature. He became vice-legate of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, and governor of Perugia, a career which in itself was certainly not to be despised, but which offered little to satisfy ambition. There were times when Pignatelli was disposed to abandon the ecclesiastical profession altogether; but he finally succeeded in obtaining a nunciature, which he believed to present the most certain path to promotion. He was nuncio to Florence, administered the Polish nunciature during a period of eight years, and then proceeded to that of Germany, which was most commonly followed by the cardinal's hat. But whether, observes Contarini, from the influence of inauspicious stars, or from disinclination towards him in the then government of Clement IX., instead of being rewarded, he was recalled and despatched as bishop to Lezze, on the extreme boundaries of Naples.

Under these circumstances, he was compelled to exert the whole force of his mind, and the most manly firmness; all the court was, in fact, astonished at the moderation and resigned spirit of which he gave proof. With a supernatural serenity he even returned thanks for that appointment, "because he should now no longer have to endure the heavy burthen of the nunciature." Contarini understands that it was Clement IX. by whom Pignatelli was banished to that bishopric, and that he was recalled by Clement X.; but we are told by the Roman authors that both events took place under Clement X. Be that as it may, and whether Cardinal Altieri desired to atone for injustice committed by himself or by another, he gave Pignatelli the post of "maestro di Camera" to his uncle. Innocent XII. found him in his office, and confirmed his appointment.

But his fortunes now took a sudden spring. He was made cardinal in the year 1681, immediately afterwards bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna and archbishop of Naples. He was thought of in the conclave after the death of Innocent XI.; and after that of Alexander VIII., even the French, a thing that no one had expected, declared in his favour, and voted for him,—a Neapolitan. The cause of this was that they required a mild and peaceable man. He was therefore elected, although not until after a tedious conclave of five months, by which all the cardinals were wearied out.

Innocent XII. also confirmed the secretary of briefs, Panciatichi, whom he found in office, as also the datary Albano, although both were indebted for their fortune to his predecessor. The nomination of Spada to be secretary of state was received with universal approbation. This took place by the advice of Altieri. The nephews of Alexander VIII. alone were refused confirmation in their offices: the new pontiff adhered entirely to the example of Innocent XI. ["He laboured to imitate Pope Innocent XI., by whom he had been promoted to the cardinalate, and whose name he had assumed, seeking to make the practice of that government serve as the model of his own, but departing from the austerity and harshness which had failed to meet approval in the rule of Innocent XI."] We perceive that he endeavoured to surpass his model by adding clemency to the good qualities he desired to imitate. He gave audience most readily, and owed much of his reputation to the facility of access afforded to the poor by his public audiences; and although these did not, as the applicants had hoped, insure the speedy termination of their difficulties, they yet served to restrain the violent proceedings of the superior classes. ["All confessed that this public audience was a powerful check on the ministers and judges; for the means of approaching the ear of the prince were thus afforded to all, and made it easy to disclose to him things which had previously been concealed from the pontiffs, either by the authority or the craft of those who surrounded them."]

An unfortunate accident suspended the efforts of Innocent XII. for a certain time, but he soon resumed the activity of his habits.

The French affair was arranged, the most important reforms were commenced. The bull respecting nepotism appeared, and in this it was enacted that the benefices and church revenues, henceforth to be conferred on a kinsman of the pope, could never exceed 12,000 scudi per annum. Innocent XII. also abolished the sale of appointments so important as

were those of the clerks of the chamber, ("chierici di camera"), and paid back the price advanced for them,—1,016,070 scudi. "He thus deprived gold of its power, and made it once more possible for virtue to attain to the highest places." Many other reforms were already looked for. ["The pope," says Contarini, "has nothing in his thoughts but God, the poor, and the reform of abuses. He lives in the most abstemious retirement, devoting every hour to his duties, without consideration for his health. He is most blameless in his habits, and most conscientious; he is also extremely disinterested, nor does he seek to enrich his kindred; he is full of love to the poor, and is endowed with all the great qualities that could be desired for a head of the church. Could he only act for himself on all occasions,—he would be one of the first of popes."]

But these modes of proceeding were not agreeable to all. Contarini laments that Innocent had no nephews, who might have felt a personal interest in the glory of their uncle—a circumstance which left too much power in the hands of the ministers. ["Those great and resplendent virtues were seen to be obscured by the craft of the ministers, who were but too well practised in the arts of the court."] They are accused of having taken measures for giving a different direction to the zeal of Innocent XII. by turning his attention exclusively on the support and relief of the poor. The hospital of the Lateran was proposed. This soon engrossed all the thoughts of the pope. "Questo chiodo fermò l'ardente volontà del papa di riformare." ["That nail effectually barred the pope's eager progress in reform."]

The author is persuaded that this pontiff had saved and laid by nearly two millions of scudi. He is deeply impressed by the purity of his intentions, and calls him a man of the most irreproachable—nay, the most faultless character.

No. 154.

Relazione di Roma di Nicolò Erizzo K^r, 1702, 29 *Ottobre*. [Report from Rome by Nicolo Erizzo, 1702, 29 Oct.] (40 leaves.)

N. Erizzo had already accompanied Piero Mocenigo on his embassy to Clement X.: he was now himself ambassador. He arrived in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XII., and remained there through the earlier years of Clement II. The fact that he was so long acquainted with Rome gives increased value to his report.

He first treats of preceding popes, and after a few general observations comes to Innocent XI.: ["that holy man, who did not certainly possess distinguished merit in learning and science, but who possessed, in compensation, great knowledge of financial economy, and not only succeeded in restoring the balance between the revenues and the expenditure, but also found means to supply most liberal aid to the emperor and the Poles in their conflicts with the Osmanli."] Neither could Alexander VIII. be charged with giving the money of the treasury to his nephews, but he

suffered immense losses by the failure of the house of Nerli, and many persons attributed his death to that misfortune. Innocent XII. closed the abyss of nepotism; and although he did so much for the poor, lightened the public burthens, erected buildings for the court, and completed the construction of harbours, he yet left a considerable amount in the treasury. But he lived too long for the college of cardinals, whom he, on his side, did not esteem very highly. The cardinals considered him to sacrifice the interests of the Papal See, by too conciliatory a deportment towards the sovereign courts.

At length he died, 27th of September, 1700, and the cardinals threw themselves eagerly into the negotiations of the conclave. Their intention was to elect a pope who should indemnify them for the injuries that they fancied the see to have sustained. They turned their eyes, therefore, on Cardinal Marescotti, a man "of a stout heart, worthy to be a ruler, unbending in his purposes, and of immutable resolution." Erizzo calls him a great man. He was supported by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. But a great display of zeal is frequently dangerous in the papal elections, and was fatal to Marescotti. The French, who feared to find in him a declared enemy, succeeded in excluding him. Many other candidates were then proposed, but objections were made to all; one was too violent, another too mild, a third had too many nephews; the friends of the Jesuits opposed Cardinal Noris, because he had touched them too closely in his History of Pelagianism. The "zelanti," who were first so called on this occasion, would have willingly elected Colloredo, but the rest considered him too austere. At length, on receiving intelligence of the death of Charles II., ["the cardinals," says Erizzo, "were manifestly touched by the hand of God, so that they at once cast off the influence of their passions, abandoned the hopes with which each had been flattering himself, and cast their eyes on Cardinal Albani, with that internal conviction which is the clearest evidence of a divine impulse."] Cardinal Albani refused the honour, and Erizzo believes the opposition he made to have been sincere, and meant in earnest. He seemed to yield at length, more from certain scruples, and to escape from their entreaty, than of his own free will.

Erizzo then proceeds to relate the origin and describe the personal qualities of the pontiff-elect.

Albani drew his origin from Urbino. When the old Francesco Maria of Urbino resolved to resign his duchy to Urban VIII., even before his death, he despatched a member of the Albani family, and one who had recommended that determination, to make the pope acquainted with his purpose. Twice was the emissary sent forth. On the first occasion Francesco repented, and recalled his ambassador. Erizzo affirms that he altered his mind the second time also, and issued a countermand; but Albani did not return in consequence on that occasion, he proceeded, on the contrary, and delivered the act of abdication to Urban VIII. without delay. As a reward for this, he was nominated senator of Rome; his son became "maestro di camera" to Cardinal Barberini; and the son of this "maestro di camera" was Giovanni Francesco Albani, the pope whose election we have just described.

Giovan-Francesco Albani devoted himself to literature and to the ecclesiastical career. He was so fortunate as to have early personal inter-

course with the pontiffs of the period. "Under Innocent XI.," says Erizzo, "he learned to deliberate before resolving, more carefully than he was by nature inclined to do, and to persevere in what he had once determined on. Under Alexander, he adopted freer and bolder forms of negotiation; he was remarked as at once cautious and determined, prompt and circumspect, in outward appearance, also, well disposed to every one. These acquirements he then practised under Innocent XII. That suspicious old man could not endure either his datary or his secretary of state; Albani alone had access to him, and found means to become indispensable both to the pope and the court."

Clement's first step after his election, was to inform the ambassadors that he proposed to abolish many innovations which had been suffered to glide in by his predecessors. He summoned the "governatore" to his coronation, a call that was very unwelcome, on account of the disputes existing with respect to precedency; he revoked all privileges of asylum; the ambassadors declaring that he did so only to produce an impression on the court.

The appointments which he next proceeded to make did not appear to Erizzo particularly fortunate. Clement XI. surrounded himself with men of weak capacity exclusively. ["The boldness of these ordinances being happily followed by success, and by the respect of the royal representatives, his holiness did not think he had need of very distinguished ministers in the palace; whence he chose Cardinal Paulucci, who had very little experience, for his secretary of state, and appointed Cardinal Sacripante datary—a man of indefatigable diligence in that office, but only remarkable as a good follower of rules. Next he conferred on his kinsman, Monsignor Olivieri, the secretariat of briefs, which had been formerly conducted admirably under his own direction. In the offices nearest to his person, he placed his old friends and relations, as Monsignor Paracciani, a good lawyer; Monsignor Origo, whom he made secretary of Latin letters; and Maffei, whom he appointed confidential cupbearer;—all people of very little account, belonging to Urbino, or the neighbouring townships, and who, having seen no place but Rome, had by consequence very little knowledge of princes, and still less acquaintance with the affairs of the world in general. He does not wish to have cardinals of great ability about him, nor ministers who would be dependent on such cardinals; preferring his own authority and quiet to those counsels which he is secured from having offered to him by the persons aforesaid, they having no practice in public affairs, and being besides at variance and jealous among themselves. Still less will he suffer his brother Don Orazio to share his counsels; this last is father of three sons of high promise, and is a man of singular modesty and integrity; but the pontiff has left him to his straitened fortunes, that he may display his own observance of the bull against nepotism, to which his holiness made attestation on the day of his enthronement, with evidence of proposing entirely to avoid the scandal of that practice, which will, nevertheless, as many believe, *be always forbidden, but always retained* (semper vetabitur et retinebitur semper)."]

The most formidable difficulties immediately presented themselves. The contentions respecting the Spanish succession soon became extremely dangerous to the court of Rome. Clement XI. at first conducted him-

self with extraordinary weakness and vacillation. The ambassador believes his whole proceedings to have resulted from excess of cunning; he considers that when Clement proposed an Italian league to the Venetians, he did so only to the end that he might ascertain the opinions and intentions of Venice.

From these observations of politics and affairs in general, Erizzo proceeds to those of the church, more particularly to the disputes which were continually arising between Rome and Venice. Rome, he remarks, has a twofold character: the one sacred, in so far as the pope is the guardian of the sanctuary and of the divine law; this must be revered: the other secular, in so far as the pontiff seeks to extend his power, which has nothing in common with the practice and usage of the early centuries; against this, men should be on their guard. Erizzo is unable to control his displeasure that Venice should have been passed over on occasion of a promotion of cardinals during the last pontificate: he laments that the republic no longer possessed the power of nominating to its own bishoprics as it formerly did,—for how many poor nobles could she not in such case assist; but now Venetian subjects sought advancement by indirect paths, and had recourse to the intervention of foreign princes. Cardinal Panciatichi had introduced into the dataria the maxim that those persons who were most independent of the sovereigns in whose dominions the diocese was situated, were precisely the persons who ought to be favoured and promoted. The ambassador further declares it an abuse that the papal nephews should have so large an interest in the ecclesiastical property of his native land; and wherefore, too, should the rank of Venetian *nobili* be so readily conferred on them? Other states, even the grand duchy of Tuscany, had a list of the nuncios sent them, and could make choice of such as they preferred, while no such honour was enjoyed by the republic: again, the title of *Carissimo* was refused by Rome to the doge of Venice. We perceive that in addition to the old causes of contention, new subjects of dispute were continually added.

The ambassador therefore recommends his republic to give more earnest attention to Roman affairs. If a pope could no more afford so effectual an assistance as formerly, it was still in his power to do considerable injury, more especially if he were young, energetic, and economical.

No. 155

Relatione del N. U. Gio. Franc. Morosini K^r fu ambasciatore al sommo pontefice Clemente XI. 1707, 17 *Dec.* [Report of Giovanni Francesco Morosini, ambassador to the supreme pontiff Clement XI. 1707, 17 Dec.] (36 leaves.)

Morosini, the successor of Erizzo, resided at the court of Clement XI., from Jan. 1702 to Nov. 1706; during his embassy the government of that pontiff first displayed its peculiar character in the utmost extent of its development.

Morosini describes minutely the zealous manner in which the pontiff imitated his most distinguished predecessors. Even the tears with which he refused the supreme dignity were not without precedent; he performed all those external observances by which a man is supposed to give a good example. ["Of a sober and well-regulated life, he is frequent in public devotions at the Scala Santa, in visits to churches, and in the service of hospitals; he is accurate to edification in all sacred rites, and in the most solemn or most humble duties, which he fulfils even to the injury of his health. As regards self-interest also, he is equally blameless, having first advised, and afterwards acted on the bull against nepotism. He confers gratuities on the poorer bishops with the utmost readiness, sustaining many pious labourers, and promoting many pious works from his own resources. In the selection of bishops, a matter of essential importance to the church, he proceeds with all due deliberation, seeking information from the most authentic sources, and admitting but very sparingly the influence of favour. He sometimes examines the candidate himself, after the manner of the ancient popes. With respect to other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices also, he proceeds so carefully and deliberately to their distribution, that even from his own relations he exacts attention to the propriety of proving themselves possessed of the requisite learning, and of commendable habits."]

Jurisdictional matters were treated by Clement XI. in the same spirit; that is to say, with all the zeal which his office demanded. In some places, and on certain points, he even gained ground. The new king of Spain, for example, found himself moved to beg his permission for compelling ecclesiastics to appear before the secular tribunals and for the levying of tithes. The king of Poland presented certain members of the high clergy before the judgment-seat of the pontiff. The viceroy of Naples, after long resistance, submitted to the papal commands at the critical moment when the Germans were advancing upon Lower Italy—"un trionfo che sarà registrato nelli annali della chiesa" [a triumph which will be registered in the annals of the church.] Savoy and Lorraine were then attacked with all the more vigour. The pope well understood the art of seizing the most favourable moment—"studiosissimo d' ingrandire con i motivi di pietà la potenza" [being most careful to assign motives of piety for the increase of his power.] Morosini considers the whole court to be inspired by a similar spirit. They would not hear of any distinction between church and state. The church was every thing. Every congregation styled itself "sacred." Whatever might be the subject of its deliberations, no difference was admitted between pastors of the church and prelates of the court, since the former also were frequently excused from the duties of their office, and employed in the affairs of the state. Piety, moreover, was used as a sort of coin, indispensable to the advancement of such as sought promotion. Four of the congregations are specified as particularly worthy of attention:—1st. The Inquisition, which deserved a zealous support as the guardian of purity in doctrine; but it was an extraordinary circumstance, that the worst of all heresy was to be met with in Rome (he here alludes to Quietism); 2nd. The Propaganda; but unhappily few were to be found who would devote themselves with true earnestness of purpose to the affairs of the missions; 3rd. The Congregation for Bishops and Monastic Clergy, which exercised a much-required supervision,

more particularly over the latter; and, lastly, the Congregation of Immunities, which was posted like a sentinel to watch the boundaries of the spiritual and temporal authority. Could all things have been arranged in accordance with the desires of this body, the power of the temporal sovereign would soon have been annihilated.

Morosini now proceeds to the condition of the papal states. He repeats the complaints that had for some time been so frequent of a decline in population and the decay of agriculture. The pope would gladly have introduced improvements, as, for example, the cultivation of the Campagna; but the end of all was merely a forming of splendid projects. The ambassador remarks that the spiritual dignity of the pontiff increased his temporal power. He considers the power of the Roman senate to be a mere mockery of such a name. The barons he describes as placed on a level with the lowest of the people, in respect of punishments; the pope kept them under rigorous supervision,—knowing that their position rendered them liable to be tempted to acts of violence. At length Morosini alludes to the political relations of Rome; the most important passage, which treats of the position of the pope in reference to France and the emperor,—on which all was once more at that time depending, must be given word for word. ["Whether the pope had had either hand or part in the testament of Charles II., I will not venture to decide. Nor is it easy to ascertain the truth with certainty; but two facts I will mention, and only two. The one is, that this secret was made public—with what truth is not known—in a manifesto which was issued by the printing-office of Rome in the first months of my entry on the embassy, and at the time when war was waged on both sides with arms as well as letters. The other is, that the pope did not refrain from uttering public eulogies on the most Christian king for that he had refused his sanction to the partition, receiving the monarchy entire for his kinsman. Reflecting on these premises, there can be no cause for astonishment at the consequences seen to have resulted from plans so unsettled and discordant among themselves, for it is not possible that uniformity of action can ever spring from diversity of principles; yet such was manifestly the pope's obligation to evince that impartiality proper to the common father, on the one hand, and his secret inclination and engagement, entered into without sufficiently mature deliberation, as to the advantages and merits of the case, on the other. His holiness piously considered the dignity and profit that would result to religion from the exclusion of heretics from all they had usurped. He entertained a hope—suggested by his partiality to the French—that there would be no war, or that it would be waged in vain against the forces of that unconquered nation; and since it seemed probable that the monarchy would be maintained entire, he did not imagine that his anticipations would be proved erroneous, having miscalculated the Spanish subtlety, which in this case was moved by necessity rather than policy. The result made manifest those other considerations which ought to have presented themselves earlier. Then there gathered and burst that fierce tempest, raised by jealousy, envy, and interest, in the confederate powers, and urging them to combat the suspected machinations of France for universal monarchy. This still rages, and is fatal alike to friends and foes. The French long succeeded in maintaining their reputation of being invincible with the pope, who, full of

confidence in them, and implicitly following their counsels, was lauded by the unthinking for proceedings which threw those of others into shade; for whereas the most serene republic in particular, observing a sincere neutrality, endured losses in the substance of its people, injuries to its dignity, and the resentment of both parties; he, on the contrary—by professing neutrality, while he threatened at the same time to break it instantly against either party that should offend him, and yet maintained a secret understanding with the French in the meanwhile—was courted by the latter, and found himself defended at no cost, and treated with respect by the Imperialists that they might not provoke him to abandon even the pretence of neutrality. His states, too, for a time, enjoyed immunity: he saw his censures respected in the midst of arms, while heretic fleets appeared in his seas without committing the slightest offence against his coasts. But the reverses sustained by France, more especially in Italy, have caused all to discern whether the eulogies aforesaid were due either to his conduct or fortune, and whether those upright and judicious suggestions repeatedly made to him by your excellencies through the medium of your ambassadors, to the effect that he should maintain a real impartiality as father of all, that so he might be a revered arbiter, to his own benefit, and that of all Christendom,—increasing his troops meanwhile under good officers, the better to sustain respect against the intemperance of others, should have been rejected as counsels proved unsound, even by the experience of those who proffered them. The fruit of having preferred oblique practices and devices of economy,—the worst counsellor in politics, was the suffering since, and now, of such evils as are known to all,—but what is more, of not suffering without added reproach from the tribunal of fame, which is the sovereign, even of princes. He despatched—as he adduces in his defence—extraordinary nuncios for the arrangement of universal peace, without regard to the expense; and in despite of that insulting exclusion encountered at Vienna, he proposed alliances, agreements, truces, for the particular quiet of this province, but he did this only when the time had passed for doing it effectually; and after the proofs he had given of partiality in the beginning and during the progress of events had introduced a canker-worm among the best seeds; thus, having once rendered himself suspected, his zeal was despoiled of its authority, and the principal instrument of peace was thereby reduced to impotence. It will in fact be very difficult for his holiness to clear himself from this imputation, or from that of having contributed to induce all the princes of Italy to act in accordance with his views, and in favour of whomsoever he favoured; for not only was the conduct of his feudatory Parma most notorious, but that of the house of Florence also; he was indeed restrained solely by the unvarying prudence of the most serene Republic, which at the same time gave a lesson to others; but in return for this, Venice incurred the unmerited animosity of the French, which was discharged upon her by his holiness."]

No. 156.

Lorenzo Tiepolo K^r Proc^r Relatione di Roma, 1712. [Report from Rome by Lorenzo Tiepolo, 1712.] (40 leaves.)

The contests existing between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions attracted increased attention every year. Tiepolo treats at once of this matter.

But he does so with unusual earnestness. The question, he says, has been designedly complicated; to disentangle these perplexities, to give the temporal sovereigns their own, and yet not to violate the reverence due to the papal see, a man would need a double measure of the grace of God.

He first describes anew the personal qualities of Clement XI.; he too expressing admiration of his zeal, learning, affability, and moderation. Yet he thinks it was possible that all these endowments were not directed towards their only true aim,—the advancement of virtue, but were warped by considerations merely human, and might therefore not secure the blessing of God. It might be that the zeal with which he devoted himself to his administrative duties was accompanied by too high an opinion of his own merits, and was excited less by the thing itself than by the applause and dignity to be derived from it. Praise could effect every thing with him. His physician, for example, took advantage of this weakness to maintain his influence over him; it was by flattery that he was incited to uphold the honour of the Holy See. Thence it happened that he paid so little regard to the rights of temporal sovereigns and states; those of his immediate circle even ventured to speak of temporal powers in terms of so much offence, that they were neither suited to the high place of the pope, nor yet, perhaps, compatible with Christian charity.

Tiepolo proceeds from the pontiff to his ministers; whom he, like his predecessors, considers to be but little remarkable; men fit only for the occupation of subordinate offices, and not competent to conduct affairs of state. 1. Cardinal Albani. The pope had waited until after his mission to Germany before conferring on him the cardinal's hat. The court approved this nomination, hoping to find in him a means for making interest with the pope, and a channel to the ear of his holiness; but Clement XI. permitted him to exercise little or no influence. ["It is certain that the authority of the cardinal-nephew does not make itself manifest to the degree that has been customary at that court."] 2. The secretary of state. Cardinal Paulucci, a thoroughly good-hearted man, but one of no great ability, and depending on the pope with a sort of terror. 3. Corradini, the pope's auditor. ["Learned in the law, but not equally well-informed respecting the interests of princes; holding firmly to his engagements, but amenable to reason."] The only person to whom a man might safely commit himself: it was very advantageous to bring matters before him with respect to which one was decidedly in the right, but much less so if that were doubtful. Corradini was not on good terms with the nephew; it was even believed that the latter had promoted his elevation to the cardinalate for the purpose of removing him from the vicinity of the pope. 4. Orighi, secretary of the Consulta, a rival of Corradini, and on that

account attaching himself closely to the cardinal-nephew. [" He seems to have advanced his fortunes by address and adulation, rather than by firmness and sincerity."] 5. Cardinal Sagripante, the datary, had become rich by the exercise of a rigid frugality only; was strict in the discharge of his duties, and took no part in politics. The Dataria was daily finding its income decrease; the fraudulent rapacity of that office was no longer tolerated even in Spain. Thus it followed, that those cardinals who had not learned to manage their property could no longer maintain their former splendour. [" It may be said to be entirely characteristic of such abbacies as belong to cardinals, that their houses are left to decay and their churches in ruins."] When another papal election took place, the cardinals created by Clement XI. would scarcely attach themselves very closely to Cardinal Albani, because he possessed so little influence.

And now Tiepolo proceeds to a description of political relations. His views, as we have said, are of a politico-ecclesiastical character; he discusses the dissensions between the Roman court and the temporal princes. The pope was said to have an equal love for all; but it would be more to the purpose to say that he had an equal indifference, and equally slight esteem for all.

[" It is perfectly true, that if few popes have gone so far in assuming a display of superiority over the temporal powers, so we are compelled to say that few pontiffs have had so much ill-fortune as the present pope, in not being able to escape from engagements voluntarily made with princes, without a certain loss of honour. If he have any secret inclination, it is towards France, although that court is continually complaining of his partiality towards the house of Austria; and in many cases the event has certainly justified its lamentations; but these were occasioned solely by fear. With respect to that, the court of Vienna, whether by chance, or guided by its knowledge of the pontiff, made the profitable choice of adopting menaces and fears."]

These general remarks conduct him eventually to further detail respecting individual states until he comes to Venice, on the affairs of which, now no longer of extensive interest to the world, he dwells at the greatest length.

No. 157.

Relatione di Andrea Corner K^r ritornato dall' amb^ria di Roma, 1724, 25 *Luglio*. [Report presented by Andrea Corner on returning from his embassy to Rome, 25 July, 1724.] (24 leaves.)

So vivid were the antipathies excited by Clement XI., in despite of the best intentions and the most blameless conduct. But in the report before us, wherein he again appears, but after his death, we find that opinions had then at least materially altered. Then every one admired him; even those who had but just before been reviling him, now joined in the applause. It was now discovered that if he had sometimes promised more than he could perform, this had really proceeded from kindness of intention

which none would previously admit. It came to light that he had distributed the most liberal alms from his own private revenues, the amount of these being not less than a million of scudi for the twenty years of his reign; a sum which he might, with a clear conscience, have conferred upon his own family. Corner relates that Clement XI. had entreated pardon of his nephew, Cardinal Hannibal, a short time before his death, for that he had left the house of Albani so poorly provided. ["It will be thought that the pontificate of Clement was but ephemeral, although it was one of the longest."]

The change that had been expected in the conclave took place. The whole college had been renewed, with few exceptions, under Clement XI.; but, since Cardinal Albani had taken as little part in those nominations as in the administration generally, the cardinals divided according to their respective nations. Paulucci, who had been secretary of state, as we have seen, to the previous pope, was at first proposed; but the imperial ambassador, Count Althan, declared that his master would never acknowledge Paulucci as pope: this he submitted for the consideration of their eminences. Certain friends of the house of Albani had already directed their attention towards Michael Angelo Conti; and one of this party, Monsignor Riviera, was secretary to the conclave. He first spoke of the matter with Cardinal Spinola, who, after having tried the ground, and ascertained that Conti was not disliked, willingly placed himself at the head of the party, and proposed him. Count Althan made inquiries of his court without delay, and the interests of Conti were promoted by the circumstance of his having been nuncio in Portugal, where he had won the favour of the queen, Anna Maria of Austria, sister of Charles VI. The Austrian court declared for Conti, and his adherents found that they might rely on the whole Austrian connection, more especially on Portugal and Poland. The Spanish ambassador also made inquiries of his court, and the answer was not favourable, but it arrived too late; Innocent XIII. had meanwhile been already elected (May 8, 1721).

The new pontiff possessed admirable qualifications for the spiritual as well as temporal government, but his health was extremely delicate, which caused him to be very sparing in granting audiences. As a compensation, however, one audience was found to serve in place of many, and the fact of having received one, conferred a certain importance on the recipient. Innocent XIII. apprehended the question proposed with extreme readiness, and gave apposite and decisive replies. The ambassador of Malta, says Corner, will long remember how the pontiff, after a somewhat impetuous entreaty for assistance, gave him his blessing on the spot, and rang the bell for his departure. When the Portuguese ambassador required the promotion of the above-mentioned Bicchi to the dignity of the cardinalate, Innocent at length refused to listen to him any longer, ["not finding any merit in the prelate, and being wholly uninfluenced by the many causes of consideration which he might have had for a crown of which he had been the protector."]

The Roman families connected with Innocent XIII., and who had hoped to be promoted by him, found themselves completely deceived; even his nephew could not obtain without difficulty the enjoyment of those 12,000 ducats annually, which had now become the usual income of a nephew.

The principal endeavours of the pope were directed towards the

settlement of the disputes in relation to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but in this he was by no means universally successful. With the imperial court alone a better understanding was effected, as it might have been expected that there would be, from the mode of the pontiff's election.

No. 158.

Relatione del N. H. Pietro Capello K^r ritornato d'ambasciator di Roma, 1728, 6 *Marzo*. [Report presented by Pietro Capello on returning from his embassy to Rome, 6 March, 1728.] (14 leaves.)

On the 7th of March, 1724, and after a reign of little more than thirty-four months, Innocent XIII. died.

Capello, who had been accredited under Innocent, agrees with his predecessor in his description of that pontiff. He considers him disposed to peace, possessed of sound judgment, deliberate and steadfast of purpose. He confirms the report, that the nomination of Dubois to the cardinalate, to which he had permitted himself to be persuaded from considerations of the power and influence wielded by this man, occasioned the pontiff to be disturbed by very painful scruples in his last moments. ["His death did truly present a subject for deep moral reflection. Assailed by scruples of conscience, a worm that faileth not to gnaw the mind even of a pope, he could not be prevailed on to complete the nomination of four persons for the vacant hats, which were of that number; and, so far as could be ascertained, he was believed to refuse his assent to the consummation of such election by reason of his repentance, for having previously decided a choice in a manner calculated to trouble his delicate conscience. So unusual an event produced fatal consequences to his house, since there was no party disposed to adhere to it after his death; but there was, nevertheless, most palpable reason for judging well of his character, for by his excellent sentiments, he had displayed a spirit equally noble and resigned."]

He was followed by Benedict XIII., who was chosen on the 29th of May, 1724. Capello found him very different from his predecessor,—particularly determined and vehement respecting all ecclesiastical affairs. In the College of Cardinals, Capello remarked but few distinguished men; no powerful faction, and no prospect of any such being formed under Benedict XIII., the rivalry already subsisting between Coscia and Fini not permitting things to go so far. There was a faction of the temporal crowns, but it had no fixed character. A great impression had been produced on the court by the fact that the duke of Savoy had, at length, attained his purposes Capello concludes, from his having done so, that in Rome every thing might be brought about with the help of time; nothing was required but tranquillity; the zeal of the applicant must never be suffered to break forth in complaints.

Capello then goes more minutely into such interests as were peculiarly Venetian. He first repeats the assurance that Venice must assume

a position of more dignity and importance in Rome. He again suggests the mode of conduct proper to be adopted towards the pope,—he should be continually conciliated by spiritual concessions, and imperceptibly brought to form an inclination for Venice. He next treats more in detail of political affairs, more especially those connected with trade. It is obvious that in the beginning of the eighteenth century the Roman state was devoting its attention very earnestly to commercial and manufacturing improvements.

The people of Dulcignote and Ragusa carried on a trade with Ancona, which was not beheld with favour by the Venetians. They were particularly active in the importation of wax, which had formerly been supplied by Venice, and which was now beginning to be prepared in the papal states.

Innocent XII. had begun to build the town of St. Michael a Ripa, which had been enlarged by Clement XI.; at the time when Capello wrote, it had risen into importance by means of its wool and silk manufactures. ["From the buildings of an hospital, wherein many young people were fed by charity, it was converted, by the extension of its site and the addition of numerous workshops, into a house of commerce, wherein there are now manufactories of wool and silk."] The cloths of St. Michael already competed with those of France, and were exported through Ancona to Turkey and Spain. I will give the whole passage respecting this as it stands in Capello. ["Into this sumptuous edifice they have introduced the manufacture of hangings, which they have carried to a degree of perfection equalling that of France or Flanders: they have also established a woollen-factory, into which the wool enters untouched, but issues thence in cloth completed in the most perfect manner. The manufacture of silk in connection with this place is carried on in many districts of the Roman territories, and that of wool is divided into various kinds, adapted to the usage of the country, that so there may be realized a ready sale and quick return of profit. All kinds of cloth for the soldiery are manufactured at St. Michael's, as are also the stuffs for the dress of monastic bodies, and different sorts of cloth for the crews of the galleys. These fabrics are divided into various classes, which are distributed in given quantities, the merchants being under obligation to dispose of all. Of late there has also been a commencement of manufacturing coloured cloths in the French manner, which are sent to Ancona and Sinigaglia to be exchanged for the commodities brought from Turkey. In short, the institution of St. Michael is one of the grandest conceptions that could have been carried into effect by a great prince, and would certainly be the emporium of all Italy, if it were not established in a city where people concern themselves with any thing rather than trade and commerce; these great capitals being governed by a congregation of three cardinals, among whom is the secretary of state, whose attention is always occupied and diverted by the most important affairs of the state. But in despite of all this, the establishment is in a prosperous condition, and feeds thousands of labourers, its manufactures realizing a prompt return. The making of tapestry is carried on apart, because it is established for the profit of private individuals; and the great result of all these works is that most desirable one for a state, namely, that money is not sent forth to fatten foreign nations."]

How extraordinary a thing it is that a Venetian should recommend his native city to take a manufacturing establishment of the popes as its model! Institutions had also been founded for intellectual culture, and these also he proposes as examples for their imitation. ["In addition to the mechanical, there are also the liberal arts, which serve for the adornment and advantage of the state. The mere name of Rome, and the fame of its ancient monuments, attract many foreign nations to its halls, more especially those beyond the Alps. Many academies have been established in the city (wherein the study of painting and sculpture flourishes no less than that of polite literature), besides that of the Capitol, which subsists under the protection of a remnant, which is still to be found, of that authority exercised with so much renown in past ages by that illustrious republic. There are moreover other institutes founded and governed by foreign nations; and among these, that bearing the name of the crown of France is greatly distinguished."]

It is the author's opinion that a similar academy should be established in Venice, for there also were assembled some of the finest monuments of antiquity. "Even Bologna has been able to undertake something of the kind with great success."

Moreover, there were other tendencies of a similar character associated with those pointed out by Correr, and respecting which we obtain information from other documents.

No. 159.

Osservationi della presente situatione dello stato ecclesiastico con alcuni progetti utili al governo civile ed economico per ristabilire l'erario della rev^da^ camera apostolica dalli passati e correnti suoi discapiti. [Observations on the present condition of the Ecclesiastical States, with certain projects, useful towards enabling the civil and financial government to repair the deficiencies of the most reverend apostolic treasury, both past and present.] (MS. Rome.)

In the beginning of the eighteenth century a conviction had become prevalent through the whole south of Europe, that the nations were in a deplorable condition, and that the interests of mankind had been neglected in a manner wholly unjustifiable: both the necessity and the desire to bring about a better state of things was universally felt. How much was written and attempted in Spain for the restoration of commerce and the finances! In the States of the Church, the "Testamento politico d'un academico Fiorentino," Colonia, 1734, which shews the means whereby commerce, agriculture, and the revenues of the state might be improved, is still in good esteem. And it is in fact a well-intentioned, clever work, going deeply into its subject, and full of sound observations. Nor were these aspirations for the amelioration of the general lot confined to private persons; in the collections of those times we find a multitude of projects, calculations, and plans for the same purpose, and

of a character more or less official. The "Observations" before us are an essay of this kind; they were intended for Clement XII. himself, and are of the same period as the "Political Testament." The author is particularly anxious to specify those disorders and abuses which most urgently demanded reform.

After dwelling for a time on the melancholy spectacle of so many assassinations continually occurring in the States of the Church, computed at a thousand yearly, even exclusive of Rome and the four legations,—the author being of opinion that the measures taken by other powers for the prevention of such crime should be inquired into,—he then comes to the finances. He estimates the yearly deficit at 120,000 scudi, and makes the proposals that follow:—1. The dismissal of officers who received large pay without even residing in their garrisons. 2. Reduction of the expenditure in the palace. 3. Administration of the dogana by the state itself, instead of farming it out; which last he condemns on the further ground that the farmers opposed all prohibitions of foreign manufacture. 4. Restriction of the influence exercised by subordinate officials, who derived an advantage from the increase of taxes. He remarks that the annona could not maintain itself, because there was so large an importation both from Turkey and the north, that the corndealer could not make head against the competition. He is above all amazed and shocked to see so much money sent out of the country for cattle, oil, and wine, all which were possessed in superfluity at home. "What could it signify if people did pay a little more for these articles, when by this means the money, 'that life-blood of the state,' was circulating where it ought?" The holders of the monti, who drew their interests from the country without residing in it, should at least be taxed, as was done in the case of absentee feudatories in the neighbouring kingdom of Naples.

Capello regards the state of the March, where the number of inhabitants diminished yearly, as particularly deplorable. He attributes this deteriorated condition of Ancona principally to the heavy restrictions imposed on the exportation of corn. This was absolutely prohibited between the months of June and October, and permitted during the rest of the year only after payment of certain dues, the produce of which was but of trifling importance to the treasury, while their effect on the market was that they caused the foreign customer to seek cheaper corn elsewhere. The fair of Sinigaglia proved injurious, because it rendered the districts surrounding dependent on foreign supplies. To be convinced of this, one need only pass through Urbino, the March, and Umbria, where neither arts nor prosperity were any longer to be found, but all was in a state of profound decay.

The author conjures the pope to appoint a congregation, for the purpose of seeking escape from these evils; he recommends that the members should be few, but carefully chosen; and above all, that able and upright officials should be retained, while all others should be punished. "These," he concludes, "are the hopes cherished by the subjects of your holiness."

No. 160.

Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico. [Precautionary and remedial measures for the Papal States.] (MS. Rome. Autograph for the officers of state.)

We have here a further proof that in these dominions also there were plans formed for the introduction of the mercantile system, which was at that time so greatly approved in Europe; and if these had been vigorously acted on, a certain impulse might perhaps have been imparted to the commerce of the country. But the misfortune of the Roman administration was, that each succeeding pontiff was anxious to adopt measures directly opposed to what had been thought good by his predecessor. We have an example of this in the document before us.

In the year 1719 the importation of foreign cloths from Venice, Naples, and more than all from Germany, had increased to such an extent that Clement XI. considered it necessary to prohibit it altogether. We find the two decrees to that effect, of August 7, 1719, and August 1, 1720, alluded to in Vergani, "della importanza del nuovo sistema di finanza." But when Vergani denies that they did any good, he is doubtless in error. Even in the year 1728, the impulse received by the industry of the Roman states is remarked on by Pietro Capello. In our "Provedimento," which was composed under Clement XI., it is expressly affirmed that manufactures had shewn an immediate increase, the direct consequence of that very prohibition. Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII. confirmed it. ["In a few years new manufactories for woollens, &c. were erected at the cost of private individuals in many towns and districts of the state, together with fulling-mills, dye-houses, and other buildings, more particularly in Rome, Narni, Perugia, &c."]

But in the year 1735, a congregation appointed by Clement XII. thought it best to remove this prohibition, and to permit the importation of cloth, at a duty of 12 per cent. in the provinces, and 20 in Rome. The consequence was,—at least as the document before us affirms,—that the manufactories so lately established went to ruin. The author calculates that 100,000 scudi were sent out of the country for cloths; he desires a renewal of the prohibition, and would have it extended to silk goods; but I do not find that his representations produced any effect.

No. 161.

Altri provedimenti di commercio. [Further commercial regulations.] (MS. Rome.)

This document presents a confirmation of the remark that the Roman manufactures had received a momentary impulse from the above-mentioned prohibition, and renews the old complaints against the prohibition of exports. There were so many things brought from Tuscany; but if any one were to export but a measure of corn, he would be punished by confisca-

tion of his property, excommunication,—nay, even the loss of life. An extreme confusion of the currency had moreover taken place in the Ecclesiastical States as well as in Germany. The papal coin was too heavy, although Innocent XI. and Clement XI. had already issued some that was lighter. A quantity of foreign money, on which great loss was suffered, obtained currency. The pope was pressed to coin money of a lighter sort on his part also, as he had already begun to do in respect of the zechins.

Many other documents of a similar import lie before us; but to make extracts from all would lead us too far into detail. It must suffice us to have remarked, that in the Roman states also, the commercial and economic tendencies prevailing in the rest of Europe had found acceptance, although they were prevented from producing their due effect by peculiar circumstances,—the constitution of the papal state, and its ineradicable abuses. They were besides opposed by the listless habits of the aristocracy, the pleasures they found in a life of mere enjoyment—without any other object—the delights of doing nothing. The German, Winckelmann, was enchanted on arriving in Italy soon after this period. The habits of life prevailing there were to him as a deliverance from the restless activity and rigid subordination to rule, of his native regions; and the man of learning was right, so far as he was himself concerned; he had need of leisure, and of a place where the importance of his favourite studies was acknowledged; he required to breathe a freer air, and these were things that for the moment and for private life might be fairly placed in the balance. But a nation can become prosperous and powerful only by the exertion of its most strenuous efforts, steadily put forth on all sides.

No. 162.

Relazione 28 9^{bre} 1737 *del N. U. Aluise Mocenigo IV. K^{r} e Proc^{r} ritornato di Roma.* [Report presented on his return from the Roman embassy by Aluise Mocenigo IV., 29 Oct. 1737.] (Venetian Archives.)

We are here made acquainted with the impediments presented by the Roman government to the prosperity of its subjects. Mocenigo is by no means addicted to cavilling, he acknowledges the increase of trade in Ancona, and even considers it a subject of some anxiety for Venice: he admits the administration of justice also to be in a sound condition, more especially in the Rota, but he declares the general government to be corrupt from the very foundation: breach of trust and dishonesty were the order of the day—the expenditure exceeded the income, and there was no prospect of a remedy. Pope Clement had betaken himself to the expedient of lotteries; but Mocenigo declares them to be pernicious in the highest degree,—"l'evidente esterminio e ruina de' popoli" ["the obvious destruction and ruin of the people."]

The ambassador considers Pope Clement XII. to have been more distinguished by the qualities of a gentleman and magnificent prelate, than by the talent and power required for sustaining the ponderous burthen of the papacy. He describes the pontiff and his government by the following few outlines only:—

["The present pontificate is principally favourable to such undertakings as present an aspect of nobility and magnificence, these having been ever the inclination of the pope from his youth up,—a taste which is still maintained in his declining and decrepit age by the character and influence of his nephew, Cardinal Corsini, who is more distinguished by his love of the fine arts, and by his courteous mode of transacting business, than for any real efficiency in the affairs of government. The course of events in the declining pontificate—during which his eminence has for the most part conducted the government—renders clear testimony to this fact, and it may be affirmed that the violent contentions entered into with almost all the courts must have totally overwhelmed the cardinal, had he not been sustained by the credit acquired by his disinterestedness of character, and from its being known that his failures are attributable to want of talent, rather than to evil intentions. It is true that Rome does not excuse him for the determination with which he insists on disposing of all political affairs, and his extreme jealousy of his authority; for this has induced him to remove Cardinal Riviera from the ministry, although he was the most able of the ministers, and to substitute Cardinal Firau in his place, that he may control all things as he pleases and suffer no contradiction. As respects other matters, however, whether it be from inclination or virtue, certain it is, that throughout the pontificate of Clement XII., and after having had the absolute disposal of the pontifical treasures for seven years, the house of Corsini has not increased its patrimonial revenues by 8,000 scudi yearly,—a very rare example."]

But the nephew of the pope had once more extensive power, though he did not enrich himself; the secretary of state was entirely dependent on him, and no one could venture to confide in the expressions of the latter, if he were not sure of the nephew.

From domestic affairs Mocenigo proceeds to the relations with foreign courts, which, as before remarked, became daily more difficult. I extract the following passage entire, on account of its importance to the history of the contentions arising from ecclesiastical rights:—

["The court of Naples labours continually for the abolition of the accustomed investiture, availing itself of all arguments, legal, historical, and natural; nor would its success be improbable, if the king Don Carlo would consent to a solemn renunciation of all his claims to Castro and Ronciglione. But this is not all; for the Neapolitans, led on by the arguments of their law-schools, are so profoundly inimical to the court of Rome, that they seek by every means to withdraw from their dependance on the pope in all temporal matters; thus new regulations are daily made, and new pretensions constantly put forward, all so well sustained by their able writers, that the Roman court is more than ever embarrassed, and has already been compelled to relinquish a large part, that it may keep the rest in safety. The point of the matter is, that these reforms tend principally to enrich the royal treasury, and thereby to diminish the pontifical revenues and authority in those states. Father Galliani, a man of profound learning and ability, is the great advocate of the court of Naples in Rome, and is the more efficient, from the fact that, during his long practical acquaintance with the Roman metropolis, he has penetrated the mysteries of the papacy to the very bottom, and possessing a most

felicitous memory, he is enabled to use all his acquirements at the most useful moment.

"The great support of the Neapolitan court is that of Spain, where the irritation appears of late to have risen to excess, and to have given occasion for those noisy demands of reform in the dataria, and for the restoration of the royal right of patronage, concerning which I have frequently had the honour of writing to your serenity in my respectful despatches; these are now set at rest, but by an arrangement more favourable to the court of Spain than to that of Rome.

"The court of Turin, holding a steady course of policy, and protected by the bulls and concessions of Benedict XIII., has never suffered itself to depart for a moment from those essential principles which have now been shaken, and too lightly assailed by the present pontificate. Cardinal Albani, a man who has not his equal for sagacity and resolution, has hitherto maintained the cause of that court with the utmost efficiency, and that with such effect that he has never suffered the menaces of the present pontiff to be carried into execution, and is likely to proceed quite as prosperously with his successor.

"The court of France has also found some cause of quarrel in the affairs of Poland; but they were of so little moment, that the French court may be still considered the only one well disposed and firmly attached to the present pontificate; and that because in regard to ecclesiastical affairs, France has little or nothing left to discuss with Rome, both parties steadfastly adhering to the concordats and the pragmatical; or chiefly, perhaps, because Rome proceeds more cautiously towards France than towards other countries, with respect to the introduction, maintenance, or opposition of any innovations that may present themselves. Cardinal Fleury, who is ever to be extolled as the grand exemplar of profound statesmanship, has always found means to hold political relations in subjection to those of religion, without ever permitting the spiritual authority to be confounded with the temporal power, and this has caused the court of Rome constantly to confine herself within her due limits throughout all his ministry,—nay, she has displayed so much condescension towards him, that she would have constituted him the arbiter of all her differences, if the other potentates had not dreaded the perfect equity and impartiality of that great master in statesmanship.

"There were very serious embarrassments, and they are not yet entirely adjusted with the court of Portugal, where the character of the king makes his pretensions acquire more vigour and obstinacy in proportion as they are resisted; and to speak in plain words, the dissensions of the papal state with Portugal and Spain, having suspended for some time past the rich revenues derived from those vast kingdoms, have almost broken up the court and city of Rome, where thousands of families have been reduced of late years from opulence to poverty, and an equal number from a sufficiency to absolute want. The consequence of this is, that the disposal of a large number of benefices in Spain, Portugal, and the kingdom of Naples remains suspended; and since there is a probability that the patronage of these livings will be ultimately vested in the temporal authority under those sovereigns, very many of their subjects, both of the secular and regular clergy, formerly contributing to the maintenance of the Roman court, now abandon it; besides that not a few of the Romans

themselves are induced to cultivate the favour of those foreign powers, either by their avarice or their necessities. The conduct of the court of Rome with respect to the claim of that prince to have the cardinal, his son, made patriarch of Lisbon, has been very singular and curious. It was considered by the king to be an indispensable condition to the arrangement of the questions pending between the two courts, that this distinction should be conferred; and the pope, proceeding in this respect according to the wonted Roman fashion, appeared sometimes almost eager to comply with the wishes of the king, while at other times he seemed altogether averse to the proposal. The matter is not yet decided, and in whatever manner it shall be settled, is certain to present argument for no small discussion, and even, perhaps, for contentions among the other sovereigns.

"The pretender was formerly an object of extreme interest to the court of Rome, which flattered itself with the hope of obtaining support from the French and Spanish courts, since both were united in the house of Bourbon; but now that the jealousy existing between the elder line and the younger branch has become manifest, and since it has been made evident that the queen of Spain has in truth no other interest in view than the aggrandizement of her two sons, the exiled pretender and his deserving family have at once become objects of anxiety, rather than of hope, to many in Rome.

"The emperor has caused the present ministry of Rome to tremble; nay, does so still, because it is seen that he has himself set the example of introducing into his Italian states such reforms of abuses as must in time present an example extremely prejudicial to the Romans; but what is still more serious for them, he had scarcely sent his troops into Tuscany before similar measures were entered on there, so that among all the states beyond the dominion of Rome, there is not one which continues to walk blindly in the footsteps of past ages. The court of Vienna, having some time since made the distinctions conferred on the Spaniards, who are little loved by the Roman people, a decided ground of quarrel, has thus completely gained to itself the favour of the Romans, both in the city and state; and this has been maintained by most sagacious proceedings on the part of the imperial ministers and emissaries, so that we have the marvellous state of things, of the whole Roman people declaring in favour of the emperor. The interest of the Corsini is, nevertheless, so strong in the present day, that no sacrifice is refused that can help to gain the friendship of the emperor; a fact of which the most excellent senate has abundant proofs in the direction of affairs now in progress."]

No. 163.

Relazione del N. H. Franc. Venier K^r ritornato ambasciat. di Roma, 1744, 24 *Apr.* [Report presented by Francesco Venier on his return from the Roman embassy, 24 April, 1744.]

This is unfortunately only two loose leaves relating to Benedict XIV. Venier assures us that the cardinals would never have elected this pope

of themselves. ["He was exalted rather by his own rare virtues, by the peculiar events of that conclave, and by its well-known protraction, than by any actual desire on the part of the cardinals who elected him. It was the work of the Holy Spirit alone."]

["The pontiff," he proceeds to remark, 'endowed with a sincere and upright mind, would never practise any of those arts which are called 'Romanesque:' the same open character which he displayed without reserve as prelate, he continued to exhibit as Cardinal Lambertini, and may be safely said to have shewn no other as pope."]

No. 164.

Relazione di Aluise Mocenigo IV. Kav^r ritornato ambasciat. di Roma, 1750, 14 *Apr.* [Report presented by Aluise Mocenigo IV. on his return from the Roman embassy, 14 April, 1750.]

This ambassador is not the "Aluise Mocenigo IV.," whose report of 1737 we have given above (*see* No. 162). The first was a son of Aluise Mocenigo III.; the present ambassador is a son of Aluise Mocenigo I.

Unfortunately he also has contented himself with three leaves. In the absence of any large amount of authentic intelligence, relating to the Roman court at this period, I will give the most important passages entire.

["The reigning pontiff, Benedict XIV., has not only been employed in no nunciature to any court, but he has never been even charged with any legation. He was raised to the rank of cardinal when bishop of Ancona, and was elevated to the supreme station which he now holds when archbishop of Bologna. He is well versed, by long practice from his earliest years, in the affairs of the Curia, and is certainly not unmindful of that advantage; besides which he piques himself on being a profound canonist and finished lawyer; nor does he consider himself inferior as a decretalist, his studies in which department he does not neglect even to the present day. He is very partial to his auditor Monsignor Argivilliers, for this cause, that he also pursues the same course of learning. This conformity of dispositions and of maxims between the pope and his auditor renders the latter a man of importance in this pontificate; for whereas in his official duties, which are restricted to civil inspections only, he would enjoy no other advantage than that of daily access to the sovereign, he is now admitted to give his opinion respecting affairs of state. To say the truth, he is a man of probity, but of no experience in the affairs of foreign courts; he is austere and inaccessible, reserved in general intercourse, not only with strangers, but even with the members of the Curia themselves. By the extraordinary favour shewn to him, he seems to dispute with Cardinal Valenti, the secretary of state, those advantages of access to the pope, which the high qualities of that prelate, whenever he is pleased to demand them, must yet always obtain for him, and which belong to him on all occasions of great importance or difficulty. But I am falling into prolixity and needless repetition; for my most excellent predecessors will have told you all that was required, concerning this emi-

nent person, so profoundly versed in affairs of state and policy, a minister of so much prudence and experience, and of manners so courteous; nor have I any thing to add respecting him, except that the office of chamberlain of the Holy Church has been conferred on him by his holiness during my embassy. That very honourable and lucrative charge has indeed been confirmed to Cardinal Valenti, even after the death of the pontiff, and this will cause him to be still necessary and sought after, even though jealousy, envy, and ill-will should seek to employ their strength against him, when he no longer holds the office of secretary of state. He is for the present exempt from these assailants, not because he is guarded on all sides, so much as because he is ever prepared to confront them and to parry every blow: if he think the matter deserving of notice, he joins combat; if otherwise, he lets it pass. In addition to the above-mentioned auditor of the pope, there is also the datary, Monsignor Millo, no great friend of his; for although in my time there was an appearance of reconciliation between them, yet there was no reality in their friendship, and the said datary is rather of the party of the auditor. These three persons may be said to be all who have any real participation in state affairs, or who understand them; but if the two prelates are accepted for the reasons aforesaid, and the cardinal manages to make himself necessary for many well-known causes, there are, nevertheless, occasions on which the pope, though hearing them all, will afterwards decide after his own manner, and contrary to their counsels. And further, if there be other very distinguished men among the members of the Curia, they have no great influence in the present pontificate, at least in relation to the principal affairs of state. One is Cardinal Passionei, a man of most studious habits, and attached to science; he is a minister of experience, having held many nunciatures, yet he is only employed as secretary of briefs. Among the chief favourites of the pope is Cardinal Girolamo, promajordomo, and uncle of the young prelate, Monsignor Marcantonio Colonna, maggiorduomo; but he gives himself no trouble respecting any thing that does not affect his own particular wishes. The secretary of accounts, Monsignor Antonio Rota, is known to the pope, to the sacred college at large, and above all to the congregations 'coram sanctissimo,' as a man of the most refined policy and most subtle powers of thought, than whom no better could be found when the adjustment of some foreign difficulty is demanded, or some trait of sagacity is required; but although his utility is so well understood that he is admitted into all congregations and appears in despite of his gout, yet he has no more important matter confided to his control than those of his office, and the casualties arising from it."]

No. 165.

Girolamo Zulian Relazione di Roma, 15 *Decembre*, 1783.
[Report from Rome by Girolamo Zulian, 15 Dec. 1783.]

Towards the close of the republic, there was seen to be a falling off in the disposition which had formerly existed towards this kind of political activity.

The reports become shorter. The observations they present are not to be compared with those of the older writers for penetration and comprehensiveness.

Zulian, whose report is the last that I have seen, no longer discusses questions of policy, of foreign affairs, or the personal qualities of the pontiff Pius VI. He confines himself entirely to certain leading features of the internal administration.

He informs us that the papal treasury exhibited a considerable deficit, which was further increased by the extraordinary expenditure, the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's, and the labours proceeding in the Pontine marshes, which together had perhaps already cost two millions. Attempts were made to meet this deficiency by anticipation of the revenue, and by the creation of a paper currency. There was, besides, much money sent out of the country. ["The hemp, silks, and woollens exported from the state do not compensate for the salt-fish, lead, drugs, and great variety of manufactures imported, more particularly from Germany and France. The principal means of balancing the commerce of the nation ought to be the corn-trade; but the necessity for regulating it by artificial arrangements, that Rome may always be assured of a supply of corn at low prices, renders that trade a poor and often losing one. From these causes agriculture is depressed, and there often happen dearths of such a kind as to make it needful that corn should be purchased at high prices from foreign countries. It is thus the general opinion that this trade, upon the whole, produces very little profit to the nation. The state is in debt to almost every country with which it is connected; to which must in great measure be attributed that rapid outpouring of money which depresses its credit, causes its bills to be always at a discount, and aggravates the poverty of the papacy. It is the common belief that Rome is more profitably connected with the exchange of Venice than with any other, on account of the various kinds of merchandise which the pontifical states furnish to those of your serenity."]

The measures adopted for the relief of the country by Pius VI. are well known. They are discussed in this report, but with no very great depth of thought.

Zulian remarks that Pius VI. had rendered the cardinals yet more insignificant than they previously were. On the return of the pontiff from Vienna, he had put off the sacred college with obscure and insufficient notices. It is true that he may be said to have had but very little to relate; but the fact is true. The secretary of state, Pallavicini, an excellent and distinguished man, was incapable of effecting much in the way of business, because he was continually out of health. The author is of opinion that Rezzonico was the person whose influence was most powerful with the pontiff.

THE END.

The General Index to the Three Volumes is placed at the end of the Second.

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